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Siddhanta Kaumudi

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THE SIDDHÂNTA KAUMUDÎ.

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मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाव्य च ।
वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरच्यते ॥ १ ॥

Having saluted the Three Sages, and reflected over their sayings, this Light of the Truth of Grammarians is composed *by me.*

Note:—The three sages or founders and expounders of Grammar are Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana and Patanjali. Their sayings or works are respectively known as the Sûtras, the Vârtikas, and the Bhâsya. The word "Kaumudi" means Light, or the Revealer: and "Siddhanta" (settled-end) means the Truth established after full investigation or discussion. The word "Siddhanta Kaumudi" therefore, means the book that reveals to mankind the truths of Grammar as proved or demonstrated by the great Grammarians.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

संज्ञा प्रकरणम् ।

[1] अइउण् । [2] ऋऌक् । [3] एओङ् । [4] ऐऔच् । [5] हयवरट् । [6] लण् । [7] ञमङणनम् । [8] झभञ् । [9] घढधष् । [10] जबगडदश् । [11] खफछठथचटतव् । [12] कपय् । [13] शषसर् । [14] हल् ॥

इति माहेश्वराणि सूत्राण्यणादिसंज्ञार्थानि ॥ एषामन्त्या इतः ॥ लण्सूत्रेऽकारश्च ॥ इकारादिष्वकार उच्चारणार्थः ॥

[1] a i u (ṇ); [2] ṛ ḷ (k); [3] e o (ṅ); [4] ai au (ch); [5] ha ya va ra (ṭ); [6] la (ṇ) or l (aṇ); [7] ña ma ṅa ṇa na (m); [8] jha bha (ñ); [9] gha ḍha dha (sh); [10] ja ba ga ḍa da (ś); [11] kha pha chha ṭha tha cha ṭa ta (v); [12] ka pa (y); [13] śa sha sa (r); [14] ha (l).

These fourteen aphorisms are called "the Maheśvara Sûtras" or the aphorisms of Maheśvara. They are useful for forming technical terms or Pratyâhâras like अण् &c. The final consonants in these (*e.g.* ण्, क्) are called इत् a word which is defined later on. The अ in the Sûtra लण् is also इत् ॥ The अ in the other consonants like ह, य, व &c. is not इत्, but only for pronunciation.

Note :—The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not an इत् letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, झश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyâhâras could be formed, practically however, there are only 43 pratyâhâras ; as given below :—

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छव् । अट् ॥ झष् । भष् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अंण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अच् । यम् । ङम् ॥ अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । झय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ भल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् and र् ॥

Paribhâshâ I.—The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sûtra लण् and in the first अ इ उण्. There arises consequently the doubt, whether the pratyâhâras अण् and उण् when they are employed in Pâṇini's Grammar are formed with the ण् of the former or with the ण् of the latter sûtra, and one might, on that account consider it impossible to ascertain what Pâṇini intended to denote by अण् and इण् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhâshâ :—

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ।

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite."

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अण् except in Sûtra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the ण् of the first sûtra and that the term इण् is formed by means of the ण् of the subsequent sûtra. (Keilhorn).

Note :—The letter ह् occurs twice in the above aphorisms, first in aphorism five, and then in the last. The object of the first ह् is to include that letter in the Pratyâhâras झट्, झश्, हश् and इण्; so that the rules applicable to these Pratyâhâras, should apply to ह् also. Thus अर्हेण, the न् changed to ण् though ह् intervenes (VIII. 4. 2. S. 197). देवा ह्यन्ति, here the visarga is elided before ह् by VIII. 3. 17. S. 167 देवो हसति, here the visarga is changed to उ by VI. 1. 114. S. 166. लिलिक्षिध्वे or लिलिक्षिढ्वे, here ध is optionally changed to ढ after ह् by VIII. 3. 79.

S. 2325. The second ह् in the last sûtra, is for the purpose of including it in the Pratyâhâras, अल्, रल्, झल् and शल्॥ As स्वपिहि, रुदिहि, here इ is added before ह by VII. 2. 35. S. 2184. स्नेहित्वा or स्नेहित्वा, here the इ is optionally changed into ए by I. 2. 26. S. 2617. अदाग्धाम here स is elided by VIII. 2. 26. S. 2281. अलिक्षत् here the aorist is formed with the affix क्स after the root ending in ह्, by III. 1. 45. S. 2336.

Note:—The ण् in लण् is made इत्, for the sake of forming the Pratyâhâra र्, so that र्, may denote not only the single letter र्, but the two letters र् and ल्॥ This is useful in sûtra I. 1. 51. S. 70, by which the Guṇa and Vriddhi of ऌ becomes अर् and आर्॥

१। हलन्त्यम्। १। ३। ३॥

हलिति सूत्रेऽन्त्यमित्स्यात्॥

1. In the (or of the) sûtra हल् (14th sûtra in the above) let the final letter (*i. e.* ल्) be इत्॥

Note:—The sûtra has been explained in two different ways by the author. First: "In the (or of the) sûtra हल् (14 sûtra of the alphabet), the final consonant (*i. e.* ह्) is इत्॥" The second explanation, and the authoritative one is that which is given later on in the text, *i. e.* "In upadeśa or technical formulæ and terms of grammar, the final consonant is non-efficient."

२। आदिरन्त्येन सहेता। १। १। ७१॥

अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्मध्यगानां स्वस्य च संज्ञा स्यात्। इति हलसंज्ञायाम्॥

2. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

Applying this sûtra to the technical term हल्; (*i.e.* to the word हल् taken as a संज्ञा or technical *term* denoting all the consonants beginning with ह् of sûtra 5, and ending with ल् of the last sûtra, and not as the sûtra 14th, of the above alphabets; we come to the second interpretation of the sûtra हल् अन्त्यम्॥

२। हलन्त्यम्। १। ३। ३॥

उपदेशेऽन्त्यं हल् इत् स्यात्। उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम्। ततो धुण् अच् इत्यादि संज्ञासिद्धौ॥

2 *a*. In an Upadeśa, let the final hal or consonant be called इत्॥

Upadeśa means the first enunciation of a term in Grammar. (Really it is the name of those technical terms of grammar which are formed for this purpose of *instruction* only, but which are not the current words of the language). Thus we get the sanjñâs or terms like अच्, and अण् &c.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicatory. As in the Pratyâhâra sûtras अ इ उ ण्; here ण् is इत्॥ ऋ ऌ क्; here क् is इत्॥ ए

ओङ् ; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच् ; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत् ॥ Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

Note:—This sûtra आदिरन्त्येन सहेता explains the mode of interpreting pratyâhâras. Thus the pratyâhâras अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क् ॥

Why do we say with the '*final* indicatory letter?' Because a pratyâhâra like झुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final द् of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of दा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sûtra clears up the doubt. A pratyâhâra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत् ॥

३ । उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् । १ । ३ । २ ॥

उपदेशेऽनुनासिकोऽजित्संज्ञः स्यात् । प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥ लण्सूत्रस्थावर्णेन सहोच्चार्यमाणा रेफो रलयोः संज्ञा । प्रत्याहारेष्विति न ग्रहणम् । अनुनासिक इत्यानिर्देशात् । नह्यत्र ककारे परऽच्कार्यं दृश्यते । आदिरन्त्येनेत्येतत्सूत्रेण कृताः संज्ञाः प्रत्याहारशब्देन व्यवह्रियन्ते ॥

3. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

The followers (or knowers of) Pâṇini's Grammar say that the Anunâsika words in the sûtra should be inferred by the way in which it is treated by Pâṇini. Thus the अ of the sûtra लण् (6th alphabet sûtra), is considered as anunânisika, and therefore, it is इत् ; the result of which is that we can form a Pratyâhâra र with the र् of the sûtra हयवरट् and the अ of the sûtra लण्; and thus this Pratyâhâra र *Ra* denotes the two letters र् and ल् ॥ (This gives the reason why अ of लण् was said to be इत् in the 1st page.)

In counting the letters denoted by a Pratyâhâra the इत् letters should not be counted. Thus अच् denotes all the vowels only; the इत् letters ण् क्, ङ् and च्, are not included. For letters ण्, क्, ङ् are not vowels, by Pâṇini himself treating them as consonants; as the word अनुनासिक in this very sûtra shows. For had क् been a vowel, then the इ of anunâsika would have been changed to य् before क् ॥ Similarly in other places also Pâṇini has shown that क् is not a vowel.

The technical terms formed with the help of the sûtra, आदिरन्त्येन &c. (1. 1. 71 S 2) are called Pratyâhâra.

Note:—Anunâsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in क्विन्, विट्, विच्, the anunâsika इ is इत्. The original sûtra contains the word 'upadesa' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upadesa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sûtrapâtha, or ganapâtha or dhâtupâtha &c.

Note:—From this sûtra up to sûtra 9 of the third Pâda of the 1st Adhyâya of Pâṇini there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत्. "In Pâṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pâṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upadesa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (agama), or a verbal root (dhâtu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एध 'to increase,' the final ध is indicatory, the real root is एध्॥ So also the final श of स्पर्द्ध is इत्॥

Note:—If the word is not an upadesa, then the nasal vowel is not इत्॥ As गाँ आँ अपः॥ A word may be an upadesa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sûtra III. 2. 74 S. 3418 (आतो मनिन् क्वनिब् वनिपश्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadsea that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sûtras VII. 2. 16. S. 3036 (आदिर्ञि &c.).

४। ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः। १। २। २७॥

इश ऊश उ३श्च वः। वां काल इव कालो यस्य सोऽच् क्रमात् ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञः स्यात्। स प्रत्येकमुदात्तादिभेदेन त्रिधा॥

4. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *û* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dîrgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

उ+ऊ+उ३=वः; that is, the वः is the plural of उ, (as साधवः is the plural of साधु)॥ (This वः denotes the three kinds of उ॥ The genitive plural will be वाम् meaning "of u's"). Let the vowels whose time is like the three उ s, get respectively the name of hrasva, dîrgha and pluta. Each one of these again will be of three sorts, according as it is udâtta, anudâtta svarita.

The उ *u* having one mâtrâ or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sûtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mâtrâ*. The letter ऊ *û* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a Samâhâra Dvandva compound, in the singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17 S. 821.

The word *Kâla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As दधि 'curd' मधु 'honey' here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्त३ अत्रास Devadatta! Here अ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sûtras I. 1. 49 S. 318. VII. 4. 25. S. 2298 VIII. 2. 82 S. 93.

५ । उच्चैरुदात्तः । १ । २ । २९ ॥

ताल्वादिषु सभागेषु स्थानेषूर्ध्वभाग निष्पन्नोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । आ ये ॥

5. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udâtta* or acutely accented.

Let that vowel be called udâtta which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation such as throat &c. as आ ; ये ॥ Here आ being an indeclinable is udâtta by the rule that declares all Nipâtas are acutely accented on the first (निपाता आद्युदात्ताः) ॥ ये is the nom. Plural of यत् 'who' यैत् is acute on the final, being a substantive; for all फिट् (Prâtipadikas) are antodâtta by the rule फिषोऽन्त उदात्तः (Phit Sûtra I. 1.). यत् + जस् Here जस् being a सुप् termination is anudâtta by III. 1. 4 S. 3709. Then त् of यत् is replaced by अ ; the affix जस् is replaced by शी (VII. I. 17 S. 214.), and we have यै + ई = ये, the ए the single substitute for अै + ई is udâtta by VIII. 2. 5. S 3658.

With this sutra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is callled udâtta or *acute* accent. The udâtta is not marked in writing in Sanskrit. We have followed the German system, by putting a small उ above the vowel. The word 'vowel' of the previous sûtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udâtta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c. if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udâtta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent.

६ । नीचैरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३० ॥

स्पष्टम् । अर्वाङ् ॥

6. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudâtta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sûtra. As अर्वाङ् ॥ This is a compound of the noun अर्वन् with the verb अञ्च (अर्वन्तमञ्चति) ॥ The word अर्वन् is formed from the root ऋ 'to go' with the affix वनिप्, there is guṇa of ऋ and we have अर्वन् ॥ The affix वनिप् is anudâtta, being a पित् affix, (III. 1. 4 S. 3709) ; and ऋ being a dhâtu is udâtta (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671.)

and so the word अर्वन् is also âdyudâtta. The अ of अंच is also udâtta, because it is a dhâtu (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671). Then by II. 2. 19. S. 782 (उपपदमतिङ्) we compound the upapada अर्वन् with अंञ्चु, and add the affix क्विन् by III. 2. 59. S. 373 (ऋत्विग् &c.). Then by samâsa accent (VI. 1. 223. and 3734.) or by krit accent (VI. 2. 139 S. 3873) the word अंञ्चु retains its accent, while the first member of the compound loses its accent. Then the न् of अर्वन् is elided, and we have अर्व+अञ्च्=अर्वाङ् The loss of accent takes place by VI. 1. 158 S. 3650. The vowel accent known as grave or anudâtta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudâtta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

In pronouncing an anudâtta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

७। समाहारः स्वरितः। १। २। ३१ ॥

उदात्तानुदात्तत्वे वर्णधर्मौ समाह्रियेते यस्मिन्सोऽच् स्वरितसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

7. The vowel that has the combination of *Udâtta* and *Anudâtta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of I. 2. 28 S. 35 is understood here also. The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sûtra VI. 1. 185 S. 3729. "The affixes having an indicatory त् *t* have svarita accent." As कन्या kanyâ शिक्यम् şikyám, क्व *kvá*.

This sûtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udâtta vowel with an anudâtta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

८। तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम्। १। २। ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वग्रहणमतन्त्रम्। स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धमुदात्तं बोध्यम्। उत्तरार्धं तु परिशेषादनुदात्तम्। तस्य चोदात्तस्वरितपरत्वे श्रवणं स्पष्टम्। अन्यत्र तूदात्तश्रुतिः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धा। क्व१ वोऽश्वाः। रथानां न ये१राः। शतचक्रं यो३ ह्यः ॥ इत्यादिष्वनुदात्तः। अग्निमीळे इत्यादावुदात्तश्रुतिः। स नवविधोऽपि प्रत्येकमनुनासिकाननुनासिकत्वाभ्यां द्विधा ॥

8. Of it (svarita) the first portion is *udâtta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

The word *hrasva* in the Sûtra is redundant. In a Svarita accent, the first half portion is to be understood to have the udâtta accent. The remaining

half, will consequently be anudâtta. If an udâtta or another svarita follows it then this anudâtta portion of the accent is distinctly heard. Otherwise, according to Prâtiśâkhyas, the udâtta portion is only heard. In the following, the anudâtta is heard : क्व१ वोऽश्वाः ; रथानां न येऽराः ; शुतचक्र थो १ ऽह्वः ॥ While in the following the udâtta is heard : अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् ॥

Thus each vowel has nine forms, as it is hrasva, dîrgha or pluta, as it is udâtta, anudâtta or svarita. Every one of these nine, has two more forms : nasal and not nasal : as is taught in the next sûtra.

Note :—According to Siddhânta, the word ह्रस्व is useless. According to Kâsikâ, it is important, as given below.

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udâtta and anudâtta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sûtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its mâtrâ being one, half will be *udâtta* and the other half *anudâtta*. If a long vowel, whose mâtrâs are two, be *svarita*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udâtta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudâtta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udâtta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudâtta*. In short, the udâtta portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिक्यम् śikyam the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony ; in कन्या *kanyâ*, the long *â* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave ; in मानवकाः ३ manavakâ, here *a* prolated is svarita, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

In the above examples, क्व १ वोऽश्वाः &c., the accents are thus formed. The word क्व is the Locative form of किम्, formed by adding the affix अत् (V. 3. 12. S. 1959) and substituting क्व (VII. 2. 105. S. 1960). The word क्व is therefore svarita-accented, because formed by the तित् affix अत् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The word वः becomes anudâtta by VIII. 1. 18, S. 403. अश्वाः is âdyudâtta, because it is derived from the root अश् with the affix क्वनिन् ; the affix being तित् makes the word âdyudâtta (VI. 2. 197, S. 3686). Now वः + अश्वाः = वोऽश्वाः, the anudâtta combining with udâtta becomes udâtta (VIII. 2. 5, S. 3658) : therefore अ of वो becomes udâtta. The svarita क्व being followed by the udâtta वो, causes the latter half *i. e.* the anudâtta half of the svarita to be heard. This is indicated by १ namely svarita above and anudâtta below. This is a short svarita.

In the example रथानां न येऽराः, the svarita is a long vowel. The word ये is udâtta by Phiṭ accent, as shown above (S. 5). अराः is also finally udâtta by Phiṭ accent. The udâtta ए of ये combining with the anudâtta अ of अराः,

becomes svarita (VIII. p. 6. S. 3659), यें ; this svarita followed by udâtta ओं of अग्नीः, is heard in its anudâtta portion यें ॥

In the third example शतचक्रं योः, the svarita is followed by another svarita, and in this case also, the anudâtta portion of the svarita is heard. The word यैः is antodâtta by Phit accent (See S. 5); the visarga is changed to उ, and यै + उ = यो by guṇa, and this ओं becomes udâtta, the resultant of udâtta plus anudâtta is udâtta. In अह्नां the final अ is svarita, the first अ is therefore anudâtta. The anudâtta अ of अह्नां combining with the udâtta ओं of यों, becomes all svarita (VIII. 2. 6, S. 3659) *i.e.* यों ऽ; this svarita ओं is followed by the svarita अं of ह्नः, and hence the anudâtta portion of svarita ओं is heard here also. The word अह्नः is svarita ending because it is formed by adding the तित् affix क्यत् to the root अह् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The अ of अह् does not take Vṛiddhi substitution, because of the

Paribhâshâ II.—संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वात् ॥

A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term.

In the last example अग्निमीले पुरोहितं, the ई of ईले is svarita, the ले has eka-śruti accent by the rule प्रचयापरपर्याया एकश्रुतिः ॥

Hence here the svarita being followed by anudâtta, the udâtta half of the svarita is heard.

९ मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः । १ । १ । ८ ॥

मुखसहितनासिकयोच्चार्यमाणो वर्णोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञः स्यात् । तदित्थम् । अ इ उ ऋ एषां वर्णानां प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः ॥ ऌवर्णस्य द्वादश । तस्य दीर्घाभावात् ॥ एचामपि द्वादश । तेषां ह्रस्वाभावात् ॥

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunâsika* or nasal.

Let a letter which is uttered by the mouth in combination with the nose be called anunâsika.

The result of the six sûtras given above, is this: The vowels अ, इ, उ, and ऋ have each eighteen forms. The vowel ऌ has twelve forms, because it has no long form. The diphthongs ए, ऐ, ओ and औ have also twelve forms, because they have no short forms. Thus there are altogether one hundred and thirty two vowels in Sanskrit.

१० तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् । १ । १ । ९ ॥

ताल्वादिस्थानमाभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्चेत्येतद्द्वयं यस्य येन तुल्यं तन्मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ अकुहविसर्जनीयानां कण्ठः । इचुयशानां तालु । ऋटुरषाणां मूर्धा । ऌतुलसानां दन्ताः । उपूपध्मानीयानामोष्ठौ । ञमङणनानां नासिका च । एदैतोः कण्ठतालु । ओदौतोः कण्ठोष्ठम् । वकारस्य दन्तोष्ठम् । जिह्वामूलीयस्य जिह्वामूलम् ।

नासिकानु स्वारस्य ॥ हलि स्थानानि ॥ यत्नो द्विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ आद्यश्चतुर्धा । स्पृष्टेषत्स्पृष्टविवृतसंवृतभेदात् ॥ तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयतनं स्पर्शानाम् । ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । विवृतमूष्मणां स्वराणां च । ह्रस्वस्यावर्णस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम् । प्रक्रियादशायां तु विवृतमेव । एतच्च सूत्रकारेण ज्ञापितम् । तथा हि ॥

10. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarṇa or homogeneous letters.

Let those letters be called savarṇa, which have with each other a common place of utterance, such as throat, palate &c., as well as a common âbhyantara prayatna. That is, when the place and prayatna are the same, then the letters are savarṇa.

1. The letters अ, क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, ह, ः have throat as their place and are gutturals or Kaṇtha.
2. The letters इ, च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, य, श, have the palate and are palatals or Tâlavya.
3. The letters ऋ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, र, ष, have the murdhâ, and are cerebrals or Murdhanya.
4. The letters ऌ, त, थ, द, ध, न, ल, स, have the teeth and are dentals or Dantya.
5. The letters उ, प, फ, ब, भ, म, × प, have the lips and are labials or Oshṭhya.

a. The letters ङ, ञ, ण, न, म, have also the nose, and are *also* nasal.

b. The letters ए, ऐ, have the throat and palate, and are Kantha—talavya *i. e.* gutturo—palatals.

c. The letters ओ, औ, have the throat and the lips, and are Kantha-oshṭhya *i. e.* gutturo-labials.

d. The letter व has the teeth and the lips, and is dant-oshṭhya *i. e.* dento-labial.

e. The letter × क is Jihvâ-mulîya or root of the tongue.

f. The letter ं m anusvâra is pure nasal.

The above are the *sthâna* or places of utterance of the letters.

The Prayatna is of two sorts, the inner called âbhyantara, and the external called bâhya. The first or âbhyantara is of four kinds, namely, sprishṭa, îshat sprishṭa, vivṛita and samvṛita.

1. The sparśa letters have sprishṭa prayatna.
2. The antastha letters have îshat-sprishṭa prayatna.
3. The ushma letters and the vowels have vivṛita prayatna.

4. 'The short अ is samvṛita in usage (prayoga) but in Grammar, as a formative element, it is always treated as vivṛita. This fact is indicated by Pânini himself in the last sûtra of his Grammar, *i. e.* in the sûtra अ अ (VIII. 4. 68 S. 11), which means that the letter अ which has been all along treated in Grammar as vivrita, is now made samvrita. (See the following sûtra).

११ अ अ इति । ८ । ४ । ६८ ॥

विवृतमनूद्य संवृतोऽनेनविधीयते । अस्यं चाष्टाध्यायीं संपूर्णां प्रत्यसिद्धत्वाच्छास्त्रदृष्ट्या विवृतत्वमस्त्येव । तथा च सूत्रम् ॥

11. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The epen अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneousness* mentioned in I. 1. 9. S. 10. would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashṭâdhyâyi, Pânini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise.' (Dr. Ballantyne).

The present sûtra occurs in the second division of Ashṭâdhyâyî, *i. e.* the last three Padas. The whole Ashṭâdhâyî has 32 padas; they are divided into two parts—the first 29 Padas forming one group, the last three, the second group. For the purposes of the application of a rule in the first set ($7\frac{1}{4}$ Adhyaya) the rules in the second set are considered as non-existent. Therefore though the अ is made samvrita by this rule, it does not interfere with the अ being considered as vivrita throughout the rest of the Grammar. The sûtra which declares the rules in the last 3 padas (Tripâdi), as non-existent for the purposes of the rules in the 29 padas ($7\frac{1}{4}$ Adhyaya) is the following.

१२ पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् । ८ । २ । १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । तेन सपादसप्ताध्यायीं प्रति त्रिपाद्यसिद्धा त्रिपाद्यामपि पूर्वं प्रति परं शास्त्रमसिद्धं स्यात् ॥ बाह्यप्रयत्नस्त्वेकादशधा ॥ विवारः संवारः श्वासो नादो घोषोऽघोषोऽल्पप्राणो महाप्राण उदात्तोऽनुदात्तः स्वरितश्चेति ॥ खयां यमः खयःककपौ विसर्गः शर एव च । एते श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाश्च विवृण्वते ।

कण्ठमध्ये तु घोषाः स्युः संवृता नादभागिनः । अयुग्मा वर्गयमगा यणश्चासंवृताः स्मृताः ॥ वर्गेष्वाद्यानां चतुर्णां पञ्चमे परे मध्ये यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धः । पलिक्क्नीः । चक्ष्वनतुः । अग्ग्निः । घघ्नन्तीत्यत्र ऋमेण कखगघेभ्यः परे तत्सदृशा एव यमाः । तत्र वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः खयस्तथा तेषामेवोष्माणः जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ विसर्गः शषसाश्चेत्तेषां विवारः श्वासोऽघोषश्च । अन्येषां तु संवारो नादो घोषश्च ॥ वर्गाणां प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमाः प्रथमतृतीयवन्तो यरलवाश्चाल्पप्राणाः । अन्ये महाप्राणा इत्यर्थः । बाह्यप्रयत्नाश्च यद्यपि सवर्णसंज्ञायामतुरुपुक्तास्तथाप्याभ्यन्तरतम्यपरीक्षायामुपयोक्ष्यन्त इति बोध्यम् ॥ कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः । यरलवा अन्तस्थाः । शषसहा ऊष्माणः । अचः स्वराः । ×क×पाविति कपाभ्यां प्रागर्ध-विसर्गसदृशौ जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ । अं अः इत्यचः परावनुस्वारविसर्गौ ॥ इति स्थानप्रयत्नविवेकः ॥ * ऋलृवर्णयोर्मिथः सावर्ण्ये वाच्यम्* ॥ अकारहकारयोरिकारशकारयोर्ऋकारषकारयोर्ऌकारसकारयोश्च मिथः सावर्ण्ये प्राप्ते ॥

12. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikâra Sûtra. Therefore the Tripâdi rules are asiddha with regard to the 7¼ Adhyâyî rules. Even in the Tripâdî, a previous rule is asiddha with regard to the subsequent.

Thus the letter अ is samvṛita really, though treated as vivṛita.

As regards the Bâhya-prayatna, we have eleven modifications: namely 1 vivâra, 2 samvâra, 3 śvâsa, 4 nâda, 5 ghosha, 6 a-ghosha 7 alpa-prâṇa, 8 mahâprana, 9 udâtta, 10 anudâtta, 11 svarita.

Verse:—The double of khay (ख, फ, छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त, क, प) letters, the khay letters themselves, the ×क and ×प, the visarga, the śar letters (श, ष, स) are svâsa, aghosa, and expand the throat, *i. e.* are of vivâra prayatna. The other letters (*i. e.* the झश्, letters, the yamas of झश् letters and the anusvâra) are ghosha, samvâra, and nâda prayanta. The odd letters of the vargas, the doubles of first and third, and यण् letters are alpa-prâṇa.

Explanation:—The word यम is a Prâtisâkhya term. It is the name of the letter when doubled, on account of any one of the first four letters of the varga being followed by the fifth *i. e.* by a nasal. Thus पलिक् ङ्नीः, चक्ष्वन्तुः, अग्ग्निः, घघ्नन्ति, here the doubled letters क्, ख्, ग् and घ् are yama *i. e.* only those letters which have the same form *i. e.* the second क्, ख्, &c. are called yama. The खय् letters are the first and second letters of the varga: the ten letters क ख, च, छ &c. The yamas of these खय् letters, so also the Jihvâmûlîya, Upadhmânîya, the visarga and the sibilants are vivâra, svâsa, and aghosha.

The other letters are samvâra nâda, and ghosha. The first, third and the fifth letters of a varga, the yamas of first and third, and य, र, ल and व are alpa-prâṇa. The others *i. e.* the second and fourth letters of the varga, and श, ष, स, ह are mahâ-prana.

Though the Bâhya-prayatna is of no use in determining the savarna-hood of letters, yet they are of use in finding out the *nearest* equivalent to letters to be replaced &c.

The 25 letters क to म are sparsa. The four letters य, र, ल, व, are antastha. The four letters श, ष, स, ह are Ushma. The vowels are Svara. The × क and × प are called Jîvamûlhya and Upadhmânîya. (They represent the lost sibilants of क varga, and प varga).

अं ṁ अः ḥ these are anusvâra and visarga. Here ends the determination of sthâna (organ of utterance) and prayatna (effort).

1. vârt:—The letters ऋ and ऌ should be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

From the explanations in the above two sûtras (10 and 12), the letter.

अ	becomes homogeneous	with	ह
इ	„	„	श
ऋ	„	„	ष
ऌ	„	„	स

To prevent this incongruity, we have the following sûtra which declares that there can be no homogeneity between a vowel and a consonant.

Note:—The following lines summarise the above, the *vowels* are vivâra, svasa, and aghosha. The हश् letters are samvâra, nâda, and ghosha. The first, third, fifth letters of the varga, and यण् letters are alpa-prâna, The second and the fourth letters of the varga, and शल् letters are mahâ-prâna.

१३ नाऽज्झलौ । १ । १ । १० ॥

आकारसहितोऽच् आच् स च हल् चेत्येतौ मिथः सवर्णौ न स्तः । तेन दधीत्यस्य ह्रति शीतलं षष्ठं सान्द्रमित्येतेषु परेषु यणादिकं न । अन्यथा दीर्घादीनामिव हकारादीनामपि ग्रहणकशास्त्रबलाद्ध्रस्वं स्यात् । तथा हि ॥

13. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

The words of this sûtra are न, आच्, हलौ ॥ The word आच् is a compound of आ + अच्; and means "a vowel along with आ" ॥ There is no homogeneity between the आच् letters and the consonants. Therefore in दधि + ह्रति the इ of दधि is not changed to य् before ह, nor in दधि + शीतलं the इ is lengthened before श; nor in दधि + षष्ठं, and दधि + सान्द्रं any change takes place. But for this sûtra, the letters ऌ &c. would have been treated as vowels, just as long and pluta letters are also vowels.

१४। अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाऽप्रत्ययः । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

प्रतीयते विधीयत इति प्रत्ययः । अविधीयमानोऽण् उदित्च सवर्णस्य संज्ञा स्यात् । अत्राण् परेण णकारेण ॥ कुँचु टु तु पु एत उदितः ॥ तेन स्वम् अ इत्यष्टादशानां संज्ञा । तथेकारोकारौ । ऋकारस्त्रिंशतः । एवं लकारोऽपि । एचो द्वादशानाम् ॥ एदैतारोदौतौश्च न मिथः सावर्ण्यम् । ऐओजिति सूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात् । तेनैचश्चतुर्विंशतेः संज्ञाः स्युरिति नाप्राप्तीयम ॥ नाऽज्झलाविति निषेधो यद्यप्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकानामेव तथापि हकारस्याऽऽकारो न सवर्णः । तत्राऽऽकारस्यापि प्रश्लिष्टत्वात् । तेन विश्वपाभिरित्यत्र होढ इति ढत्वं न भवति ॥ अनुनासिकाननुनासिकभेदेन यवला द्विधा । तेनाननुनासिकास्त द्वयोर्द्वयोः संज्ञा ॥

14. 'The letters of the Pratyâhâra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, (except when they are used as pratyâyâs or affixes or) except when specifically so ordained.

The pratyâhâra अण् in this sûtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyâhâra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, टु, तु, and पु, as in sûtra I. 3. 8. S. 195. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sûtra, being drawn from the previous sûtra. Thus sûtra आद्गुणः (VI. 1. 87 S. 69), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः ; but महा + ईशः = महेशः । So also in sûtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4. 32 S. 2118), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50 S. 2117) follows.' Here long आ is also included ; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sûtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sûtra III. 2. 168. S. 3148. says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words âsansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, S. 1379. the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

The word अप्रत्ययः in the sûtra means "that which is not ordained (pratîyate = vidhîyate)." That is unless where a letter is specifically ordained, it always includes its homogeneous letters, in certain cases. The sûtra means "The अण् letters (vowels and semi-vowels), when not specifically so propounded by name, as well as the letters having an indicatory उ denote their savarna letters also." The अण् here is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण्, The words कु, चु, टु, तु, पु, are formed by उ and are उदित् ॥

The result of this is, that अ denotes 18 letters; so also इ and उ. ऋ denotes 30 letters, and so also ऌ. The diphthongs ए ऐ, ओ, औ denote 12 letters.

2. *Vart.*—The letter ए is not to be considered homogeneous with ऐ nor ओ with औ ॥ For had ऐ been included in ए, and ओ in औ, then where was the necessity of the sûtra ऐ औच् ? These letters need not have been taught separately. Therefore, the diphthongs do not denote 24 letters each, but 12 letters only.

Though the prohibition of the sûtra नाज् झलौ (I. 1. 10 S. 13) applies, according to the literal interpretation of the sûtra, to the अच् letters only, namely, to the nine letters specifically taught in the Maheshvara sûtras, and not to the letter आ which is not so taught there, yet there is no homogeneity between आ and ह ॥ For according to our interpretation of the sûtra, the letter आ is specifically mentioned in it. For we do not analyse it as न अच् झलौ, but as न आ-अच्, झलौ, and we translate it as "There is no homogeneity between a hal letter and आ and ach letters." Therefore in विश्वपाभिः the letter आ is not changed to ड by VIII. 2. 31 S. 3579. (ड is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word). The word akshara-samâmnâya means the sûtras teaching the alphabets *i. e.* the 14 Maheshvara sûtras.

The letters य, व, ल are of two kinds according as they are nasalised or not nasalised. Therfore, a non nasalised य, व, ल will denote also the nasalised letter: *i. e.* the simple letter य, व, ल include the nasalised यँ वँ लँ ॥

The sense of this sûtra अणुदित् &c therefore is that the अण् letters, namely the fourteen letters taught in the Mâhesvara sûtras, they *alone* denote their homogeneous letters also. But र and ह though included in अण् pratyâhâra, denote their single forms only, for they have no other letter homogeneous to them.

१५ । तपरस्तत्कालस्य । १ । १ । ७० ॥

तः परो यस्मात्स च तात्परश्चोच्चार्यमाणसमकालस्यैव संज्ञा स्यात् । तेन अत् इत् उत् इत्यादयः षण्णां षण्णां संज्ञा । ऋदिति द्वादशानाम् ॥

15, The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the last sutra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sûtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the

letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत् means short उ only and not long or protracted ऊ.

The sûtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. Taparah means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kâla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udâtta, anudâtta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted form, in all 6 forms.

This sûtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अण् of the previous sûtra does not run into this sûtra. Any other letter than अण् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sutra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sûtra which would therefore mean that an अण् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sûtra VII. I. 9 S. 203. अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्' Thus वृक्षैः ॥ But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः ॥

Therefore अत्, इत्, उत् denote six letters each, namely अ, अँ, अः, इ, इँ, इः ॥ ऋत् denotes twelve letters.

१६ । वृद्धिरादैच् । १ । १ । १ ॥

आत् ऐच् वृद्धिसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

16, आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi,

This defines the word vriddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sûtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ât and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyâhâra aich, and the pratyâhâra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very from आ having two mâtrâs or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. I. 70 S. 15.) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mâtrâs only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mâtrâs may be more than two. A short vowel has one mâtrâ, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mâtrâ. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as

महा+आशयः = महाशयः॥ Here हा has two matras and not four. So also in खट्वैडकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ+ए has only two, not four, mâtrâs.

१७। अदेङ् गुणः।१।१।२॥

अत् एङ् च गुणसंज्ञः स्यात्॥

17. अ, ए and ओ are called guṇa.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guṇa letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अर्त्ति, "he moves"; एति "he comes", ओखाति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots ऋ, इ, and उख् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति॥

The term Guṇa occurs in sûtras like निर्दशुणः (VII. 3. 82 S. 2346). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root निद् 'to melt."

१८। भूवादयो धातवः।१।३।१॥

क्रियावाचिनो भ्वादयो धातुसंज्ञाः स्युः॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit Grammarians have divided all verbs, into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9 Krî. 10. Chur.

The वा in the sûtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू+आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Tatvabodhini considers that वा is a separate root. According to it the sûtra should be analysed thus भू+वा = भूवौ, भूवौ आदी येषां भूप्रभृतेतथा वा सदृशाः "word Bhû &c., and like वा denoting action are called Dhâtu." वा "to blow."

१९। प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः।१।४।५६॥

इत्यधिकृत्य॥

19. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirî-śvare (I.4.97 S. 644), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipâta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sûtra serves the same purpose as the word cip of I. 4. 55 S. 2575; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnîya take two names, *i.e.*, their own name as well as the name Nipâta.

The letter र in प्राग्रीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, *i. e.*, aphorism I. 4. 97 S. 644. should be taken as the limit, and not sûtra III. 4. 13 S. 3440. which has the word ईश्वरे also.

२० । चादयोऽसत्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥

अद्रव्यार्थाश्चादयो निपातसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

20. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipâta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

२१ । प्रादयः । १ । ४ । ५८ ॥

अद्रव्यार्थाः प्रादयस्तथा ॥

21. The words pra. &c., are called Nipâta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' **प्र, परा, अप, सम्, अनु, अव, निस्, दुस्, वि, आङ्, नि, अधि, अपि, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥**

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipâtas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, *i. e.*, when they are in composition with verbs. Not so, however, the châ &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signify substances they are not Nipâtas. As **परा जयति सेना** "the excellent army conquers". Here the word **परा** is not a Nipâta.

२२ । उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे । १ । ४ । ५९ ॥

22. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As **प्र + नयति = प्रणयति.** Here the dental **न** is changed into cerebral **ण** because of the **प्र** getting the designation of upasarga (See sûtra VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287). Similarly **परिणयति, प्रणायकः, परिणायकः ॥**

२३ । गतिश्च । १ । ४ ॥ ६० ॥

प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसंज्ञा गतिसंज्ञाश्च स्युः ॥ प्र परा अप सम् अनु अव निस निर् दुस् दुर् वि आङ् नि अधि अपि अति सु उत् अभि प्रति परि उप । एते प्रादयः ॥

23. The words pra &c., are called also Gati (as well as upasarga) when in composition with a verb.

२४ । नेर्गदनदपतपदघुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६४ ॥

निषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषा संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

24. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sûtra defines the word विभाषा. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ :—prâpta-vibhâshâ aprâpta-vibhsâhâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two. This sûtra specially applies to the last class.

Thus the root ष्विद 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा ष्वेः (V. I. 30 S. 1695) forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa. or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुशाव or शिष्वाय ॥

२५ । स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । १ । १ । ६८ ॥

शब्दस्य स्वं रूपं संज्ञि शब्दशास्त्रे या संज्ञा तां विना ॥

25. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word'. The sense of the sûtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूप, *viz.*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावकः ज्वलनः &c.

२६ । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य । १ । १ । ७२ ॥

विशेषणं तदन्तस्य संज्ञा स्यात् स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥ * समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः * ॥ डिगिद्वर्ण ग्रहणवर्जम् ° ॥

26. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sûtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97, S. 2842.) declaring "let there be the affix यत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means

and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चेयम्. Therefore, this sûtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels ; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sûtra एरच् (III. 3. 56, S. 3231.) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ ॥ Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samâsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sûtra II. 1. 24, S. 686. declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'involved in pain.' The present sûtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita ; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टं + परमश्रितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sûtra IV. 1. 99, S. 1101, declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः । But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूचनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूचनड will be called सौचनाडिः and not as above.

The above vârtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vârtika does not apply to words formed by affixes that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऊ, ऌ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26, S. 3012) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kritavat will apply also to the word which ends in kritavat. Thus the feminine of kritavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6, S. 455) the feminine of sukritavat will be sukritavati. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षिः the son of Daksha.'

२७ । विरामो ऽवसानम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

वर्णानामभावोऽवसानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

27. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasâna.

The word avasâna occurs in sûtras VIII. 3. 15, S. 76 &c.

२८ परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता, । १ । ४ । १०९ ॥

वर्णानामतिशयितः सान्निधिः संहितासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

28, The closest proximity of letters, *(there being the intervention of half a mâtrâ or prosodial length between them)* is called contact or sanhitâ.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As इत्यत्र = इति + अत्र.

२९ सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । १ । ४ । १४ ॥

सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

29. That which ends in sup (case-affix IV. 1. 2. S. 183) or in tiṅ (III. 4. 78 S. 2154 tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

३० हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः । १ । १ । ७ ॥

अज्भिरव्यवहिता हलः संज्ञाः स्युः ॥

30. Consonants unseparated by vowels are called conjunct consonants.

३१ ह्रस्वं लघु । १ । ४ । १० ॥

31. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

३२ संयोगेगुरु । १ । ४ । ११ ॥

संयोगे परे ह्रस्वं गुरुसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

32. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

३३ दीर्घञ्च । १ । ४ । १२ ॥

33. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

अथ परिभाषा प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER II.

PARIBHÂSHÂS OR RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

३४ । इको गुणवृद्धी । १ । १ । ३ ॥

गुणवृद्धिशब्दाभ्यां यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयेते तत्रेक इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥

34. In the absence of any special sthânî, whenever guṇa or vṛiddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, ṛi, and ḷi long and short,) of that expression.

Wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vṛiddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, there the word "ikaḥ" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of ik," is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular sthâni or the letter to be replaced.

Thus sûtra VII. 3. 84 S. 2164 declares:—"when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthâni or the letter which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikaḥ" must be read into the sûtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an Á. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of ऌ is अल्; and their Vṛiddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी + अति = ने + अति = नयति "he leads."

३५ । अचश्च । १ । २ । २८ ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतशब्दैर्यत्राज्विधीयते तत्राऽच इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

When in this book 'short' 'long' or 'prolated' is taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dîrgha* or *pluta*, there the word achaḥ, in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of the vowel" is to be supplied to complete the sense.

As will be found in the sûtra I. 2. 47. S. 318 "there is the substitution of *harsva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'in the place of the vowel' must be inserted in this sûtra to complete the sense. That is:—the hrasva is substituted in the place of the *vowel* of the crude-form. As ई is shortened to इ in forming the compound with अति in अतिरि, नौ to अतिनु, गो to अतिगु ॥

३६ । आद्यन्तौ टकितौ । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

टिच्कितौ यस्यौक्तौ तस्य क्रमादाद्यन्तावयवौ स्तः ॥

36. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory ट् or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sûtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters ट् and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is ट् that augment is to be placed *before* the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कित् augment is to be added *after* the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sûtra (VII. 2. 35 S. 2184) which says "ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except य, have इट्". The question may arise where is this इट् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ârdhadhâtuka affix? This sûtra answers the question. The indicatory ट् shows, that it is to be placed before the ârdhadhâtuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ârdhadhâtuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इट्. Thus भू + इट् + स्यति = भविष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly लविता 'he will cut.'

'Similarly by sûtra VII. 3. 40. S. 2595 the root भी takes the augment चुक् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी + चुक् + णिच् + ते = भीषयते 'he frightens.'

३७ । मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः । १ । १ । ४७ ॥

अच इति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । अचां मध्ये योऽन्त्यस्तस्मात्परस्तस्यैवान्तावयवो मित्स्यात् ॥

37. The augment that has an indicatory म् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final portion of that which it augments.

This sûtra explains the use of the indicatory म्. The augments having an indicatory म्, technically called मित् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नुम्, in which उ and म् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore, it is said "let नुम् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस्

+ नुम् +इ (VII. 1. 72 S. 314)=पयान्सि (VI. 4. 8 S. 250). Here न् is added between य and स् *i. e.* after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word : and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly हुङ्+श+ति (III. 1. 77 S. 2534)= हुङ्+नुम्+अ+ति (VI. 1. 59 S. 2402)—हुञ्चति। Similarly विरुणद्धि.

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sûtra is an exception to sûtras I. 1. 49 S. 38 and III. 1. 2, S. 181 by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

३८। षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा। १। १। ४९॥

अनिर्धारितसंबन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा बोध्या। स्थानं च प्रसङ्गः॥

38. The force of the genitive case in a sûtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sûtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sûtras of Pâṇini. The genitive case or shâshṭhi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sutra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.

Thus in the sutra 34. the word इक् is in the genitive case ; the literal translation being :—" of ik there is guṇa and vriddhi." But " of " here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation " in the place of." So that the sutra means ' in the place of इक्.'

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or ' occasion.' Thus in the sentence दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthâne, means ' prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sûtras अस्तेर्भूः (II. 4. 52 S. 2470), or ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53 S. 2453), the words 'asti,' and ' brû ' are in the genitive case, and mean, ' wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस् ; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ब्रू.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrîhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrîhi, see II. 2. 24 and 35), and it qualifies the

word shashṭhî. The compound means स्थानि योगोऽस्यो, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthâna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound ; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c. Or स्थानन योगोऽस्या अस्ति, the ए in sthâne is anomalous.

३९। स्थानेऽन्तरतमः । १ । १ । ५० ॥

प्रसङ्गे सति सदृशतम आदेशः स्यात् ॥ यत्रानेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानत आन्तर्यं बलीयः ॥

39. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.) ; (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, S. 85 " when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sûtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus— दण्ड + अग्रं = दण्डाग्रं ; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.* अ and इ and उ have all one mâtrâ ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first ; as, चेता स्तोता.

४०। तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य पूर्वस्य बोध्यम् ॥

40. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sûtras, the operation directed, is to be understood

as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sûtra. When in a sûtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sûtra is to be performed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sûtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77. S.47) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sûtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ ऌ followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्, व्, र्, ल्, (यण्). The literal translation of the sûtra being :—'Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.' The force of '*in*' or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus दधि+उदकम्=दध्युदकम्; so माध्विदम्, पचत्योदनम्॥

४१। तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य। १। १। ६७॥

पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य परस्य ज्ञेयम्॥

41. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sûtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sûtra VIII. 4. 61, S. 118 declares that 'after उद्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.' Thus उद्+स्थानम्. Here the word उदः is exhibited in the original sûtra in the ablative case, and by the present sûtra it means that a dental letter थ् must be substituted in the place of stha, and by I. 1. 54, S. 44 this dental takes the place of स् we have उद्+स्थानम्=उत्थ्-थानम्.

४२। अलोन्त्यस्य। १। १। ५२॥

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टान्त्यस्यादेशः स्यात्॥

42. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sûtra VII. 2. 102, S. 265 it is declared त्यदादीनामः "in the place of त्यद् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word त्यद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sûtra, that the last letter of त्यद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

४३ । ङिच्च । १ । १ । ५३ ॥

अयमप्यन्त्यस्यैव स्यात् । सर्वस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

43. And the substitute which has an indicatory ङ् (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sûtra is an exception by anticipation to sûtra I. 1. 55, S. 45. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25, S. 921) by which it is declared:—'In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute आनङ् is a ङित् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz*, the ऋ of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word ; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

४४ । आदेः परस्य । १ । १ । ५४ ॥

परस्य यद्विहितं तत्तस्यादेर्बोध्यम् । अलोऽन्त्यस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

44. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. This is an exception to sûtra I. 1. 52, S. 42. (अलोऽन्त्यस्य) To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97, S. 941) by which it is declared : "In the place of अप् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ईप्." This rule may be stated in other words as:—'In the place of अप् there is ईप् when अप् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.' Now it is clear that ईप् is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sûtra 42 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sûtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ईप् replaces the अ of अप् and we have द्वि + अप् = द्वीप (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74, S. 940) 'an island,' अन्तरीप 'promontory.'

४५ । अनेकाल शित्सर्वस्य । १ । १ । ५५ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अलोऽन्त्यसूत्रापवादः । अष्टाभ्य औश्भ्यादावादेः परस्येत्येतदपि परस्यादेनेह बाध्यते ॥

45. A substitute consisting of more than one lette

and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sûtra is an exception to sûtra I. 1. 52, S. 42 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sûtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sûtra ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53, S. 2453) which means 'in the place of ब्रू let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ब्रू and not only the last letter ऊ. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ब्रू is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ब्रू is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

Thus in the sutra अट आट्य औश् (VII. 1. 21, S. 372) "after the stem of अट आट्य is substituted for the ending of the Nominative and Accusative plural." The substitute औश् is a शित् substitute and therefore it replaces the whole of the affixes शस् and जस् not only their initials as would have been otherwise required by the preceding rule आदेः परस्य. For by that rule the initials only of the affixes जस् and शस् would have been replaced by औ. This sûtra is in fact an exception to the last sutra.

४६ । स्वरितेनाधिकारः । १ । ३ । ११ ॥

स्वरितत्वयुक्तं शब्दस्वरूपमधिकृतं बोध्यम् ॥ परनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानामुत्तरं बलीयः ॥ असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥ अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः ॥ निमित्तं विनाशोन्मुखं दृष्ट्वा तत्प्रयुक्तं कार्यं न कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

46. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikâra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sûtras, there is any sûtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sûtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sûtras from the following.

As a rule, the sûtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sûtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sûtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sûtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1 1. S. 180.) धातोः (III. 1. 91 S. 2829), अङ्गस्य (VI 4. 1 S. 200). भस्य (VI. 4. 129 S. 233).

Paribhâshâ. Of (these four kinds of rules,—*viz*) a subsequent (rule,) a nitya (rule) an antaranga (rule), and an apavâda (rule), each following

rule possesses greater force than any one of, or all, the rules mentioned before it.

Note:—By I. 4. 2, S. 175. we are taught that a subsequent (पर) rule supersedes a rule which precedes (पूर्व). This Paribhasha further expands the same.

An *ânitya* rule is stronger than a Para (पर) rule. As तुदादिभ्यः श्नः (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) तुदति; रुधादिभ्यः श्नम् (III. 1.78, S. 2543) as रुणद्धि, Here the nitya affixes श्न and श्नम् debar even the पर rule of Guna of the light penultimate vowel of VII. 3. 86. S. 2189. Similarly धिनवाव and धिनवाम Here the augment आट् by III 4. 92. S. 2204 being a *nitya* rule supersedes even the *subsequent* (पर) rule VI. 4. 107 S. 2333 which required the elision of the उ of धिनु before the affixes व and म ॥

Thus तुद् + तिप् VII. 1 77 S. 3576. Vikarana श्न before Sarvadhâtuka; (nitya).

VII. 3. 86 S. 2189. Guna for उ (para but anitya). III. 1. 77 S. 2534. applies before the substitution of guna for उ and it would apply also *if* guna were substituted for उ, and *if* तुद् were changed to तोद् ॥ On the other hand VII. 3. 86 applies before श्न is added to तुद्, but after the addition of श्न to तुद् guna could not by VII. 3. 86 be substituted for उ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly III. 1. 77 is nitya and VII. 3. 86 is anitya; III. 1. 77 takes, therefore, effect first and we have तुद + ति, and subsequently VII. 3. 86 is no longer applicable. A nitya is thus defined :—A rule which would apply if another rule that applies simultaneously were to have taken effect, and which applies when that other rule does not take effect, is *nitya*, a rule with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*.

An *antaranga* rule posesses greater force than even a *nitya* rule. Antaranga is a rule the causes of the application of which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a bahiranga rule; in like manner that rule the causes of the application of which lie without or beyond the sum of the causes of that antranga rule is bahiranga. In the formation of मामणिनी nom. dual of the neuter noun मामणी, we have two rules, first VII. 1. 73. S. 320. by which न, is added before the dual case affix शी; and I. 2. 47 S. 318. which requires the shortening of the stem मामणी to मामणि ॥ Though the न् augment is nitya, it is for the time being suspended in favour of the antaranga rule causing shortening and when the stem is shortened then the न् is added. For had न् been added first, then मामणीन् would end in a consonant and the rule of shortening I. 2. 47 S. 318 would not have applied, as the stem was not vowel-ending.

An apavâda possesses greater force even than an antaranga rule. A rule which is given in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which or to all of which another rule can not but apply, or in other words

which all fall already under some other rule, supersedes the latter. Thus दैत्यारिः, श्रीशः ॥ दैत्य + अरि or श्री + ईश. here the antaranga rules आद्गुणः and इकोवर्णाच would supersede even the पर rule of savarna-dîrgha, and अ + अ would be आ ई + ई would be ई ॥ But savarṇa-dîrgha rule being an apavâda rule supersedes the antaranga guṇa and yaṇ-âdeśâ.

Paribhâshâ. That which is *bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). Thus, in the formation of स्यान, from सिव् + न, ऊ is substituted for the व् of सिव् by VI.4.19S.2561. we obtain thus सिऊ + न. Here two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* VI. 1. 77 S. 47. which teaches the substitution of उ् for इ before ऊ and VII. 3. 86 by which guṇa should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix न, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect ? The substitution of उ् for इ is caused by ऊ, that of guṇa for इ by न; as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of उ् lies within or before the cause न of the substitution of guṇa, and, on the other hand, the cause न of the substitution of guṇa without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of उ्,—the substitution of उ for इ and the rule VI. 1. 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga;* and the substitution of guṇa for इ and the rule VII. 3. 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga.* Accordingly VI. 1. 77 must take effect, because VII. 3. 86, so far as the taking effect of VI. 1. 77 is concerned, does not exist.

Paribhâshâ. The followers of Pâṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

In other words, ' an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (operation) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation).

———:o:———

अच्संधि प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER III.

ON VOWEL—SANDHIS.

४७ । इको यणचि ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

इकः स्थाने यण् स्यादचि संहितायां विषये । सुधी उपास्य इति स्थिते । स्थानत आन्तर्यादीकारस्य यकारः । सुध्य् उपास्य इति जाते ॥

47. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल्, are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ऌ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sûtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1, 101, S. 85 namely, the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding, for the application of this rule. Thus सुधी + उपास्यः Here the long ई of सुधी is replaced by य् which is the nearest substitute, having regard to sthâna or organ of utterance.

Thus we get सुध्य् + उपास्य ॥

This gives occasion to the application of the following rule requiring reduplication :—

४८ । अनचि च ॥ ८ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अचः परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तो न त्वचि ॥ इति धकारस्य द्वित्वम् ॥

48. When a vowel does not follow, there is optionally reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

Therefore, the letter ध is doubled, and we have :—

सु ध् ध् य् + उपास्य

Now, a doubt arises as to the applicability of this rule of doubling by the following consideration ;—

४९ । स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५६ ॥

आदेशः स्थानिवत्स्यान्न तु स्याच्चलाश्रयविधौ । अनेनेह यकारस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाचूत्वमाश्रित्यानचीति द्वित्वनिषेधो न शङ्क्योऽनल्विधाविति तन्निषेधात् ॥

49. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthâni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the ope-

ration of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

Now the substitute य should be considered as इ which it has replaced; and as इ is a vowel, this य् should be considered as a vowel. That being so, ध् is not followed by a consonant, but by a vowel, and so अनाचि च does not apply, and ध् should not be reduplicated.

This doubt, however, is set at rest by the next half of this sûtra itself, which says अनल्विधौ—"not when a rule of letter is to be applied." The य् is like इ, but not for the purposes of the application of the Letter—rule like अनचि च ॥ The ध् therefore is properly doubled.

But is not this अनल्विधि exception set aside by the following sûtra ?

५० । अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५७ ॥

अल्विध्यर्थमिदम् । परनिमित्तोऽजादेशः स्थानिवत्स्यात् स्थानिभूतादचः पूर्वस्येन इदस्य विधौ कर्तव्ये ॥ इति स्थानिवद्भावे प्राप्ते ॥

50. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes, when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sûtra consists of three words:— अचः genitive of the pratyâhâra अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an âdeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words âdeśa and sthânivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sûtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pûrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pûrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sûtra thus comes to mean that an âdeśa which replaces a vowel becomes sthânivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an âdeśa.

Therefore य would be स्थानिवत् to इ because it is a vowel substitute caused by something which follows namely उ of उपास्य and the rule of doubling is to be applied to ध a letter which precedes य ॥

To this we answer "No", because of the following sûtra.

५१ । न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णाऽनुस्वारदीर्घजश्विधिषु ॥ १ । १ । ५८ ॥

पदस्य चरमावयवे द्विर्वचनादौ च कर्तव्ये परानिमित्तोऽजादेशो न स्थानिवत् । इति स्थानिवद्भावनिषेधः ॥

51. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sûtra lays down an exception to the previous sûtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânivat under certain conditions. This sûtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânivat under the following circumtances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.'

2. द्विर्वचनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of सुधी + उपास्य we have सुध्यृ + उपास्य Here ई is changed into य् If this य् were sthânivat to ई, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before य् would be inapplicable. But य् is not equivalent to ई, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form सुद्ध्युपास्य Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthânî.

3. वरेविधि, ' a rule relating to the affix वरच्.

4. यलोपविधिः ' a rule relating to the dropping of ya.'

5. स्वरविधिः ' a rule relating to accent.'

6. सवर्णविधिः 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.'

7. अनुस्वारविधिः ' a rule relating to anuswâra.'

8. दीर्घविधिः ' a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.'

9. जश्विधिः' a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जश्, in the place of hard consonants.'

10. चर्विधिः ' a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.

५२ । झलां जशोऽन्ते ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

स्पष्टम् । इति धकारस्य दकारः ॥

52, In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus सुध्यृ + उपास्य = सुद्ध्यृ + उपास्य ॥

At this stage, the sûtra after the following turns up for application.

५३ । अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ १ । १ । ६० ॥

प्रसक्तस्यादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

53. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision,

५४ । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ ८ । २ । २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य लोपः स्यात् । इति यलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ यणो मयो द्वे वाच्ये * ॥ मय इति पञ्चमी यण इति षष्ठीति पक्षे यकारस्यापि द्वित्वम् । तदिह धकारयकारयोर्द्वित्वविकल्पाच्चत्वारि रूपाणि ॥ एकधमेकयम् । द्विधं द्वियम् । द्विधमेकयम् । एकधं द्वियम् । सुद्ध्युपास्यः । मद्धरिः । धात्रंशः । लाकृतिः ॥

54. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

Therefore in सुद्ध्यु+उपास्य, the final letter of the conjunct consonat, namely the letter य् should be elided. But this mishap to the letter य् is prevented by the following *Vârtika.* यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः "Prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of semivowels." Therefore the य् is not elided.

But then appears the following *Vârtika* which requires the doubling of य् also, यणोमयोर्द्वेवाच्ये "The letters of the यण् class are reduplicated after letters of the मय् class."

Thus we have four forms with the doubling of ध् and य् optionally.

1. One ध् and one य् as सुध्युपास्यः ।
2. Two ध्s and two य्s as सुद्ध्यु्पास्यः ।
3. Two धs and one य् as सुद्ध्युपास्यः ।
4. One ध् and two य्s as सुध्य्युपास्यः ।

So also मधु+अरिः = मध्वरिः ; धात्रंशः, लाकृतिः ।

५५ । नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ४८ ॥

पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे स्त आदिनीशब्दे परे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने । पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे । आक्रोशे किम् । तत्त्वकथने द्विर्वचनं भवत्येव । पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी ॥ तस्पुरे च * ॥ पुत्रपुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे ॥ वा हतजग्धयोः * ॥ पुत्रहती । पुत्रजग्धी । पुत्रजग्धी ॥

55. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word âdinî follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by sûtra 48. Thus पुत्रादिनी

स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication necessarily takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी 'a kind of serpent, that eats up her young ones'.

Vârt :—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्रपुत्रादिनी स्वमसि-पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vârt:—Optionally so when the words हस्त and जन्ध follow. As पुत्रहस्ती or पुत्रहस्ती, पुत्रजन्धी or पुत्रजन्धी ॥

५६ । त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५० ॥

त्र्यादिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु वा द्वित्वम् । इनन्द्रः । इन्द्रः । राष्ट्रम् । राष्ट्रम् ॥

56. According to the option of Śâkaṭâyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः इनन्द्रः, राष्ट्रम्, राष्ट्रम ॥

५७ । सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५१ ॥

द्वित्वं न । अर्कः । ब्रह्मा ॥

57. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, ब्रह्मा ॥

५८ । दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ८ । ४ । ५२ ॥

द्वित्वं न । शात्रम् । पात्रम् ॥

58. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शात्रम्, पात्रम्,

५९ । अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ८ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अचः पराभ्यां रेफहकाराभ्यां परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तः । हर्ष्वुभवः ॥ नह्य्यस्ति ॥

59. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह् following a vowel.

The word यर् of VIII. 4. 45 S. 116. is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus हर्ष्वुभवः, न हय्यस्ति ॥

६० । हलो यमां यमि लोपः । ८ । ४ ॥ ६४ ॥

हलः परस्य यमो लोपः स्याद्वा यमि । इति लोपपक्षे द्वित्वाभावपक्षे चैकरूपं तुल्यम् । लोपारम्भफलं तु आदित्यो देवताऽस्येत्यादित्यं हविरित्यत्रैव ॥ यमां यमीति यथासंख्यविज्ञानान्नेह ॥ माहात्म्यम् ॥

60. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

In the case of elision (as required by this rule) as well as in the case of want of reduplication, (for the reduplication is after all *optional*), there would be one common form. Why then teach this lopa rule at all? This lopa rule is particularly applicable in cases like आदित्यं हविः To the word आदित्य is added the affix य (ष्यञ्) by IV. 1. 85, S. 1077: and we have आदित्य; now this य not having been obtained by *doubling*, would not have disappeared by any one of the preceding rules. Hence this lopa-rule. Thus âditya+ya (IV. 1. 85) = âdity+ya (the *a* is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 3 11.) = âdityya. Then by applying the present rule we have âditya with one y only.

There are nine letters in यम् pratyâhâra, i. e. य, व, र्, ल, ञ, म, ङ, ण and न; when यम् follows another यम्; here the substitute and sthâni contain equal number of letters, therefore the rule of yathâ sankhya I. 3. 10., S. 128 applies. Namely य must be followed by य, व by व, र by र and so on: and not य followed by व, or र etc. Therefore there is no elision of म in महात्म्यम् though म a yam letter is followed by य another yam letter.

६१ । एचोऽयवायावः ॥ ६ । १ । ७८ ॥

एचः क्रमादेषु अय् आय् अव् आव् एते स्युरचि ॥

61. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, आय्, अव् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Note.—The yathâ sankhya rule 1. 3. 10 S. 128 applies here also, and so ए is replaced by अय, ऐ by आय्, ओ by अव् and औ by आव् ॥ Or अय् would be the proper substitute of ए, अव् of ओ etc. by the rule of sthâne-antartama I. 1. 50 S 39. For ए etc. are compound letters or diphthongs, ए = अ + इ, ओ = अ + उ etc. and so their most approximate substitutes are अय्, अव् etc. Hence the author of Siddhânta has not read the yathâ sankhya rule here, but later on.

Here arises a doubt, are not the final य् and व् in these substitutes, इत् letters? For were we not taught in sûtra हलन्त्यम् 1. 3. 3. S. 1. that all final consonants are इत्? If then, these य and व be इत्, then they require to be elided by the following rule.

६२ । तस्य लोपः ॥ १ । ३ । ९ ॥

तस्येतो लोपः स्यात् । इति यवयोर्लोपो न । उच्चारणसामर्थ्यात् । एवं चेत्संज्ञापीह न भवति । हरये । विष्णवे । नायकः । पावकः ॥

62. Of this, (namely of what which has been called इत्), there is elision.

There is no elision of the final अ, and व् in अय्, अव्, आय् and आव्, because these letters are not इत् or indicatory. Why are they not indicatory? Because the very fact of their being expressly so taught shows it: otherwise the substitutes would have been अ and आ only: in fact, the य् and व् do not get the designation इत् at all here.

Now applying this rule of diphthong sandhi, we have: हरे + ए = हरये; विष्णो + ए = विष्णवे, नै + अकः = नायकः; पौ + अकः = पावकः ॥

६३ । वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

यकारादौ प्रत्यये परे ओदौतोरव् आव् एतौ स्तः । गोर्विकारो गव्यम् । गोपयसोर्यदिति यत् । नावा तार्यं नाव्यम् । नौवयोधर्मेत्यादिना यत् ॥ गोर्यूतौ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च * ॥ गव्यूतिः । ऊतियूतीत्यादिना यूतिशब्दो निपातितः ॥ वान्त इत्यत्र वकारादूगोर्यूतावित्यत्र छकाराद्वा पूर्वभागे लोपोव्योर्वलीति लोपेन वकारः प्रश्लिष्यते । तेन श्रूयमाणवकारान्त आदेशः स्यात् । वकारो न लुप्यत इति यावत् ॥

63. The substitution of अव् and आव् for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in व् viz अव् and आव्. Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sûtra, those which end in व् (viz. अव् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ. Thus गो + य = गव् + य = गव्य milk By sutra IV-3-160S 1538 the affix यत् is added to गो and पयस् in the sense of modification. Similarly नौ + य = नाव्यम् (what can be crossed by a boat). Here also यत् is added by IV-4-91 S. 1643 in the sense of "to be crossed," the word so formed meaning 'a river' &c.

Vart:—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas. As गो + यूति = गव्यूति as आनो मित्रा वरुणा घृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vârt:—This substitution takes place in secular literature even, when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गव्यूति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ गव्यूति meaning क्रोशयुगम् ॥ The word यूति is an irregularly formed word so taught in sûtra III. 3. 97. S. 3274.

Now a doubt arises in the case of गव्यूति; should not the व् be elided by VIII. 3, 22. S. 171 or by VIII. 3. 19. S. 67. No. For the sûtra वान्तोयि प्रत्यये has really a व् in latency before it; the real sûtra being वुवान्तो &c. This व् is invisible by the rule लोपो व्योर्वलि VI. 1. 66 S 873. So also in the vârtika गोर्यूतौ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्, there is this invisible व् before छ ॥ Therefore the âdeśa is अव् with the व्, that is, the व् is not elided.

Why the व् is not liable to elision in श्रव्यं and नाव्यं by the application of VIII. 3. 19 or 22, and why should it be so liable in श्रव्यूति only? The rules VIII. 3. 19 & 22 apply to pada bases only. Now गो before यूति is a Pada; while गो or नौ before यत् is not a Pada but a Bha base, by I. 4. 18. S. 231.

६४ । धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ६ । १ । ८० ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये परे धातोरेचश्चेद्यान्तादेशस्तर्हि तन्निमित्तस्यैव नान्यस्य । लव्यम् । अवश्यलाव्यम् तन्निमित्तस्यैवेति किम् ॥ ओयते । औयत ॥

64. For the final diphthongs ओ and औ of a root, are substituted अव् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एचः, यान्तोयि प्रत्यये are understood in this sûtra. The word तन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य ॥ Thus लू forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III. 1. 97 S. 284 2.) this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: S. 2168. Thus लू + य = लो + य, which according to the present sûtra becomes लव्यम्॥ So also पू—पो + य = पव्यम् ॥ लू + ण्यत् (III. 1. 125 S. 3304.) = लौ + य = अवश्य लाव्यम् and अवश्य पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ + वे + यक् + ते ॥ Here by Samprasâraṇa (VI. 1. 15 S. 2409), वे becomes उ, as आ + उ + य + ते; now by sandhi आ + उ = ओ VI. 1. 87 S. 69, we have ओ + यते = ओयते ॥ Since ओ is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also औयत, लौयमानः, पौयमानः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). The word एव in the aphorism has force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and औ before य are changed then only to अव् and आव् when य has caused the production of ओ; औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

६५ । क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८१ ॥

यान्तादेशनिपातनार्थमिदम् ॥ क्षेतुं शक्यं क्षय्यम् । जेतुं शक्यं जय्यम् । शक्यार्थे किम् । क्षेतुं जेतुं योग्यं क्षेयं पापं जेयं मनः ॥

65. In क्षय्य and जय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix यत् (III. 1. 97 S. 2842). assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षेतुं = क्षय्य (क्षि + य = क्षे + य); so also जय्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, जेयं मनः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

६६ । क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८२ ॥

तस्मै प्रकृत्यर्थायेदं तदर्थम् । क्रेतारः क्रीणीयुरिति बुद्धया आपणे प्रसारितं क्रय्यम् । क्रेयमन्यत् । क्रयणार्हमित्यर्थः ॥

66. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for एय् when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to अय ॥ The word तदर्थ means 'for the purpose of that' i. e., for the purpose of being bought by the purchasers. As क्रय्या गौः, क्रय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति क्रय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

६७ । लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८ । ३ । १९ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्वा लोपोऽशि परे ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति लोपशास्त्रस्थासिद्धत्वान्न स्वरसंधिः । हर एहि । हरयेहि । विष्ण इह । विष्णविह । श्रिया उद्यतः श्रियायुद्यतः । गुरा उत्कः । गुरावुत्कः ॥ कानि सन्ति कौ स्त इत्यत्रास्तेरलोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वेन यणादेशौ प्राप्तौ न पदान्तोतिसूत्रेण पदान्तविधौ तन्निषेधान्न स्तः ॥

67. य् and व् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अय् letter, according to the opinion of Śâkalya.

When this *lopa* once takes place, there is no further combination of vowels; because the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् of VIII. 2. 1. S. 12. intervenes and makes this lopa as if non-existent. Thus, we have हरे + एहि = हरएहि or हरयेहि (O Hari; come). so also विष्णो + इह = विष्ण इह or विष्णविह । and, श्रिये + उद्यतः = श्रियाउद्यतः or श्रियायुद्यतः; गुरौ + उत्कः = गुराउत्कः or गुरावुत्कः ॥

In the following examples कानि + सन्ति and कौ + स्तः the rule VI. 1. 77 S. 47 and this rule would have applied respectively because सन्ति is really असन्ति and स्तः is really अस्तः the अ being elided. An âdeśa is equal to the स्थानि as we have been taught in Sutra I. 1. 56 S.49. Therefore we ought to have forms like कान्यसन्ति and कास्तः, But this is prevented by Sutra I. 1. 58 S 51. for an ádeśa is not equal to a स्थानि when a Padânta rule is to be applied. Now the substitution of semivowels by sûtra VI. 1. 77 S. 47 or the *lopa* of this Sûtra is a Padânta rule and hence the âdeśa is not equal to a Sthâni.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, द्वावत्र or द्वा अत्र, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः ॥

६८ । एकः पूर्वपरयोः । ६ । १ । ८४ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

68. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. In every sûtra upto VI. 1. 112 S. 255. (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekâdesa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c.

६९ । आद्गुणः ॥ ६ । १ । ८७ ॥

अवर्णादचि परे पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणादेशः स्यात्संहितायाम् । उपेन्द्रः । रमेशः । गङ्गोदकम् ॥

69. The guṇa is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ+a vowel=guṇa).

The word अचि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these vowels, there is the single substitute, namely, guṇa. Thus उप+इन्द्रः =उपेन्द्रः ; रमा+ईशः=रमेशः ; गङ्गा+उदकम्=गङ्गोदकम् ॥

७० । उरण् रपरः ॥ १ । १ । ५१ ॥

ऋ इति त्रिशतः संज्ञेत्युक्तम् । तत्स्थानि योऽण् स रपरः सन्नेव प्रवर्तते । तत्रान्तरतम्यात्कृष्णद्विरित्यत्राऽर् । तवल्कार इत्यत्राऽल् । अर्धो रङ्-यामिति पक्षे द्वित्वम् ॥

70. When a letter of अण् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for ऋ it is always followed by a र्.

This sûtra consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऋ and means literally 'of ऋ' or 'in the place of ऋ'; the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sûtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऋ ऌ Thus, there are only three guṇa vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for ऋ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of ऋ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of ऋ, the actual substitute is अर् ॥

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyâhâra formed by the letter र् and अ of ऌण्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ल्. In that case the sûtra would mean that अण् substitutes of ऋ and ऌ are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus the guṇa of *ṛi*=ar, of *ḷi*=al.

It has already been taught that अक् is the name of 30 letters. *Viz:*—18 forms of ऋ and 12 forms of ऌ. In the place of these 30 Vowels, whenever an अ and इ or उ is substituted, it must always be followed by a ऽ. Therefore कृष्ण + ऋद्धिः = कृष्णर्द्धिः Here अ is followed by ऽ as the nearest substitute of ऋ. Similarly तव + ऌकारः = तवल्कारः Here अ is followed by ऽ as the nearest substitute of ऌ. Similarly there is doubling when the rule अचो रहाभ्याम् (VIII. 4. 46 S. 59) is applied.

७१। झरोझरि सवर्णे। ८। ४। ६५॥

हलः परस्य झरो लोपो वा स्यात्सवर्णे झरि। द्वित्वाभावे लोपे सत्येकधम्। असति लोपे द्वित्वलोपयोर्वा त्रिधम्। सति द्वित्वे लोपे चासति त्रिधम्। कृष्णर्धिः। कृष्णर्द्धिः। कृष्णर्द्धिः॥ वण इति पञ्चमी मय इति षष्ठीति पक्षे ककारस्य द्वित्वम्। लस्य त्वनयेति। तेन तवल्कार इत्यत्र रूपचतुष्टयम्॥ Verse: द्वित्वं लस्यैव कस्यैव नोभयोरुभयोरपि। तवल्कारादिषु बुधैर्बोध्यं रूपचतुष्टयम्॥

71. A mute or Sibilant (झर्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

When there is not doubling and there is *lopa* under this rule, then we have only one ध्. But when there is no *lopa* or when there is doubling, then we have two ध्s. Thirdly, when there is doubling, but there is no *lopa*, then we have three ध्s. Thus Kṛishṇardhiḥ; or Kṛishṇarddhiḥ or Kṛishṇardddhiḥ.

By the Vârtika वणो मयो द्वेवाच्ये (See Sutra 54), when वणः is taken in the ablative case and मयः in the genitive case; namely, when the Vârtika is translated as "after a वण letter, there is doubling of the मय letters," in that alternative the क् is also doubled in तवल्कारः. The ल् here also will be doubled by the rule of अनचि च (VII. 4. 47. S. 48). Therefore तवल्कारः will have 4 forms as given in the verse above mentioned. As Tavalkâraḥ; Tavallkâraḥ; Tavalkkâraḥ; Tavallkkâraḥ.

७२। वृद्धिरेचि। ६। १। ८८॥

आदेचि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात्। गुणापवादः। कृष्णैकत्वम्। गङ्गौघः। देवैश्वर्यम्। कृष्णौत्कण्ठ्यम्॥

72. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-I-diphthong=vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz, the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the Sûtra 69. Thus Kṛishṇa + Ekatvam = Kṛishṇai katvam; Gaṅgâ + oghaḥ = Gaṅgaughaḥ, Deva + aiśvaryam = devaiśvaryam. Kṛishṇa + autkaṇṭhyam = Kṛishṇaut kaṇṭhyam.

७३ । एत्येधत्यूठ्सु । ६ । १ । ८६ ॥

अवर्णादजाद्योरेत्येधत्योरूठि च परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । पररूपगुणापवादः । इयेति । उपेधते । प्रष्ठौहः । एजाद्योः किम् । उपेतः । मा भवान्प्रेदिधत् । पुरस्तादपवादन्यायेनेयं वृद्धिरेङि पररूपमित्यस्यैव बाधिका न त्वामाङोश्चेत्यस्य । तेनावैहीति वृद्धिरसाधुरेव ॥ अक्षादूहिन्यामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥ स्वादिरेरिणोः * ॥ स्वैरः । स्वेनेरितुं शीलमस्येति स्वैरी । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्वैरिणी । प्रादूहोढ्रोढ्येषष्येषु * ॥ प्रौहः । प्रौढः ॥ अर्थवदग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ "ब्रश्चेतिसूत्रे राजेः पृथग्ग्राजिग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकात्" । तेन ऊढग्रहणेन क्तान्तमेव गृह्यते न तु कतवत्वन्तस्यैकदेशः । प्रोढवान् । प्रौढिः ॥ इष इच्छाँयां तुदादिः । इष गतौ दिवादिः । इष आभिमुख्ये क्रयादिः । एषां घञि ण्यति च एषः एष्यः इति रूपे । अत्र पररूप प्राप्तेऽनेन वृद्धिः । प्रैषः । प्रैष्यः ॥ यस्तु ईष उञ्छे । यश्च ईष गतिहिंसादर्शनेषु । तयोर्दीर्घोपधत्वात् ईषः । ईष्यः । तचाद्युणे प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ ऋते च तृतीयासमासे * ॥ सुखेन ऋतः सुखार्तः । तृतीयेति किम् । परमर्तः ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनार्णदशानामृणे * ॥ प्रार्णम् । वत्सतरार्णमित्यादि ॥ ऋणस्यापनयनाय यदन्यद्दानं क्रियते तदृणार्णम् । दशार्णो देशः । नदी च दशार्णा । ऋणशब्दो दुर्गभूमौ जले च ॥

73. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-ा-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-ा-ऊ of ऊढ् (the substitute of वा in वाह् by VI. 4. 132 S. 329).

The whole of the last sûtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sûtra qualifies the root इ in एति, *i. e.* when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध् as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊढ् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप-ा-एधते = उपैधते प्रष्ठ-ा-ऊढ = प्रष्ठौह ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87 S. 69, the present sûtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, S. 78 this sûtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sûtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, S. 80 because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules." Therefore the present rule does not apply here, :— उप + आ-ा-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-ा इव = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vârt :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥

Vârt :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिन्, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैरी, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईर्गतौ: (Ad. 8. स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. S. 694) Another form is स्वैरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायेणेर ते गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78 S, 2988).

Vârt:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊढ, ऊढ, ऊढि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौढः, प्रौढः, प्रौढिः, प्रैषः, प्रैष्यः ॥ But by the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम्; a maxim which we infer from the sutra VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 where the word भाज is taken separately from राज, the rule applies only to ऊढ and not to ऊढवान्. Therefore we have प्रौढवान् and not प्रौढवान्. The word एष is derived from the root इषु 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18). and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ्, and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यत् ॥ This Vârtika ordains Vriddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused परूपः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes, and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vârt:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by ऋत and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as सुखेन ऋतः = सुखार्तः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥

Vârt:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the word ऋण follows the following:—प्र, वत्सतर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वत्सतरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer'.

Vârt:—So also when the words ऋण and दश are followed by ऋणः—as, ऋणार्णम् and दशार्णम् ॥ The word ऋणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasârna is the name of a river and of a country. The word ऋण means inaccessible place as well as water, in addition to its well-known meaning of debt.

७४। उपसर्गादृति धातौ। ६। १। ९१ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादृकारादौ धातौ परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात्। प्रार्च्छति। उपार्च्छति ॥

74. The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upsarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with ऋ, the Vriddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent ऋ ॥ This debars the guna taught in VI. 1. 87. S. 69. Thus उप + ऋच्छति = उपार्च्छति, प्रार्च्छति ॥

७५। अन्तादिवच्च। ६। १। ८५ ॥

योऽयमेकादेशः स पूर्वस्यान्तवदुत्तरस्यादिवत्स्यात्। इति रेफस्य पदान्तत्वे ॥

75. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in VI. 1. 84 S. 68 is considered in the

light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An âdeśa is like the sthâni, but in an ekâdeśa, the sthâni is indeterminate, or rather the sthâni is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sûtra.

Therefore the र् is Padanta in उपार्च्छति &c, and being considered as final, the next rule applies:—

७६ । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

खरि अवसाने च परे रेफस्य विसर्जनीयः स्यात्पदान्ते । इति विसर्गे प्राप्ते । अन्तवद्भावेन पदान्त-रेफस्य न विसर्गः । उभयथर्क्षु कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोरित्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥ उपसर्गेणैव धातोराक्षेपे सिद्धे धातो-रिति योगविभागेन पुनर्वृद्धिविधानार्थम् । तेन ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकोऽपि प्रकृतिभावोऽत्र न भवति ॥

76. The Visarjanîya is substituted for र् before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause, provided this र् is final in a pada.

The word रः is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause.

Therefore the र् of उपार्च्छति should be changed into visarga; but this is not so; because Pâṇini himself in his Sûtras उभयथर्क्षु (VIII. 3. 8, S. 3630) and कर्तरिचर्षिदेवतयोः (III. 2. 186, S. 3167) has not changed the र् into visarga.

The word upsarga itself denotes its correlative dhâtu, as the word father denotes the correlative word son.

The repetition of the word dhâtu in the sûtra VI. 1. 91 S. 74 is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129, S. 92 which causes प्रकृतिभाव or non-sandhi of ऋ. The optional non-sandhi is even prohibited with regard to this ऋ.

७७ । वा सुप्यापिशलेः । ६ । १ । ९२ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादृकारादौ सुब्धातौ परे वृद्धिर्वा स्यात् । आपिशलिग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । प्रार्षभीयति । प्रर्षभीयति । सावर्ण्यात् ऌवर्णस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ प्राल्कारीयति । प्रल्कारीयति । तपरत्वाद्दीर्घे न । उपॠकारीयति उपर्कारीयति ॥

.77 According to the opinion of Âpiśali, the Vriddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with ऋ ॥

Thus प्रार्षभीयति or प्रर्षभीयति प्राल्कारीयति or प्रल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and ऌ are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sutra includes ऌ also. The name of the Grammarian Âpiśali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

The short ऋ and short ऌ are only to be taken, because the letter ऋ in the sûtra has a त after it. Therefore the rule would not apply to long ॠ. Therefore we have only one form in उप + ॠकारीयति = उपर्कारीयति.

७८ । एङि पररूपम् । ६ । १ । ९४ ॥

आदुपसर्गादिङादौ धातौ परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । प्रेजते । उपोषति । इह वा सुपीत्यनुवर्त्य वाक्यभेदेन व्याख्येयम् ॥ तेन एङादौ सुब्धातौ वा ॥ उपैडकीयति । उपैडकीयति । प्रौधीयति । प्रौधीयति ॥ एवे चानियोगे ॥ नियोगोऽवधारणम् । क्वेव भोक्ष्यसे । अनवक्लृप्तावेवशब्दः । अनियोगे किम् । तवैव ॥

78. For the अ or आ of the Preposition + ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words आत्, उपसर्गात् are understood here. In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूप) ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. 1. 88 S. 72. Thus प्रेजते; उपोषति ॥ Some read into this sûtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, S. 77 according to them the para-rûpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपैडकीयति or उपैडकीयति, प्रौधीयति or प्रौधीयति,

Vârt :—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word and the sense is not that of 'appointment.' Thus क्वेवभोक्ष्यसे (where will you eat) meaning there is no room for you to sit and eat or I do not think that you will get food to eat. Here the sense of एव is that of uncertainty. When the sense is that of नियोग the Vṛiddhi takes place: as तवैव, (Thy alone.)

७९ । अचोऽन्त्यादि टि । १ । १ । ६४ ॥

अचां मध्ये योऽन्त्यः स आदिर्यस्य तट्टिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ॰ तच्च टेः ॥ शकन्धुः ॥ कर्कन्धुः । कुलटा । सीमन्तः केशवेशे । सीमान्तोऽन्यः । मनीषा । हलीषा । लाङ्गलीषा । पतञ्जलिः ॥ सारङ्गः पशुपक्षिणोः । साराङ्गोऽन्यः ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ मार्तण्डः । ओत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा ॥ स्थूलोतुः । स्थूलौतुः । बिम्बोष्ठः । बिम्बौष्ठः । समासे किम् । तवौष्ठः ॥

79. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called टि.

This sûtra defines टि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is टि ; so also in सोमसुत् the portion उत् .

The word अचः in the sûtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification ; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

This sutra is used here in order to make it applicable to the following *Vârtikas.*

Vârti :—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः etc. It takes place in the इ portion of these words and not merely of the letter अ, though the anuvritti of आत् is understood here. Had the Para-rupa been only of अ, we could not have got the forms like मनीषा which is formed by मनस्+ईषा. The following is the list of Sakandhwâdi words—1. शकन्धुः—the well of the Sakâs (शक + अन्धु well). 2. कर्कन्धुः—the well of the Karkâs 3. कुलटा—unchaste woman (कुल+अटा) 4. सीमन्त—सीम + अन्त : (hair parting when not meaning 'hair parting, the form is सीमान्त the boundary limit). 5. मनीषा—the lord of the mind. 6. हलीषा—हलि + ईषा (Here ईषा means plough stick). 7. लाङ्गलीषा. 8. पतञ्जलिः—पतन्तः + अञ्जली (one to whom handfuls of offering are made *i. e.* an honored man). So also 9. सारङ्ग : when meaning a variegated beast or a bird, otherwise the form is साराङ्गः—सार + अङ्ग : (the chief member of a body).

The Śakandhwadi is an Âkritigaṇa, i. e. no complete list of this class is given anywhere, but whenever we find a compound word, in which a para-rupa substitution has taken place, to the exclusion of the ordinary rules of Sandhi, we may safely place that word in this class. Thus मृत + अण्डः = मृतण्ड from which we have the secondary derivative form मार्तण्ड : । We have the regular form मार्ताण्डः also.

Vart :—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word: as स्थूल ओतुः = स्थूलौतुः or स्थूलोतुः, so also बिम्बौष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठी ॥ When not a compound the Vriddhi is compulsory: as तवौष्ठः

८० । ओमाङोश्च । ६ । १ । ९५ ॥

ओमि आङि चात्परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । शिवायॐनमः ॥ शिव एहि । शिवेहि ॥

80. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. Thus शिवाय + ॐ नमः = शिवायॐ नमः Similarly शिव + आ + इहि = शिव + एहि = शिवेहि ॥

Question :—In the last example the form could have been obtained by the regular rules of Sandhi also, as शिव + आ + इहि = शिवा + इहि = शिवेहि. Where is then the necessity of this rule ?

Answer :—The आ could not combine with शिव, for the rule पूर्वं धातुरुपसर्गेण युज्येत the upasarga must first combine with the dhâtu and then other Sandhi rules must take place. The combination of उपसर्ग and धातु is an antaranga rule, while Sandhi is merely a bahiranga rule. Therefore आ first combines with the dhâtu इहि and forms एहि and then this एहि combines with शिव॥

८१ । अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ । ६ । १ । ९८ ॥

ध्वनेरनुकरणस्य योऽच्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । पदत् इति पदिति ॥ एकाचो म ॥ अदिति ॥

81. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) + इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त ; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पदत् + इति = पदिति ॥

Vârt:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—अत् + इति = अदिति ॥

८२ । नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा । ६ । १ । ९९ ॥

आम्रेडितस्य प्रागुक्तं न स्यादन्तस्य तु तकारमात्रस्य वा स्यात् ॥ डाचि बहुलं द्वे भवत इति बहुलवचनादूद्वित्वम् ॥

82. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्+इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Vârtik:—There is diversely the repetition of the word when the affix डाच् follows.

The doubling takes place by this *Vârtika.* The word âmreḍita is defined in the next sutra.

८३ । तस्य परमाम्रेडितम् । ८ । १ । २ ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य परं रूपमाम्रेडितसंज्ञं स्यात् । पदत्पेदति ॥

83. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called âmreḍita (repeated).

Thus पदत् पदत् + इति = पदत्पद + इ + ति = पदत्पेदति. Now, this para-rûpa rule is optional. The regular form therefore, will be without the elision of the final अत् as पदत् + पदत् + इति = पदत् पदिति. The त् is changed to द् by the next sutra.

८४ । झलां जशोऽन्ते । ८ । २ । ३९ ॥

पदान्ते झलां जशः स्युः । पदत्पदिति ॥

84. A corresponding ज, ब, ग, ड or द् is substituted

for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् अत्र, श्वलिड् अत्र, अग्निचिद् अत्र, त्रिष्टुब् अत्र ॥

८५ । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः । ६ । १ ।१०१ ॥

अकः सवर्णेऽचि परे दीर्घ एकादेशः स्यात् । दैत्यारिः । श्रीशः । विष्णूदयः । अचि किम् । कुमारी शेते । नाञ्झलाविति सावर्ण्यनिषेधस्तु न दीर्घशकारयोः । अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः इत्यस्य सावर्ण्यविधिनिषेधाभ्यां प्रागनिष्पत्तेः । अकः किम् । हरये ॥ " अकोऽकि दीर्घ इत्येव सुवचम् ॥" ऋति सवर्णे ऋ वा ॥ होतृकारः । होतॄकारः ॥ ऌति सवर्णे ऌवा ॥ होत्ऌकारः । पक्षे ऋकारः सावर्ण्यात् । होतॄकारः । ऋति ऋ वा ऌति ऌ वेत्युभयत्रापि विधेयं वर्णत्रयं द्विमात्रम् । आद्यस्य मध्ये द्वौ रेफौ तयोरेका मात्रा । अभितोऽञ्जनक्तेरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु मध्ये द्वौ लकारौ । शेषं प्राग्वत् । इहोभयत्रापि ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकः प्रकृतिभावो वक्ष्यते ॥

85. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus दैत्य + अरिः = दैत्यारिः; श्री + ईशः = श्रीशः; विष्णु + उदयः = विष्णूदयः। Why do we say "when a *vowel* follows"? Observe कुमारी शेते The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: S. 13 for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. 1. 69 S, 14) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ् झलौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाञ् झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9 S. 10) and then comes the अणुदित्सवर्णस्य (I. 1. 68 S. 25). Therefore in नाञ् झलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the *class* of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained *directly* in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which. I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though *short* इ and श are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10: the *long* ई and श would be savarṇa. The sutra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः would have been more clear if stated as अकोकि दीर्घः। Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel?' Observe हरे + ए = हरये. Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe दधि + अत्र = दध्यत्र ॥

Vârt :—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional : so also with ऌ ॥ This vârtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or ऌ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is saṁvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is 1½ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऊकाल &c).

Or 3rdly (and this is the opinion of Bhattoji Dikshita) the single substitute short ऋ or short ऌ (which comes in the place of ऋ+ऋ or ऋ+ऌ) is *really* long consisting of two mâtras, in this way :—होतृ+ऋकारः=होतृ ऽ ऽ+ऋकारः ॥ These two ऽ's are not visible in writing, but are there. They constitute one mâtrâ, for each consonant has half a mâtrâ. Thus one mâtrâ of two ऽ's and one mâtrâ of ऋ make two mâtrâs really and though apparently short ऋ is retained, it is practically long. Similarly in the case of ऌ there are two ऽ's. In other words, the short ऋ (that comes in the place of two ऋ's) contains latent in it two ऽ's, of one mâtrâ and its own self of one mâtrâ. Similarly the single *substitute* ऌ contains merged in it two ऽ's (of one mâtrâ) and its own self of one mâtrâ.

Thus होतृ+ऋकारः=होतॄकारः or होतॄ३कारः, so also होतृ+ऌकारः ॥ होतॢ३कारः or होतॄ३कारः ॥ The दीर्घ of ऌ is ॠ ॥

Moreover, by the rule of ऋत्यकः VI. 1. 128. S. 92 the Sandhi is optional.

८६ । एङः पदान्तादति । ६ । १ । १०९ ॥

पदान्तादेङोऽति परे पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । हरेऽव । विष्णोऽव ॥

86. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus हरे+अव=हरेऽव, विष्णो+अव=विष्णोऽव ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अय् and अव् ॥

८७ । सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः । ६ । १ । १२२ ॥

लोके वेदे चैङन्तस्य गोरति वा प्रकृतिभावः स्यात्पदान्ते । गोअग्रम् । गोऽग्रम् । एङन्तस्य किम् चित्रग्वग्रम् । पदान्ते किम् । गोः ॥

87. After गो (when it retains the form गो and is final in a pada) the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गोऽग्रं or गो अग्रं ॥ Why do we say ending in an एङ् vowel? Observe चित्रगु+अग्रम्=चित्रग्वग्रम्. Here गो does not end in ओ but has assumed the form गु and so the rule does not apply.

Why do we say at the end of a pada? Observe गोः :

८८ । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य । ६ । १ । १२३ ॥

अतीति निवृत्तम् । अचि परे पदान्ते गोरवङ् वा स्यात् । गवाग्रम् । पदान्ते किम् । गावि । व्यवस्थितविभाषया गवाक्षः ॥

88. According to the opinion of Sphoṭâyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of अचि manifests itself. Thus गो+अग्रम=गवाग्रम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवोष्ट्रम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽग्रम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवुष्ट्रम्॥ The mention of Sphoṭâyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गवि. This is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

८९। इन्द्रे च। ६। १। १२५॥

गोरवङ् स्यादिन्द्रे। गवेन्द्रः॥

89. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः॥

Note:—The Pâṇini reads this sûtra as इन्द्रे च नित्यम्॥ Bhattoji has read the word nityam, in the next sûtra, instead of this.

———:o:———

अथ प्रकृतिभावः ॥

CHAPTER IV.

NON-SANDHI.

९० । प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

प्लुताः प्रगृह्याश्च वक्ष्यन्ते तेऽचि नित्यं प्रकृत्या स्युः । एहि कृष्ण ३ अत्र गौश्चरति । हरी एतौ । नित्यमिति किम् । हरी एता विद्यासामर्थ्यमेव प्रकृतिभावी यथा स्यादिकोऽसवर्ण इति ह्रस्वसमुच्चितो माभूत् ॥

90. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc. S. 93) and Pragṛihya (I. 1. 11 etc. S. 100.) vowels always remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus एहिकृष्ण ३ अत्र गौश्चरति, हरी एतौ ॥ The force of the word *nitya* is that these pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given below.

Thus in हरी ईशौ "The two Haris (Hari and Har) are Lords," the present sûtra applies fully; for the long ई of हरी being Pragṛhya, because it is the ई of the dual number, retains its form. The subsquent rule does not apply, because ई is followed by a savarṇa letter, *i. e.* ई. In चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र "The chakrin is here", the ई of चक्री is neither Pluta nor Pragrihya, because it is Nom. Singular. and therefore the subsequent rule of shortening fully applies to it, there being no scope for the application of any other rule.

But in हरी + एतौ both the present sûtra and the subsequent sûtra find scope, and the subsequent sûtra would make it हरि एतौ ॥ But the word nitya prevents this, and we have हरी एतौ ॥

९१ । इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च । ६ । १ । १२७ ॥

पदान्ता इकोऽसवर्णेऽचि परे प्रकृत्या स्युर्ह्रस्वश्च वा । अत्र ह्रस्वविधिसामर्थ्यादेव प्रकृतिभावे सिद्धे तदनुकर्षणार्थमकारो न कर्तव्य इति भाष्ये स्थितम् । चक्रि अत्र । चक्र्यत्र । पदान्ता इति किम् । गौयौ ॥ न समासे * ॥ वाप्यश्वः ॥ सिति च * ॥ पार्थम् ॥

91. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a non-homogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have चक्र्यत्र ॥

The name of Śâkalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sûtra is clear from its very formation. According to Mahâbhâshya, the च in the sûtra is redundant. If it be said that च is necessary to draw the anuvritti of Prakriti-bhâva, that is not the case. For the mere fact of making the long vowel short, shows that there is Prakriti bhâva. For if there were to take place Sandhi after shortening, as चक्री + अत्र = चक्रिअत्र = चक्र्यत्र, then where is the good of shortening, for the last form could have been obtained without shortening. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गौर्यौ ॥

Two Vârt:—This rule of Śâkalya is prohibited in the case of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samâsa) and of words formed by an affix having an indicatory स् :—Thus अयं ते योनिऋत्वियः, प्रजां विद्याम ऋत्वियाम् The word ऋत्विय is formed by a सित् affix, namely by घस् (V. 1. 106 S. 3495), added to ऋतु: and therefore the उ is changed to व ॥ Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16). Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवश्वः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2. 18 S. 761. Thus वाध्वश्वः is an example of compound; and पार्श्वम् formed by the affix णस् see I. 4. 16, S. 1252.

९२ । ऋत्यकः । ६ । १ । १२८ ॥

ऋति परेऽकः प्राग्वत् । ब्रह्म ऋषिः । ब्रह्मर्षिः । पदान्ता इत्येव । आर्च्छत् । समासेऽप्ययं प्रकृतिभावः । सप्तऋषीणाम् । सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥

92. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus ब्रह्म + ऋषि = ब्रह्मऋषि or ब्रह्मर्षि : ॥ The इक् vowels must be final in a Pada here also, otherwise we have Sandhi as आ + ऋच्छत् = आर्च्छत् ॥ Even in compound this non-modification is observed, thus सप्त + ऋषीणाम् सप्तऋषीणाम् or सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खट्वेन्द्र ॥ Why do we say "the simple vowels (अकः)"? Observe वृक्षावृक्षयः (वृक्षौ + ऋक्ष) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

९३ । वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः । ८ । २ । ८२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

93. Upto the close of this chapter (Second Pâda of the Eight Adhyâya), is always to be supplied: "the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. All the three words *i. e.* "the last vowel

(दि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pâda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (दि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent.

९४ । प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशूद्रे । ८ । २ । ८३ ॥

अशूद्रविषये प्रत्यभिवादे यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः प्लुतः स्यात् स चोदात्तः । अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहम् । भो आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्त३ ॥ स्त्रियां न ॥ अभिवादये गार्ग्यहम् । भो आयुष्मती भव गार्गि ॥ नाम गोत्रं वा यत्र प्रत्यभिवादवाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्रैव प्लुत इष्यते । नेह । आयुष्मानेधि ॥ भोराजन्यविशां ब्रेति वाच्यम् ॥ आयुष्मानेधि भो३ः । आयुष्मान् धीन्द्रवर्म ३न् । आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रपालित ३ ॥

94. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śûdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word **अभिवादन** means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation." The word **प्रत्यभिवादन** means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udâtta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śûdra.

Thus **अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं** "I do salute you, I am devadatta". is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says **भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त ३** ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived"

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As **अभिवादये गार्ग्यहं** is said by Gârgî. To this the Guru replies:—**भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गि!** ॥

Ishti:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, **देवदत्त कुशल्यसि; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि**, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vârt:—The prolation is optional, when **भो** follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As **भो अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं** ॥ Reply (1) **आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३** or (2) **आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः** ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as **अभिवादये इन्द्रवर्म्माहं भोः**, Reply (1) **आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ३** or (2) **आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन्** ॥ Vaishya: **अभिवादये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः** ॥ Guru: **आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ३** or **आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित!** ॥

९५ । दूराद्धूते च । ८ । २ । ८४ ॥

दूरात्संबोधने यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः प्लुतः स्यात् । सकर्तृप्येव देवदत्त ३ ॥

95. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here सक्तून् पिब देवदत्ता ३ O devadatta! drink the gruel".

९६। हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः। ८। २। ८५॥

एतयोः प्रयोगे दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्यं तत्र हैहयोरेव प्लुतः स्यात्। हे ३ राम। राम है ३॥

96. When the words है and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे ३ राम, or राम है ३॥

९७। गुरोरनृतोनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम्। ८। २। ८६॥

दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्यं तस्य ऋदृन्नस्यान्नस्यानन्त्यस्यापि गुरोर्वा प्लुतः स्यात्। देवदत्त। देवदत्त ३। देवदत्त ३। गुरोः किम्। वकारात्परस्याकारस्य मा भूत। अनृतः किम्। कृष्ण ३। एकैकमहणं पर्यायार्थम्। इह प्राचामिति योगो विभज्यते। तेन सर्वः प्लुतो विकल्प्यते॥

97. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (of two previous Sutras,) in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sûtra indicates a special sthânin for the pluta vowel tought by the two previous Sutras. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus देऽवदत्त or देवदऽत्त or देवदत्तऽ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of द in Devadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनृतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्ण ३॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not देऽवदऽत्तऽ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all.*

९८। अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते । ६ । १ । १२६ ॥

उपस्थितोऽनार्षे इतिशब्दस्तस्मिन्परे प्लुतोऽप्लुतवद्भवति । अप्लुतकार्यं वर्णाश्रिकं करोतीत्यर्थः । सुश्लोक ३ इति । सुश्लोकेति । वस्किम् । अप्लुत इत्युक्तेऽप्लुत एव विधीयेत प्लुतश्च निषिध्येत । तथा च प्रगृह्याश्रये प्रकृतिभावे प्लुतस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् । अग्नी ३ इति ॥

98. Before the word इति in the Padapâṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts; *i. e.* when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapâṭha, the pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोका३ इति = सुश्लोकेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् "like as"; instead of saying "the Pluta becomes Apluta" why do we say "Pluta is treated like apluta"? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakriti bhâva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी, the ई is pragrihya. It may be made pluta also as अग्नी ३ ॥ Now if before इति the pluta *became* apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति formed by अग्नी ३ + इति ॥ For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, S. 90, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नी ३ इति ॥

९९। ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य । ६ । १ । १३० ॥

ई३ प्लुतोऽचि परेऽप्लुतवद्वा स्यात् । चिनुहि ३ इति । चिनुहीति । चिनुहि ३ इदम् । चिनुहीदम् । उभयत्र विभाषेयम् ॥

99. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmaṇa, the pluta ई ३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus चिनु हि ३ इति = चिनुहीति ॥ चिनु ही३ इदम् or चिनुहीदम् ॥ The name of Châkravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129, S. 98) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows *sandhi* optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति it ordains *prakriti bhâva* optionally, when there would have been always prakriti bhâva by VI. 1. 125, S. 90. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prâpta and aprâpta both.

१०० । ईदूदेद्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् । १ । १ । ११ ॥

ईदूदेदन्तं द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं स्यात् । हरी एतौ । विष्णू इमौ । गङ्गे अमू । पचेते इमौ । मणीवोष्ट्रस्थिति तु इवार्थे वशब्दो वा बोध्यः ॥

100. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragṛihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragṛihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." This sûtra gives three of these terminations, *viz.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्) ॥ Thus :—हरी एतौ, विष्णू इमौ ; गङ्गे अमू. Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of हरी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because हरी is the nominative dual of हरि ॥

वा *Vârt :*—The prohibition of मणीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragṛihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मणी (two gems) + इव = मणीव "like two gems." So also दम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vârtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

१०१ । अदसो मात् । १ । १ । १२ ॥

अस्मात्परावीदूतौ प्रगृह्यौ स्तः । अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्णावमू आसाते । मास्किम् । अमुकेऽत्र । असति मादृग्रहणे एकारोऽप्यनुवर्तेत ॥

101. (The long ई and ऊ) after the म् of the pronoun अदस् are Pragṛihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragṛihya by force of the last sûtra, but the present sûtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म, of *whatever number* they may be, will be pragṛihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions, namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words :—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragṛihya." As अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्ण । वमू आसाते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "after the letter म"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुके त्र, the ए, preceded not by म but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 71, S.

2026) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of the last sûtra which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

१०२ । शे । १ । १ । १३ ॥

अयं प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अस्मे इन्द्राबृहस्पती ॥

102. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561). Thus अस्मेइन्द्राबृहस्पती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragrihya.

१०३ । निपात एकाजनाङ् । १ । १ । १४ ॥

एकोऽजनिपात आङ्वर्जः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । इ विस्मये । इ इन्द्रः । उ वितर्के । उ उमेशः । अनाङिस्युक्तेरङिशकारः प्रगृह्य एव । आ एवं नु मन्यसे । आ एवं किल तत् । ङित्सु न प्रगृह्यः । ईषदुष्णम् ओष्णम् । ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादाऽभिविधौ च यः । एतमातं ङितं विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् ॥

103. A particle consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

All such particles technically called nipâta which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ ईंद्र has the sense of wonder. उ उमेश, उ has the sense of a doubtful question.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:—(1) As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "nearto," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् 'to go आगम,' 'to come,' आ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आजन्मनः "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), "till" "until" as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एवं मन्यसे. "Oh! do you think so."

१०४ । ओत् । १ । १ । १५ ॥

ओदन्तो निपातः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अहो ईशाः ॥

104. The final ओ of a particle is a pragṛihya.

As अहोईशाः ॥

१०५ । सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे । १ । १ । १६ ॥

संबुद्धिनिमित्तक ओकारो वा प्रगृह्योऽवैदिके इतौ परे । विष्णो इति । विष्ण इति । विष्णविति । अनार्ष इति किम् । ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत् ॥

105. The final ओ of the vocative singular before the word इति according to Śâkalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragṛihya.

This sûtra gives the opinion of the Ṛishi Śâkalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus the forms above given are correct.

In ârsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत् ॥

१०६ । उञः । १ । १ । १७ ॥

उञ इतौ वा प्रागुक्तम् उ इति विति ॥

106. The particle उञ् before *iti*, according to Śâkalya is a Pragṛihya.

This sûtra consists of the single word उञ् meaning उ ॥ This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति॥

१०७ । ऊँ । १ । १ । १८ ॥

उञ इतौ दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः प्रगृह्यश्च ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो वा स्यात् । ऊँ इति ॥

107. The praticle ऊँ replaces उञ in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragṛihya in the opinion of Śâkalya.

Before the word इति the word उञ is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal *ũ*. ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or ँविति ॥

१०८ । मय उञो वो वा । ८ । ३ । ३३ ॥

मयः परस्य उञो वो वा स्याद्यि । किंयु उक्तम् । किम्वुक्तम् । वस्यासिद्धत्वान्नानुस्वारः ॥

108. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह् and अ), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus kimuuktam or kimvuktam. The उ is a Pragṛihya and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व being considered asiddha, the म् is not changed to anusvâra in the above example.

When this ङ is followed by इति, and preceded by a मय् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, S 106 it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ङँ ॥ When it is not a pragṛihya, then it is changed to ङ् by ण्णादेश (VI. 1. 77 S 47), or to ङ् by the present sûtra. In the case of ण्णादेश ङ्, there is anusvâra by VIII. 3, 23, S. 122 as किंविति ॥ When it is a Pragṛihya, then it is changed to ङ् by the present sûtra as किंङिति or किङु इति ॥ So also with ङँ substitute, where the ङँ will be nasal : as किंङ्ँिति, or ङँ will remain unchanged, as किम् ङँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

१०९ । इदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे । १ । १ । १९ ॥

सप्तम्यर्थे पर्यवसन्नमीदूदन्तं प्रगृह्यं स्यात् । सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः । मामकी तनू इति । सुपां सुलुगिति सप्तम्यां लुक् । अर्थग्रहणं किम् । वृत्त्यर्थान्तरोपसंक्रान्ते मा भूत् । वाप्यामश्वो वाप्यश्वः ॥

109. The finnal ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragṛihya.

This sûtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sûtra (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or या, or डा, or डया, or याच् or आल् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is ङि (इ). In forming the L. S. of तनू "body," we have तनू+इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तनू+ऊ=तनू "in the body," as, अध्यस्यां मामकीतनू (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी+इ=गौरी "on the Gaurî," as सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ī and ū are used in the sense of locative, and are pragṛihya.

It is only long ī and ū which are pragṛihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) ḍâ (आ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि+ङि=अग्नि+डा=अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवाति य इंद्राय सुतोमो ददाशत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragṛihya. Therefore अग्ना+इति=अग्नेति ॥

The इ and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति+टा (3rd, s.)=मति+इ (letter homogeneous with the prior)=मती 'with wisdom'. Here ī is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragṛihya. Thus मती+इति =मतीति ॥

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound

of वाप्याम् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी + अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpî has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्यश्वः "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pûrva-pada); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

११० । अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः । ८ । ४ । ५७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्याणोऽवसानेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । दधिँ । दधि । अप्रगृह्यस्य किम् । अग्नी ॥

110. The anunâsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragṛihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragṛihya. The अण् here is a Pratyâhâra with the first ण् ॥ Thus दधिँ or दधि,

Why do we say 'which is not a pragṛihya'? Observe अग्नी,

:o:

अथ हल्सन्धिप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE SANDHI OF CONSONANTS.

१११ । स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः । ८ । ४ । ४० ॥

सकारतवर्गयोः शकारचवर्गाभ्यां योगे शकारचवर्गौ स्तः । हरिश्शेते । रामश्चिनोति । सच्चित् । चार्ङ्ग्जय ॥

111. The letter स and the dental when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

1st. स in contact with श: as, हरिस् + शेते = हरिश्शेते,

2nd. स in contact with चु:—as, रामस् + चिनोति = रामश्चिनोति,

3rd. तु with श:—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चु:—सत् + चित् = सच्चित्.

5th. चकार followed by तकार; as, यज्ञ + त (III. 3. 90 S 3268) = यज्ञ + क्त = यज्ञः, वाच् + त = वाक्तम् ॥ In fact the instrumental case श्चुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by श्चु, or श्चु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th. (a) स followed by चु is changed into श: as, भ्रस्ज् + ति = भृस्ज् + श + ति (III. 1. 77, S 2534 VI. 1. 16 S 2412) = भृस्ज + ति = भृस्ज् + ति = (VIII. 4. 53 S 52) = भृज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्ज forms मज्जति, ब्रश्च forms वृश्चति ॥

The next aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44 S. 112) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S 128) does not hold good here.

Had the sûtra been स्तो श्चोः श्चुः *i. e.* instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

११२ । शात् । ८ । ४ । ४४ ॥

शात्परस्य तवर्गस्य श्चुत्वं न स्यात् । विश्नः । प्रश्नः ॥

112. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तोः are understood here. This is an exception to

the last rule. Thus विच्छ+न (III. 3. 90. S. 3268)=विश्+न (VI. 4. 19. S. 2561) =विश्नः ॥ Similarly प्रश्नः ।

११३ । ष्टुना ष्टुः । ८ । ४ । ४१ ॥

स्तोः ष्टुना योगे ष्टुः स्यात् । रामष्षष्ठः । रामष्टीकते । पेष्टा । तट्टीका । चक्रिण्ढौकसे ॥

113. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sûtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, रामस्+षष्ठः=रामष्षष्ठः

(2) स with ट, as, रामस्+टीकते=रामष्टीकते ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेष्+ता=पेष्टा ॥ ॥

(4) तु with ट, as तत्+टीका=तट्टीका ॥ चक्रिन्+ढौकसे=चक्रिण्ढौकसे ॥

११४ । न पदान्ताट्टोरनाम् । ८ । ४ । ४२ ॥

अनामिति लुप्तषष्ठीकं पदम् । पदान्ताट्टवर्गात्परस्यानामः स्तोः ष्टुर्न स्यात् । षट् सन्तः । षट् ते । पदान्तात्किम् । इट्टे । टोः किम् । सर्पिष्टमम् ॥ * अनाम्नवतिनगरीणामिति वाच्यम् ॥ षण्णाम् । षण्णवतिः । षण्णगर्यः ॥

114. After ट् final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus षट्+सन्तः=षट् सन्तः ॥ षट्+ते=षट्ते ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईड्+ते=ईड+ढे=ईड्ढे ॥

Why do we say टोः 'after ट्'? Observe सर्पिष्+तमम्=सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nâm'? Observe षट्+नाम्=षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vârtika:—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, षण्णगर्यः six cities'.

११५ । तोः षि । ८ । ४ । ४३ ॥

तवर्गस्य षकारे परे न ष्टुत्वम् । सन्षष्ठः ॥

115. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, सन्+षष्ठ=सन्षष्ठः ॥

Here the Sutra झलां जशोऽन्ते (S. 84.) should be read again, by which a soft consonant is substituted for the hard. Thus वाक्+ईशः=वागीशः; चित्+रूपम्=चिद्रूपम् ॥

११६। यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा। ८। ४। ४५ ॥

यरः पदान्तस्याऽनुनासिके परेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात्। एतन्मुरारिः। एतद्मुरारिः। स्थानप्रयत्नाभ्यामन्तरतमे स्पर्शे चरितार्थो विधिरयं रेफे न प्रवर्तते। चतुर्मुखः। * प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम्॥ तन्मात्रम्। चिन्मयम्। कथं तर्हि मद्योद्म्राः ककुभ्नन्त इति। यवादिगणे दकारनिपातनात् ॥

116. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह) final in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus एतत्+मुरारिः=एतन्मुरारिः or एतद्मुरारिः। This rule does not apply to र् as चतुर्+मुखः=चतुर्मुखः ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद्+मि=वेद्मि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

Vârt:—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus तत्+मात्रम्=तन्मात्रम्, similary चिन्मयम्॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and मात्र that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal. How do you explain the form ककुभ्नन्तः in the sentence मद्योद्म्राः ककुभ्नन्तः'? Because the द् is used in यवादि class. (For a list of the words belonging to this class, see Gaṇapâṭha VIII. 2. 9).

११७। तोर्लि। ८। ४। ६० ॥

तवर्गस्य लकारे परे परसवर्णः स्यात्। तल्लयः। विद्वाँल्लिखति। नकारस्थाऽनुनासिको लकारः ॥

117. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus तत्+लयः=तल्लयः; विद्वान्+लिखति=विद्वाल्लिँखति ॥ Here त has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal लँ ॥

११८। उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य। ८। ४। ६१ ॥

उदः परयोः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वसवर्णः स्यात्। आदेः परस्य। उत्थानम्। उत्तम्भनम्। अघोषस्य महाप्राणस्य तस्य तादृश एव थकारः। तस्य झरोझरीति पाक्षिको लोपः। लोपाभावपक्षे तु थकारस्यैव श्रवणं न तु खरि चेति चर्त्वम्। चर्त्वं प्रति थकारस्याऽसिद्धत्वात् ॥

118. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (*i. e.* a dental is sustituted for this स) ॥

As उद्+स्थाता=उद्+थ्याता= उद्+थाता (VIII. 4. 63 S. 120) =उत्+थाता (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121)=उत्थाता, उत्थातुम् उत्थातव्यम्॥ So also with स्तम्भ्, as, उत्तम्भिता, उत्तम्भितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 S. 41 and 54. S. 44).

Here the Aghosha (Surd) and Mahápráṇa ह् is changed to ग् which is also Aghosha and Mahápráṇa. This then is optionally elided by झरोझरि (S. 71). But in the alternative when there is no lopa, the ग् is heard in pronunciation.

By the rule खरिच (S. 121), the ग् is not changed to चर् letter, because the rule of चर्त्व is not applicable to ग्; for this ग् is considered as non-existent for the purposes of चर् rules.

११९ । झयोहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ४ । ६२ ॥

झयः परस्य हस्य पूर्वसवर्णो वा स्यात् । घोषवतो नादवतो महाप्राणस्य संवृतकण्ठस्य हस्य तादृशो वर्गचतुर्थ एवा देशः । वाग्घरि । वाग्हरिः ॥

119. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra झय् includes *all* Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here. The substitute of ह will be घ् by the rule of nearness of place of utterance, because ह is a ghosha (sonant); Mahápráṇa (aspirated) and Samvrit (contracted) and so is also घ्. Thus वाक्+हरि=वाग्घरिः or वाग्हरिः ।

१२० । शश्छोऽटि । ८ । ४ । ६३ ॥

पदान्तात् झयः परस्य शस्य छो वा स्यादटि । शस्य श्चुत्वेन जकारे कृते ॥

120. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ् when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sûtra. Thus तत्+शिव =तद्+शिव (S. 84)=तद्+छिव=तच्+छिव=तज्+छिव. At this stage applies the next Sûtra.

१२१ । खरि च । ८ । ४ । ५५ ॥

खरि परे झलां चरः स्युः । इति जकारस्य चकारः । तच्छिवः । तच्शिवः ॥ छत्वममीति वाच्यम् * ॥ तच्श्लोकेन । तच्छ्लोकेन । अभि क्षिप् । वाक् श्चयोतति ॥

121. In the room of झश्, there is the substitute चर् when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चरः are supplied from the last sûtra. Therefore ज् is changed to च् and we have the form तच्छिव or तच्शिवः

Vârtika:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अम् pratyâhâra follows. The sûtra only gives अट् letters, the Vârtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals. Thus तत् + श्लोकेन = तल्लोकेन.

Why do we say when a letter of अम् pratyâhâra follows? Observe वाक् ह्यथोक्तम्.

१२२ । मोऽनुस्वारः । ८ । ३ । २३ ॥

मान्तस्य पदस्यानुस्वारः स्याद्धलि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । हरिं वन्दे । पदस्येति किम् । गम्यते ॥

122. The Anusvâra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus हरिंवन्दे ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sûtra. The म् must be at the end of a pada which we get from sûtra अलोन्त्यस्य (S. 42); therefore not here; गम्यते.

१२३ । नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि । ८ । ३ । २४ ॥

नस्य मस्य चापदान्तस्य झल्यनुस्वारः स्यात् । यशांसि । आक्रंस्यते । झलि किम् । मन्यते ॥

123. The Anusvâra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus यशांसि, आक्रंस्यते ।

Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See मन्यते.

Note;—Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? observe राजन् पाहि,

१२४ । अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः । ८ । ४ । ५८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अङ्क्तिः । अञ्चितः । कुण्ठितः । शान्तः । गुम्फितः । कुर्वन्तीत्यत्र णत्वे प्राप्ते तस्यासिद्धत्वादनुस्वारे परसवर्णे च कृते तस्यासिद्धत्वान्न णत्वम् ॥

124. In the room of anusvâra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus आङ्क्तिः, आञ्चितः, कुण्ठितः, शान्तः, गुम्फितः: These are thus formed:—To the causal *churâdi* root अङ्कः (meaning pada and lakshana), we add the participial affix क्त. Thus आङ्कि + क्त. The causal sign इ is elided by the sûtra निष्ठायाम् सेटि (VI. 4. 52. S. 3057). Then by the present rule, we have आङ्क्तिः The इ here is the इट् augment. Or it may be from the root अक्कि (meaning lakshana) where the augment नुम् becomes anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and then this न् becomes ङ्.

अञ्चितः comes from the root अञ्चु (meaning pûjâ), with the affix क्त. The न् is not elided by VI. 4. 30 S. 424.

कुण्ठितः is formed from the root कुठि (meaning pratighâta). The augment नुम् is added to the root before the सेट् participial affix. This न् is changed into ण्

शान्तः is formed from the root शम् (meaning upasâma) with the affix क्त (See VII. 2. 27. S. 3068). The अ of शम् is lengthened by VI. 4. 15. S. 2666. The म् is changed to न् by the present rule.

गुम्फितः is formed from the root गुम्फ् (meaning grantha) with the affix क्त. In कुर्वन्ति, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII. 4. 2. S. 197. Because the णत्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. the न is first changed into anusvâra (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). That anusvâra is again changed into न by the present rule, न being homogeneous with त ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). the ण is never substituted for न ॥

१२५ । वा पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ५९ ॥

पदान्तस्याऽनुस्वारस्य यादि परे परसवर्णो वा स्यात् । त्वङ्करोषि । त्वं करोषि । सँय्यन्ता । संयन्ता । सँव्वत्सरः । संवत्सरः । यँलोकम् । यंलोकम् । अचानुस्वारस्य पक्षेऽनुनासिका यवलाः ॥

125. In the room of anusvâra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus त्वङ्करोषि or त्वं करोषि; सय्यँन्ता or संयन्ता; सँव्वत्सरः or संवत्सरः; यल्लोकम् or यं लोकम्.

Here the anusvâra has become nasal य् व् ल् in the other alternative.

१२६ । मो राजि समः क्वौ । ८ । ३ । २५ ॥

क्विबन्ते राजतौ परे समो मस्य म एव स्यात् । सम्राट् ॥

126. म् is substituted for the म् of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus सम्राट् ॥ The substitution of म for म is for the sake of preventing the anusvâra change (VII. 1. 40. S. 3562.). Why do we say 'before राज्'? See संयत् (VI. 4. 40. S. 2986. Vârt). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe किंराट् (V. 4. 70 S. 955). Why do we say 'ending with क्विप्'? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्विप् is added by III. 2. 61 S. 2975 the ज् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ट् at the end of a word, in सम्राट् ॥ साम्राज्यम् is formed by ष्यञ् affix, as it belongs to Brâhmanâdi class.

१२७ । हे मपरे वा । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

मपरे हकारे परे मस्य म एव स्याद्वा । ह्मल ह्वल चलने । किम् ह्मलयति । किं ह्मलयति ॥ यवलपरे यवला वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

127. म् is optionally substituted for म् before that ह् which itself is followed by a म ॥

The म् may be changed to anusvâra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with ह्म ॥ Thus किं or किम् ह्मलयति, 'what does he cause to shake'?

Vart:—Before ह्य, ह्व, and ह्ल, the preceding म् may be changed to य्, व् or ल् respectively.

Now, by this *Vârtika*, three letters य्, व्, ल्, are ordained in the room of य्, व्, ल्, But the rule does not say which letter is to be substituted for which letter. To remove this doubt the following interpretation sûtra should be remembered :—

१२८ । यथा संख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् । १ । ३ । १० ॥

समसंबन्धी विधिर्यथासंख्यं स्यात् । किँय्ह्यः किंह्यः । किँव्ह्वलयति । किंह्वलयति । किँल्ह्लादयति । किंह्लादयति ॥

128. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Therefore as under the former rule, the letters to be substituted are three in number and the substitutes are also three in number, therefore applying the present rule, य् would be replaced by य्; व् by व् and ल् by ल्. Thus we have किँय् ह्यः or किं ह्यः ; किँव् ह्वलयति or किं ह्वलयति ; किँल् ह्लादयति or किं ह्लादयति.

१२९ । नपरे नः । ८ । ३ । २७ ॥

नपरे हकारे मस्य नः स्याद्वा । किन्हुते । किं हुते ॥

129. न् is optionally substituted for म्, when it is followed by ह् which has a न् after it.

म् becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्; as किन्हुते or किं हुते.

१३० । ङ्णोः कुक् टुक् शरि । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

ङकारणकारयोः कुक्टुकावागमौ वा स्तः शरि । कुक्टुकोरसिद्धत्वाज्जश्त्वं न ॥ चयो द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादेरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्राङ्ख्षष्ठः प्राङ्क्षष्ठः । प्राङ् षष्ठः । सुगण्ड्षष्ठः सुगण्ट् षष्ठः । सुगण्ष्षष्ठः ॥

130. The augment क् is added to a final ङ्, and the augment ट् to a final ण्, before a sibilant, optionally.

The कुक् and टुक् augments being considered as asiddha, there is no जश् change, i. e. soft letters are not substituted for the hard. Before giving

the examples of this sutra, the following *Vârtika* must be applied, in order to get the proper forms.

Vârtika :—According to the option of Achârya Paushkarasâdi, the letters of चय् pratyâhâra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of शर् pratyâhâra).

Thus प्राङ्ष्षष्ठः or प्राङ्क्षष्ठः or प्राङ्ष्षष्ठः ; सुगण्ड्ष्षष्ठः or सुगण्ट्ष्षष्ठः or सुगण्षष्ठः

१३१ । ङः सि धुट् । ८ । ३ । २९ ॥

ङात्परस्य सस्य धुड्वा स्यात् । षट्त्सन्तः । षट्सन्तः ॥

131. After a word ending in ङ् there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus षट्त्सन्तः or षट्सन्त-

The word ङः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ङ्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमीनिर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

१३२ । नश्च । ८ । ३ । ३० ॥

नकारान्तात्सस्य धुड्वा । सन्त्सः or सन्सः ॥

132. After a word ending in न्, धुट् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus सन्त्सः or सन्सः ॥

१३३ । शि तुक् । ८ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नस्य पदान्तस्य शे परे तुग्वा स्यात् । शश्छोऽटीति छत्वविकल्पः । पक्षे झरोझरीति चलोपः । सञ्छंभुः । सञ्च्छंभुः । सञ्च्शंभुः । सञ्शंभुः । अछौ अचछा अचशा अशाविति चतुष्टयम् रूपाणामिह तुक्छत्वचलोपानां विकल्पनात् ॥

133. The augment त् may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

By rule VIII. 4. 63. S. 120. there is an optional छ. By the rule झरोझरि VIII. 4. 65. S. 71. there is elision of the छ् in the other alternative. Thus सञ्छंभुः or सञ्च्छंभुः or सञ्च्शंभुः or सञ्शंभुः

१३४ । ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् । ८ । ३ । ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वात्परो यो ङम् तदन्तं यत्पदं तस्मात्परस्याचो नित्यं ङमुडागमः स्यात् । प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा सुगण्णीशः । सन्नच्युतः ॥

134. After a word ending in ङ्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant ङ्, ण् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word ङमः is in the Ablative singular here ; and ह्रस्वात् qualifies ङमः ; and ङम् itself qualifies the word पदस्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16 S. 40) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with ङमः ॥ अचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sûtras. ङम् is a pratyâhâra meaning ङ्, ण् and न् ; and so also ङमुट् is a pratyâhâra containing the three augments ङुट्, णुट् and नुट् ॥

In other words ङ् is augment after ङ्, ण् after ण् and न् after न् ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ङुट् is the augment after a word ending in ङ्, as प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा ॥ णुट् is the augment after a word ending in ण्, as सुगण्णीशः ॥ नुट् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as सन्नच्युतः

१३५ । समः सुटि । ८ । ३ । ५ ॥

समो रुः स्यात् सुटि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥

135. रु is substituted for the म् of सम् (and thereby अँ or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment स् follows, in a samhitâ.

१३६ । अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा । ८ । ३ । २ ॥

अत्र रुप्रकरणे रोः पूर्वस्याऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् ॥

136. In the following sûtras upto VIII, 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—"But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which रु has been ordained."

This is an adhikâra sûtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which रु has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where रु is the subject of discussion.

Thus sûtra VIII. 3. 5, S. 135 says "In the place of the final of सम्, there is रु when सुट् augment follows." The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal; as सँस्कर्त्ता सँस्कर्त्तुम्, सँस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

१३७ । अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः । ८ । ३ । ४ ॥

अनुनासिकं विहाय रोः पूर्वस्मात्परोऽनुस्वारागमः स्यात् । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥

137. After what precedes रु, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvâra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. S. 136. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvâra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be

read into the sûtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः "a letter *other than* a nasal", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before रु ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5. S. 135 teaches रु substitution of the म् of सम् an anusvâra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ ८

Some say "the word परः in the sûtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः; i. e. the anusvâra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvâra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes रु ॥

By the rule खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः the रु is changed into Visarga and by the next rule this Visarga is changed into स् .

१३८ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

खरि विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यात् । एतदपवादे वा शरीति पाक्षिके विसर्गे प्राप्ते ॥ संपुंकानां सो वक्तव्यः *॥ संस्कर्त्ता ॥ सँस्कर्त्ता ॥ समो वा लोपमेके इति भाष्यम् *॥ लोपस्यापि रुप्रकरणस्थत्वादनुस्वारानुनासिकाभ्यामेकसकारं रूपत्रयम् । द्विसकारं तूक्तमेव । तत्रानचि चेति सकारस्य द्वित्वपक्षे त्रिसकारमपि रूपत्रयम् । अनुस्वारविसर्गजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयययमानामकारोपरि शर्षु चं पाठस्योपसंख्यानत्वेनानुस्वारस्याप्यच्त्वात् । अनुनासिकवतां त्रयाणां शरः खय इति कद्वित्वे षट् । अनुस्वारवतामनुस्वारस्यापि द्वित्वे द्वादश । एषामष्टादशानां तकारस्य द्वित्वे वचनान्तरेण पुनर्द्वित्वे च एकतं द्वितं त्रितमिति चतुष्पञ्चाशत् । अणोऽनुनासिकत्वे ऽष्टोत्तरशतम् ॥

138. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. There is Visarga also by the rule वाशरि VIII. 3.36. S. 151. Then we have the following *Vârtika* which ordains स् *always*, and never *visarga*.

Vârt:—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स् . Thus applying the previous four rules we have सम् + कर्ता = सम् + सुट् + कर्ता (VI. 1 137 S.2550) = स् + रु + सुट् + कर्ता (VIII. 3.2. S.136) = संस्कर्ता or सँस्कर्ता ॥

According to Mahâbhâshya, there is elision of स् after सम्

Thus there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus सँस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सँस्स्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4.47 S.48 to this latter, and have three स, as सँस्स्स्कर्त्ता, or संस्स्कर्ता ॥ The anusvâra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सँस्कर्ता, सँस्स्कर्ता and सँस्स्स्कर्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vârtika शरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvâra, will also double their anusvâra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvâra : and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त, two त and three य, we have 3 × 18 = 54 forms. This will be doubled (2 × 54 = 108) when अण् is nasalised.

१३९ । पुमः खय्यम्परे । ८ । ३ । ६ ॥

अम्परे खयि पुम्शब्दस्य रुः स्यात् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽप्रत्ययस्थेति षत्वपर्युदासात् × क× पयोः प्राप्तौ । अव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु षत्वप्राप्तौ । संपुंकानामिति सः । पुँस्कोकिलः । पुंस्कोकिलः । पुँस्पुत्रः । पुंस्पुत्रः । अम्परे किम् । पुंक्षीरम् । खयि किम् । पुंवाशः । ख्यात्रादेशे न पुंख्यानम् ॥

139. रु is substituted for the म् of पुम्, (whereby the उ is changed to उँ or उं) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

The word पुंस is formed by the Unâdi affix डुमसुन् added to the root पुञ् ॥ There are two views of Unâdi formed words—one considers them as *derivative* words, the other regards them as *non-derivative* or रूढि words. If the word पुंस् be taken as a derivative word (vyutpatti paksha) then the exception "apratyaye" of the sûtra VII. 3. 41. S. 155 would apply, and र् would not be changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155. To prevent both these incongruities, the Vârtika सं पुंकानामिति सः (see the preceding sûtra) always ordains स् and never रु ॥ Thus पुम् + कोकिलः = पुर् + कोकिलः = पुष् or पु × क + कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 41. S. 155) = पुं स्कोकिलः or पुँस्कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 2 & 4 S. 135 & 136). Similarly पुँस्पुत्रः or पुंस्पुत्रः

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुंवास :, पुंगवः (V. 4 92. S. 729). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुंक्षीरः, पुंक्षुरः ॥

Vârtika:—Not so when चक्ष् follows पुम, in those cases where ख्यात्र् is substituted for चक्ष् (II. 4. 54 S. 2476). As पुंख्यानम् ॥ ख्यान is formed by adding ल्युट् to चक्ष (III. 3. 115 S. 3290).

१४० । नश्छव्यप्रशान् । ८ । ३ । ७ ॥

अम्परे छवि नकारान्तस्य पदस्य रुः स्यात् न तु प्रशान्शब्दस्य । विसर्गः । सत्वम् । श्चुत्वम् । शार्ङ्गिँश्छिन्धि । शार्ङ्गिँश्छिन्धि । चक्रिँश्चायस्व । चक्रिँश्चायस्व । पदस्य किम् । हन्ति । अम्परे किम् । सन्त्सरुः खड्गमुष्टिः । अप्रशान् किम् । प्रशान्तनोति ॥

140. रु is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ट, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sûtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sûtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive. शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि = शार्ङ्गिर् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 7. S. 140) = शार्ङ्गिः + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 15 S. 76) = शार्ङ्गिस् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 34 S. 138) = शार्ङ्गिश् + छिन्धिः (III. 4. 40 S. 3361) = शार्ङ्गिँश्छिन्धि or शार्ङ्गिश्छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 2-4 S. 136, S. 137). Similarly चक्रिँश्चायस्व or चक्रिश्चायस्व ॥

Why do we say of a Pada? Observe हन्ति ॥ Here the न् of हन् is not changed to रु before ति, because it is not final in a pada. Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् तनोति. प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम follows छ्व्'? See भवान् स्रुरुकः ॥ स्रुरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्रुरुकः (कनु V. 2. 64 S. 1864).

१४१ । नूँन्पे । ८ । ३ । १० ॥

नूँनित्यस्य रुः स्याद्वा पकारे परे ॥

141. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नूँन् before प् ॥

Thus नूँन् + पाहि = नूँर् + पाहि = नूँः + पाहि (VIII. 3. 15, 8. 76). At this stage applies the following sûtra.

१४२ । कुप्वोः ×क×पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कवर्गे पवर्गे च परे विसर्जनीयस्य क्रमाज्जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ स्तः । चाद्विसर्गः । येन नाप्राप्त इतिन्यायेन विसर्जनीयस्य स इत्यस्यापवादोऽयम् । न तु शर्परे विसर्जनीय इत्यस्य । तेन वासः क्षौममित्यादौ विसर्ग एव । नूँः × पाहि । नूँः × पाहि । नूँः पाहि । नूँः पाहि । नून्पाहि ॥

142. ×क and ×प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

The word च 'and' in the sûtra indicates that the visarga also comes. By the maxim येन न प्राप्त &c. this sûtra debars the sûtra VIII. 3. 34 S. 138 which ordians स् for the visarga. But it does not debar VIII. 3. 35. S. 150. Therefore we have the visarga in वासः क्षौमम् &c.

Thus we get नूँः × पाहि or नूँः × पाहि or नूँः पाहि or नूँः पाहि or नून्पाहि ॥

१४३ । कानाम्रेडिते । ८ । ३ । १२ ॥

कान्नकारस्य रुः स्यादाम्रेडिते परे संपुंकानामिति सः यद्वा ॥

143. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmredita.

Here by the vârtika, under S. 138, the रु is changed to स् ॥ Or the next sûtra applies :—

१४४ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

कृष्विण उत्तरस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यादन्यत्र तु सः । × क × पयोरपवादः । इति सः । काँस्कान् । कांस्कान् । कस्कः । कौतस्कुतः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

144. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavâda to Sûtra VIII. 3. 37 S. 142. ष् is substituted after इ or उ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्कः, 2, कौतस्कुतः (with अण् of कुत आगतः). 3. भ्रातुष्पुत्रः (VI. 3. 23 S. 981) 4. शुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21 S. 979) 5. सद्यस्कालः ; 6. सद्यस्की (from सद्यस् 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadâdi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्की in the sense of संवत्सरः ऋतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the रु is by VIII. 3. 12 S. 143). 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्हिष्पूलम् 13. अनुष्पात्रम् ॥ No complete list of this class is given anywhere. It is an, ākṛitigaṇa

Thus कांस्कान् or काँस्कान् ॥

१४५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । १ । ७२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

145. In the sûtras of Pâṇini beginning with this upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words **संहितायाम्** 'in an unbroken flow of speech,' should be supplied.

This is an adhikâra or governing sûtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. Whatever we shall say in the sûtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice.

१४६ । छे च । ६ । १ । ७३ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य छे परे तुगागमः स्यात्संहितायाम् । इचुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जश्त्वेन दः । ततश्चर्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्पूर्वं इचुत्वेन जः । तस्य चर्त्वेन चः । इचुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्योः कुरिति कुत्वं न । स्वच्छाया । शिवच्छाया ॥

146. The augment **त्** is added to a preceding short vowel also when **छ** follows in an uninterrupted speech.

To a short vowel followed by छ, is added the augment त् in Sanhitâ. Here we must remember the rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1 S. 12.) to get the proper form.

Thus स्व + छाया = स्वत् + छाया. Here appear two rules, (1) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 requiring the त् to be changed to च ; (2) VIII. 2 39. S. 84 requiring the त् to be changed to द्। By the maxim पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् the च् will be considered as non-effective for the purposes of जश्त्व change. Therefore we apply this second rule first and get.

स्वद् + छाया (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84.) Here appear again two rules (1) VIII. 4. 55. S. 121 by which द् required to be changed into a चर् letter, and (2) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 by which द् required to be changed to ज्. The latter takes effect, the former being considered as asidhha, and we get स्वज् + छाया, and then ज् is changed to च — स्वच् + छाया (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121.)

Here appears the rule VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 requiring च् to be changed to क्. But च् was obtained by VIII. 4. 55 a rule *subsequent* to VIII 2. 30 and therefore it is considered as asiddha, and so च् is not changed to क्॥

Thus we have स्वच्छाया, शिवच्छाया ॥

१४७। आङ्माङोश्च। ६। १। ७४॥

एतयोरुछे परे तुक् स्यात्। पदान्ताट्टेति विकल्पापवादः॥ आच्छादयति। माच्छिदत्॥

147. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

This sutra ordains तुक् *necessarily* when by VI. 1. 76 S. 149 it would have been optional. Thus आच्छादयति, माच्छिदत्॥

१४८। दीर्घात्। ६। १। ७५॥

दीर्घाच्छे परे तुक् स्यात्। दीर्घस्यायं तुक् न तु छस्य। सेनासुराच्छायेति ज्ञापकात्। चेच्छिद्यते॥

148. The augment त्, is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

The तुक् is added to the long vowel and not to छ, as we learn from Pânini himself using it in the sûtra विभाषा सेनासुराच्छाया &c. II. 4. 25. S. 828. Had तुक् been added to छ, then छ being changed to च by VIII. 4. 55, there would have been two च's, and not the form च्छ् as used by Pânini himself in the above sûtra. Or if by applying the maxim संनिपातलक्षणविधिः (See. S. 204) the छ may not be changed, (because the छ was the occasion for the addition of त् and this त् should not cause the vanishing of this छ,) then also we should have च् after छ as छच and not च्छ॥ This indicates that तुक् is added to the long vowel.

Thus चेच्छिद्यते॥

१४९। पदान्ताद्वा। ६। १। ७६॥

दीर्घात्पदान्ताच्छे परे तुग्वा स्यात्। लक्ष्मीच्छाया। लक्ष्मीछाया॥

149. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ॥

Thus लक्ष्मी च्छाया or लक्ष्मी छाया॥

———:o:———

अथ विसर्गसंधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISARGA SANDHI.

१४९ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

149 A. स् is the the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

This sutrâ has already been taught before. It is repeated here for the sake of the visarga Sandhi. Thus विष्णुस् + त्राता = विष्णुर् + त्राता = विष्णुः + त्राता = विष्णुस् + त्राता = विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

First, the स् of the affix सु of the nominative singular is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162; and then this र् is changed to *Visarga* by VIII. 3. 15 S. 76 and then this *Visarga* is changed to स् by the present rule. This स् is not again changed to र् because with regard to र् this visarga-born स् is considered as *asiddha*

१५० । शर्परे विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

शर्परे खरि विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयो न स्यान्यत् । कः स्सरुः । घनाघनः क्षोभणः । इह यथायथं सत्वं जिह्वामूलीयश्च न ॥

150. "The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrîhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus कः स्सरुः, घनाघनः क्षोभणः ॥

Though the sûtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvâmulîya and upadhmânîya changes also do not take place, in cases like अङ्गिः प्सातम्, वासः क्षौमम् ॥

१५१ । वा शरि । ८ । ३ । ३६ ॥

शरि परे विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीय एव वा स्यात् । हरिः शेते । हरिश्शेते । खर्परे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ रामस्त्राता । हरिस्फुरति । पक्षे विसर्गे सत्वे च त्रैरूप्यम् ॥

151. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As हरिः शेते or हरिश्शेते,

Vârt:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As राम स्थाता or रामः स्थाता हरिस्फुरति or हरिः स्फुरति ॥

In the other alternative there will be Visarga or the स् change. Thus we get three forms रामस्थाता or रामः स्थाता or रामस्स्थाता.

कुप्वोः ×क×पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

क×करोति । कः करोति । क×खनति । कः खनति । क×पचति । कः पचति । क×फलति । कः फलति ॥

151 A. ×क and ×प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial. This sûtra has already been taught before (S. 142.)

Thus कः+करोति or क×करोति ॥ The क and प in ×क and×प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvâmûliya and the Upadhmânîya: two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

The rule VIII. 3. 34, S. 138 does not apply, because this sûtra is an apvâda to that. But VIII. 3. 35. S. 150 will not be debarred. As वासः क्षौमम् आङ्क्तम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35, and 37, In fact, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other, (VIII. 2. 1). every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3 37.

To get this, some divide this sûtra into two:—(1) कुप्वोः "The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant." (2) ×क×पौच "The jihvâmûliya and upadhmânîya are substitutes of a visarga before a gûttural and a labial in every other case."

१५२ । सोऽपदादौ । ८ । ३ । ३८ ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यादपदाद्योः कुप्वोः परयोः ॥ पाशकल्पकाम्येष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ पयस्पाशम् यशस्ककल्पम् । यशस्कम् । यशस्काम्यति ॥ अनव्ययस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्रातः कल्पम् ॥ काम्ये रोरेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥ नेह । गीः काम्यति ॥

152. स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means "when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*," in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix.

Vârt:—This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67 S. 2022); (V. 3. 70 S. 2025); यशस्कम्, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9 S. 2663).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable: as, प्रातः कल्पम्॥

Vart:—The visarga which comes from र is only changed to स before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यति, and यशस्काम्यति; but not here, गीःकाम्यति॥

१५३। इणः षः। ८। ३। ३९॥

इणः परस्य विसर्गस्य षकारः स्यात्पूर्वविषये। सर्पिष्पाशम्। सर्पिष्कल्पम्। सर्पिष्कम्। सर्पिष्काम्यति॥

153. ष् is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial, under the circumstances mentioned in the preceding sûtra.

Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्; सर्पिष्कल्पम्; सर्पिष्कम्; सर्पिष्काम्यति॥

१५४। नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः। ८। ३ ४०॥

गतिसंज्ञयोरनयोर्विसर्गस्य सः कुप्वोः परयोः। नमस्करोति। साक्षात्प्रभृतित्वात् कृञो योगे विभाषा गतिसंज्ञा। तदभावे नमः करोति। पुरोऽव्ययमिति नित्यं गतिसंज्ञा। पुरस्करोति। अगतित्वान्न ह पूः पुरौ पुरः प्रवेष्टव्याः॥

154. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substituted स् before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74 S. 768 and 775).

Thus नमस्करोति॥

The word नमस् is optionally a Gati word when it is combined with the verb कृ, because it belongs to the class of साक्षात् &c. (see Ganapâtha under I. 4. 74). When it is not a Gati word, then we have नमः करोति॥ पुरस् is always a Gati when it is Indeclinable (I. 467. S 768). Thus पुरस्करोति॥ But when it is not a Gati word then पूः प्रवेष्टव्याः where पुर् is a noun and is declined as पूः (N. S), पुरौ (N. D), पुरः (N. Pl).

१५५। इदुदुपधस्य चाऽप्रत्ययस्य। ८। ३। ४१॥

इकारोकारोपधस्याप्रत्ययस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यात्कुप्वोः। निष्प्रत्यूहम्। अविष्कृतम्। दुष्कृतम्। अप्रत्ययस्य किम्। अग्निः करोति। वायुः करोति। एकादेशशास्त्रनिमित्तस्य न षत्वम्। कस्कादिषु भ्रातुष्पुत्रशब्दस्य पाठात्। तेनेह न। मातुः कृपा॥ मुहुसः प्रतिषेधः॥ मुहुः कामा॥

155. ष् is substituted, before a hard guttural or a

labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर्, बहिर्, आविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस्॥

Thus निष्प्रत्यूहम् आवि ष्कृतम्, दुष्कृतम्॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति॥ How do you explain मातुः कृपा? For here in मातुः &c., the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, S. 280. and the र् of मातुर् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातुष्पुत्रः in Kaskâdi class (VIII. 3. 48. S. 144). indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भ्रातुः॥ The reason of this is that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekâdeśa उ obtained by क+अ=उ (VI. 1. 111 S. 279.)

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मुहुस्; as मुहुस्कामा or मुहुः कामा॥

१५६। तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम्। ८। ३। ४२

तिरसः सो वा स्यात् कुप्वोः। तिरस्कर्ता। तिरःकर्ता॥

156. The visarga of the Gati **तिरस्** is optionally changed to **स** before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, or तिरः कर्त्ता॥

१५७। द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोऽर्थे। ८। ३। ४३॥

कृत्वोऽर्थे वर्तमानानामेषां विसर्गस्य षकारो वा स्यात् कुप्वोः। द्विष्करोति। द्विः करोतीत्यादि। कृत्वोऽर्थे किम्। चतुष्कपालः॥

157. **ष्** is optionally the substitute of the visargas of **द्विस्, त्रिस्** and **चतुर्** when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix सुच् (स) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvasuch by V. 4. 18. S. 2086.

As द्विः करोति or द्विष्करोति॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kritvasuch or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपालः where ष् is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155.

१५८। इदुसोः सामर्थ्ये॥ ८। ३। ४४॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य षः स्याद्वा कुप्वोः। सर्पिष्करोति सर्पिः करोति। धनुष्करोति। धनुः करोति। सामर्थ्यमिह व्यपेक्षा। सामर्थ्ये किम्। तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब त्वमुदकम्॥

158. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, धनुः करोति or धनुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब स्वदुरकम् where सर्पिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्य here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words; and not "having the same meaning," or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्य is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean 'compound.' But it being a पदविधि the word समर्थ is understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1 S. 647.). The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sâmarthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sâmarthya of compounds where *two* or *more* words denote *one* object. The sâmarthya here means vyapekshâ which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तेत, तयो र्यो योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas."

१५९ । नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ८ । ३ । ४५ ॥

इसुसोर्विसर्गस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं षः स्यात् कुप्वोः परयोः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति किम् । परमसर्पिःकुण्डिका । कस्कादिषु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकाशब्देऽसमासे व्यपेक्षाविरहेऽपि षत्वार्थः । व्यपेक्षार्थां नित्यार्थश्च ॥

159. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The word इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका. The option even of the last sûtra does not apply to these examples.

The inclusion of the word सर्पिष्कुण्डिका in the कस्कादि class (VIII. 3. 48. S. 161 A) indicates that the ष change will take place even when there is no compounding as well as when there is no व्यपेक्षा or co-relation. But when there is व्यपेक्षा the ष change is compulsory.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सृप् by adding the Unâdi affix इसि (Uṇ II. 109), and धनुस् by the Uṇâdi affix उसि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore

on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इसुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिस् and धनुस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sûtra?

Ans.—The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sûtra, is an indicator (jñâpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस्:— प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sûtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sûtra?

Ans:—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

१६० । अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अकारादुत्तरस्यानव्ययस्य विसर्गस्य समासे नित्यं सकारादेशः स्यात्करोत्यादिषु परेषु न तूत्तरपदस्थस्य । अयस्कारः । अयस्कामः । अयस्कंसः । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्पात्रम् । अयःसहिता कुशा अयस्कुशा । अयस्कर्णी । अतः किम् । गीःकारः । अनव्ययस्य किम् । स्वःकामः । समासे किम् । यशः करोति । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य किम् । परमयशःकारः ॥

160. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस, कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अयस्कारः, (III. 2. 1 S. 2913.) कम्—अयस्कामः, कंसा—अयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः, पात्र—अयस्पात्रम्, कुशा—अयस्कुशा, कर्णी—अयस्कर्णी ॥

Why do we say अतः "a visarga preceded by short अ or the visarga of the word ending in अः"? See गीःकारः ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of an Indeclinable"? Observe स्वः कामः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यशः करोति ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमयशःकारः ॥

१६१ । अधः शिरसी पदे । ८ । ३ । ४७ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य सादेशः स्यात्पदशब्द परे । अधस्पदम् । शिरस्पदम् । समास इत्येव । अधः पदम् । शिरः पदम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येत्येव । परमशिरःपदम् ॥

161. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम्, शिरः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

१६१ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

भास्करः ॥

161 A. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest. This sûtra has already been taught before (see S. 144). It is read here again for the purpose of *Visarga-Sandhi.* Thus भाः + कर = भास्करः ॥

———:o:———

अथ स्वादिप्रकरणम्।

CHAPTER VII.

ON COMBINATION OF CASE-ENDINGS.

१६२। ससजुषो रुः। ८। २। ६६॥

पदान्तस्य सस्य सजुष्शब्दस्य च रुः स्यात्। जश्त्वापवादः॥

162. For the final स् and for the ष् of सजुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word. This debars जश्.

Thus, शिवस् + अर्च्य, here शिवस् is a word formed with the Nominative Singular case affix सु. This स् will be changed by the above Sûtra into र् and not to a जश् letter. Thus, we get शिवर् + अर्च्य. Then applies the next rule :—

१६३। अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते। ६। १। ११३॥

अप्लुतादतः परस्य रोरुः स्यादप्लुतेऽति। भोभगोऽघो इतिप्राप्तस्य यत्वस्याऽपवादः। उत्वं प्रति हत्वस्थाऽसिद्धत्वं तु न भवति। रुत्वमनद्य उत्वविधेः सामर्थ्यात्॥

163. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र् substitute of a final स् VIII. 2. 66.) when an अ, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

This sûtra debars the य of VIII. 3. 17 S. 167 The र् taught in the Tripâdi VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 is not *asiddha* though so required by VIII. 2. 2 S. 12. for the purposes of उ substitution required by the present sûtra of the 6th Adhyâya. This is because this sûtra specifically mentions the word र् and then ordains उ in its stead. Had this sûtra not perceived the र् of VIII. 2. 66. it would have simply ignored it and not mentioned it at all.

The phrase उत् is understood here, as well as the word अति of VI. 1. 109, Therefore शिवर् + अर्च्यः = शिव + उ + अर्च्यः At this stage, the next sûtra VI. 1. 102 raises a doubt, viz, should अ and उ of शिव + उ become a long आ as शिवा.

१६४। प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः। ६। १। १०२॥

अकः प्रथमाद्वितीययोरचि परे पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ एकादेशः स्यात्। इति प्राप्ते॥

164. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the

Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अकः and दीर्घः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case of the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sûtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वरूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. But this rule does not apply in the case of शिव उ + अर्च्यः because of the following *apavâda* rule.

१६५। नादिचि। ६। १। १०४॥

अवर्णादिचि परे न पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः। आद्गुणः। एङः पदान्तादति। शिवोऽर्च्यः। अत इति तपरः किम्। देवा अत्र। अतीति तपरः किम्। श्वअगन्ता। अप्लुतादिति किम्। एहि सुस्रोत[3] अत्र स्नाहि। प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वादतः परोऽयम्। अप्लुताविति विशेषणे तु तस्यासमर्थ्यात्प्राप्तासिद्धत्वम्। तपरकरणस्य तु न सामर्थ्यं दीर्घनिवृत्त्या चरितार्थत्वात्। अप्लुते इति किम्। तिष्ठतु पय अ[3] ग्निदत्त। ओरनृत इति प्लुतः॥

165. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Therefore शिव उ + अर्च्यः = शिवोऽर्च्यः। The अ उ become guṇa by the आद्गुणः (VI. 1. 87. S. 69) and the subsequent अ of अर्च्य is elided by एङः पदान्तादति (VI. 1. 109. S. 86). Why do we say 'after a short अ'? Or why have we added a त् to अ? So that the long आ may be excluded. Observe देवाः + अत्र = देवा अत्र॥ The word अति is understood here from VI. 1. 109. S. 86. र must be followed by a short अ; thus श्वर् + अगन्ता = श्वअगन्ता। Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As एहि सुस्रोत ३ अत्र स्नाहि। Though the word is अत् in the sûtra, and it means only short अ and neither long आ nor the pluta अ३, yet the word is repeated in the sûtra for the following reason. In the above example एहि सुस्रोत[3] अत्र स्नाहि, the अ of सुस्रोतस् is prolated by VIII. 2. 84. This prolation being effected by a Tripâdi rule, would not be perceived by VI 1. 113, and for the purposes of this latter rule the prolation is non existent, and the अ is still short. Therefore to make the prolation siddha or effective for the purposes of VI. 1. 113, the word "pluta" is specifically mentioned in the sûtra. The त् of अत् would not have produced this result, because that त् found its scope in preventing the application of the rule to the *long* आ॥

Why do we say "when followed by an *apluta* अ?" Observe तिष्ठतु पय अ[3] ग्निदत्त! "O Agnidatta! let the milk remain." Here अ३ of Agnidatta is pluta by VIII. 2. 86. and it being asiddha, the present rule would have applied.

१६६ । हशि च । ६ । १ । ११४ ॥

अप्लुतादतः परस्य रोरुः स्याद्धशि । शिवो वन्द्यः । रोरित्युकारानुबन्धग्रहणान्नेह । प्रातरत्र । भ्रातर्गच्छ । देवास् इह इति स्थिते । रुत्वम् ॥

166. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र् substitute of स् VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हश् pratyâhâra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus शिवोवन्द्यः ।

The उ substitution takes place in the case of that र् only which is called रु in this Grammar; i. e. र् with the indicatory letter उ; therefore not in प्रातर्+अत्र = प्रातरत्र or धातर्+गच्छ = धातर्गच्छ ।

Now we take up the Sandhi of देवास्+इह । Here the स् is first changed into रु by VIII. 2. 66. Then we apply the following rule :—

१६७ । भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽशि । ८ । ३ । १७ ॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य रोर्यादेशः स्यादशि परे । असन्धिः सौत्रः । लोपः शाकल्यस्य । देवा इह । देवायिह । अशि किम् । देवाः सन्ति । यद्यपीह यस्यासिद्धत्वाद्विसर्गो लभ्यते तथापि विसर्गस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन रुत्वाद्यत्वं स्यात् । न ह्ययमल्विधिः । रोरिति सप्तम्यायरूपाश्रयणात् । भोस् भगोस् अघोस् इति सकारान्ता निपाताः । तेषां रोर्यत्वे कृते ॥

167. य् is substituted for the रु called र्, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

In the Sûtra भगो, अघो have not been combined by the rules of Sandhi. Thus we get देवास्+इह = देवार्+इह = देवाय्+इह = देवा इह or देवा यिह । In one case we elide य् by the rule लोपः शाकल्यस्य (VIII. 3. 19. S. 67).

Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyâhâra'? Observe देवाः सन्ति ।

Though in the Sûtra the य् being considered as *asiddha*, the रु will be changed not to उ but to *visarga*; yet this *visarga* being considered as *sthânivat* to रु, will be changed to य् । Moreover, it should not be objected that this is an *alvidhi* and therefore, the *visarga* will not be *sthânivat* to रु, because here the whole word-form रु is taken and therefore it is not an *alvidhi*.

In the sutra भोस्, भगोस्, अघोस् are three particles ending in स्. The स् will be changed to रु and the रु to य् and thus we have भोय्, भगोय् and अघोय्. Here applies the next sutra :—

१६८ । व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य । ८ । ३ । १८ ॥

पदान्तयोर्वकारयकारयोर्लघूच्चारणौ वयौ वा स्तोऽशि परे । यस्योच्चारणे जिह्वाग्रोपाग्रमध्यमूलानां शैथिल्यं जायते स लघूच्चारणः ॥

168. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c. and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śâkaṭâyana.

The effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयत्र, भगोयत्र, अघोयत्र, कायास्ते, or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावादित्यः or आसा आदित्यः, द्वावत्र or द्वावानय, or द्वाआनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu-praytna-tara. In fact, व् and य् are to be slurred over.

१६९ । ओतो गार्ग्यस्य । ८ । ३ । २० ॥

ओकारात्परस्य पदान्तस्याऽलघुप्रयत्नस्य यकारस्य नित्यं लोपः स्यात् । गार्ग्यग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । भो अच्युत । लघुप्रयत्नपक्षे भोयच्युत । पदान्तस्य किम् । लोयम् ॥

169. य् preceded by ओ and final in a Pada and when it is not pronounced with a light articulation is always elided, before an अश् letter according to the opinion of Gârgya.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus भो अच्युत ॥

The making of it a separate sûtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhâshâ rule. The name of Gârgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujârtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna य् which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that the laghu prayatnatara य् does come also. As भोयच्युत ॥

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe लोयम्.

१७० । उञि च पदे । ८ । ३ । २१ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्लोप उञि पदे । स उ एकाग्निः । पदे किम् । तम्त्वायुतम् । वेमः संप्रसारणे रूपम् । यदि तु प्रतिपदोक्तो निपात उञिति ग्रहीष्येते तर्ह्युत्तरार्थं पदग्रहणम् ॥

170. व् and य् (preceded by अ, or आ at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उम् and not the उम् which is a root obtained by the samprasâraṇa of वेम् ॥ Thus स उ एकाग्निः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे "उ when it is a pada"? So that the rule may not apply to उम् the form assumed by वेम् by samprasâraṇa, as तन्वे उतं=तन्त्रयुतम् ॥ *Quere*:— उम्, could never have meant the form assumed by वेम्, for the samprasâraṇa of वम्, is उ, the म् is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakshaṇa- pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उम् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उम् ॥

The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsquent sûtras like VIII. 3. 32. This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional, Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19. would have been enough.

Note:—The maxim above referred to "लक्षण प्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम्" means:

(Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original, and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.

१७१ । हलि सर्वेषाम् । ८ । ३ । २२ ॥

भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य लध्वलघूच्चारणस्य यकारस्य लोपः स्याद्धलि सर्वेषां मतेन । भो देवाः । भो लक्ष्मि । भो विद्वद्वृन्द । भगो नमस्ते । अघो याहि । देवा नम्याः । देवा यान्ति । हलि किम् । देवायिह ॥

171. (The य whether lightly pronounced or not preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ् or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all the Âchâryas.

Thus भोदेव ; भोलक्ष्मि; भोविद्वद्वृन्द, भगोनमस्ते; अघोयाहि; देवा नम्याः, देवायान्ति ॥ Why do we say followed by a consonant ? Observe देवायिह or देवाइह ॥

१७२ । रोऽसुपि । ८ । २ । ६९ ॥

अह्नो रेफादेशः स्यान्न तु सुपि । रो-रपवादः । अहरहः । अहर्गणः । असुपि किम् । अहोभ्याम् । अत्रा-हन्निति रुत्वम् ॥ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरेषु रुत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ अहोरूपम् । गतमहो रात्रिरेषा । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वादहोरात्रः । अहोरथन्तरम् ॥ अहरादीनां पत्यादिषु वा रेफः * ॥ विसर्गापवादः । अहर्पतिः । गीर्पतिः । धूर्पतिः । पक्षे विसर्गोपधूमानीयौ ॥

172. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

This debars रु. Thus अहरहः । अहर्गणः ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, Here रु-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् by VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The difference between this रु-called र and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called र is changed to उ by VI. 1. 113, S. 163. the ordinary र is not so changed.

Vart.—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र्, As अहोरूपम् ; गतमहोरात्रिरेषा. So also अहोरात्र, though the word रात्र is not रात्रि ॥ This is on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् which means :— That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) some thing else (than what it was before the change had taken place). अहोरथन्तरम्.

Vart.—The words अहर् &c. before पति &c. should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c. are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहःपति or अहःपतिः ; गीर्पतिः, गीः पतिः or गीःपतिः; धूर्पतिः, धूःपतिः or धूःपतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c. which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र्.

१७३ । रो रि । ८ । ३ । १४ ॥

रेफस्य रेफे परे लोपः स्यात् ॥

173. र् is elided before a र् ॥

Note.—The sûtra is रः रि and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sûtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including रु॥ Thus नीरुक्तम्, दूरुक्तम् ॥

१७४ । ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः । ६ । ३ । १११ ॥

ढरेफौ लोपयतीति तथा तस्मिन्वर्णेऽर्थाद् ढकाररेफात्मके परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः स्यात् पुना । रमते । हरी रम्यः । शंभूराजते । अणः किम् । तृढः । वृढः । तृहू हिंसायम् । वृहू उद्यमने । पूर्वग्रहणमनुत्तरपदेऽपि पूर्वमात्रस्य दीर्घार्थम् । लीढः । अजघाः । मनस् रथ इत्यत्र रुत्वे कृते हशि चेत्युत्वे रोरिति लोपे च प्राप्ते ।

174. When ह् or र् is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ, a corresponding long vowel is substituted.

Thus पुनर् + रमते = पुनारमते ; हरिर् + रम्यः = हरी रम्यः ; शंभुर् + राजते = शंभूराजते । Why do we say अणः. Observe तृढः वृढः from the roots तृहू 'to injure' and 'वृहू' 'to exert.' Here the ऋ is not lengthened because it is not included in अण् pratyâhâra.

The word तृढः is thus formed, तृह् + क्त (त) = तृढ + त (होढः VIII. 2. 31. S. 324) = तृह् + ध् (झषस्तथोर्धोऽधः VIII. 2. 40 S. 2280) = तृद् + द् (ढुनाष्टुः VIII. 4. 41) = तृ + o + ढ (ढो ढे लोपः VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335). Here ह् is elided, but as the preceding vowel ऋ is not included in अण् pratyâhâra, which includes only अ, इ and उ (the ण् being the first ण्), so there is no lengthening.

The word पूर्वस्य 'for the preceding' is used in the sûtra in order to indicate that there is the lengthening of the अण् vowel, even when no other word follows it ; in fact the lengthening is of the preceding vowel alone, irrespective of any other word following it or not. Thus अजघर्ः, लीढः ॥

The word अजघर्ः is thus formed. To the root गृध "to covet" we add the intensive affix यङ्लुक् and the affix लङ् and सिप् and the doubling. Thus we get the form अजघर्रर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजघर्ः ॥

Note.—The word अजघर्ः is thus formed:—

गृध् + यङ् + सिप् (the 2nd Per. Sing in लङ्) =
गृधि् + o + सि (यङोऽचि च II. 4. 74. S. 2650) =
गृध् गृध् + सि (सन् यङोः VI. 1. 9. S. 2 395) =
गर्धि् गृध् + सि = (गुणो यङ् लुकोः VII. 4. 82. S. 2 630) =
ग गृध् + सि (हलादि शेषः VII. 4. 60. S. 2179) =
गरगृध् + सि (रुगरिकौचलुकि VII. 4. 91. S. 2652) =
जगृध् + सि (अभ्यासे चर् च VIII. 4. 54. S. 2182) =
जगर्ध् + सि (पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च VII. 3. 86. S. 2189) =
जगर्ध् + स् (इतश्च III. 4. 100 S. 2207) =
जगर्ध् + o (हलङ्याप्भ्यो VI. 1. 68. S. 252) =
जघर्ध् (एकाचोबशोभष् VIII. 2. 37 S. 326) =
जघर्द् (झलां जशोऽन्ते VIII. 2. 39 S. 84) =
जघर्रर् (दश्च VIII. 2. 75 S. 2468) =
जघर्+ o + र् (रो रि VIII. 3. 14 S. 173) =

जघर्+र् (the present Sûtra) which with the augment अट् (लुङ् लङ् लङ् षु अट् VI. 4. 71 S. 2206). becomes अजघर्ः ॥

The word लीढः is formed from लिह् + त. The ह is changed to ढ् by VIII. 2. 31. S. 324. and the त is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, S. 2240 and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41, S. 113.

Thus we get लिह्+ढ. The first ह् being elided by VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335. we get the form लीढ: by the present sûtra.

Now we take the *sandhi* of मनस्+रथः=मनर्+रथः. Here two sûtras simultaneously apply viz. हशिच VI. 1. 14. S. 166 causing the substitution of उ for र् and the sûtra रात्रे VIII. 3. 14. S. 173. causing the elision of र्. What sûtra are we to apply? Here comes the following Interpretation sûtra.

१७५। विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्। १। ४॥ २॥

तुल्यबलविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात्। इति लोपे प्राप्ते। पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति रोरीत्यस्यासिद्धत्वादुत्वमेव। मनोरथः॥

175. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.'

Thus, the *lopa* rule being the *para* rule would cause the *lopa* of र् of मनर् before रथ. But here we must remember the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), therefore, the rule of elision of र् (VIII, 3. 14. S. 173) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of उ required by VI. 1, 114. S. 166. Therefore we have उ. Thus we have मनउ+रथ=मनोरथः॥

१७६। एतत्तदोः सुलोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि। ६। १। १३२॥

अककारयोरेतत्तदोर्यः सुस्तस्य लोपः स्याद्धलि न तु नञ्समासे। एष विष्णुः। स शंभुः। अकोः किम्? एषको रुद्रः। अनञ्समासे किम्। असः शिवः। हलि किम्। एषोऽत्र॥

176. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026.) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः+विष्णुः=एष विष्णुः॥ स शंभुः॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको रुद्रः॥

NOTE:—The words एतत् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle would be considered just like the एतद् and तद्, without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it.'

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe असःशिवः॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽत्र॥

१७७। सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् । ६ । १ । १३४ ॥

स इत्यस्य सोर्लोपः स्यादचि पादशेश्चेल्लोपे सत्येव पूर्येत । सेमामविड्ढि प्रभृतिं य ईशिषे । इह ऋक्पाद एव गृह्यत इति वामनः । आर्षत्वेषाच्छ्लोकपादोऽपीत्यपरे सैष दाशरथी रामः । लोपे चेति किम् । स इत् क्षेति । स एवमुक्त्वा । सत्येवेत्यवधारणं तु स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलमिति पूर्वसूत्राद्बहुलग्रहणानुवृत्त्या लभ्यते । तेनेह न । सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् ॥

177. The °case-affix of सस् 'he,' is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेमामविड्ढि प्रभृतिं य ईशिषे (Rig. II. 24. 1.) = सः इमाम् अविड्ढि (प्राप्नुहि, अवतेः प्राप्त्यर्थस्य लोटि रूपं) प्रभृतिम् (प्रकर्षेण भृतां स्तुतिं) यः (हे बृहस्पते यस्त्वं) ईशिषे (सर्वस्य जगत ईश्वरो भवसि) " accept (O Brihaspati !) this good burden (of our praise) He who rulest. "

According to Vâmana the author of Kâśikâ, this rule is confined to Vedic metres only. According to others, the rule is applied to all ślokas without any such distinction.

In explaining this sûtra we have used the word सत्येव "only then" in order to limit its scope ; and this we get by the force of the word बहुलं in the sûtra VI. 1. 133. S. 3526. which immediately precedes it in the order of Ashtâdhyáyî. Therefore there is no elision here, because the verse is completed without elision.

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् (Raghuvansa) we cannot say स अहम् or साहम् &c. सेदु राजा क्षयति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरुरुष्यसे (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say 'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इत् क्षेति; सएवमुक्त्वा ॥ The word अचि in the sûtra is for the sake of distinctness: for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened ; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. According to Kâsikâ the *Pâda* must refer to a Pâda of the Rig-Veda only. Others explain the word पाद as 'a foot of a śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have :—सैष दाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैषकर्णो महात्यागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

—:o:—

अथाजन्त पुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DECLENSION OF MASCULINE BASES ENDING IN VOWELS.

१७८ । अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

धातुं प्रत्ययं प्रत्ययान्तं च वर्जयित्वाऽर्थवच्छब्दस्वरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

178. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root *(dhâtu)*, or an affix *(prataya)* or a word ending in an affix, is called a *prâtipadika* or crude-form or Nominal base.

This defines the word "prâtipadika" or crude-form. The prâtipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the undifferentiated are called the dhâtu or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ वत् means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called prâtipadika.

१७९ । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तौ समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाः स्युः । पूर्वसूत्रेण सिद्धे समासग्रहणं नियमार्थम् । वन संघाते पूर्वो भागः पदं तस्य चेद्भवति तर्हि समासस्यैव । तेन वाक्यस्य न ॥

179. The forms ending in Krit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compounds are also called *Prâtipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word prâtipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, Primary Suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; Secondary Suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93 S. 374) the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76 S. 530). Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन् *jan* by the kṛit suffix अ: but जनीन *janîna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the Taddhita affix ईन *îna*. The name prâtipadika would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janîna*, as nominal bases, ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, there are six varieties, *viz.*, Tat-purusha, Karmadhâraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrîhi, Avyayîbhâva and Dvigu.

In the last sûtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sûtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in Kṛít and *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called prâtipadika. The word Samâsa is used in the sûtra to make a restrictive rule, where in a collection of words, the first part is a *pada* or a complete word, then the word *prâtipadika* would apply to that collection of words only, which forms a compound and to nothing else; therefore the term *Prâtipadika* would not apply to a sentence. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

१८० । प्रत्ययः । ३ । १ । १ ॥

आपञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

180. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix.

१८१ । परश्च । ३ । १ । २ ॥

अयमपि तथा ॥

181. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikâra' or regulating sûtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhâshâ' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhâtû' or root, or the 'prâtipadika' or crude form.

१८२ । ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् । ४ । १ । १ ॥

ङ्याबन्तादबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाच्चेत्यापञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणमित्येव सिद्धे ङ्याब्ग्रहणं ङ्याबन्तात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यात् ङ्याङ्भ्यां प्राङ् मा भूदित्येवमर्थम् ॥

182. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with feminine affixes ङि or आप्, or after a crude-form.

This is an 'adhikâra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sûtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sûtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sûtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन्। The term आप is the common name

for the three affixes टाप्, डाप् and चाप। These are feminine affixes and are taught from sûtra 4 to 65 of the Fourth chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'crudeform' and has been defined in sûtra 1. 2. 45,46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word ङ्याप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samâhâra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Paribhasha: Why have we employed the word 'ñy-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word prâtipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhâshâ :—"A prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender"?

Ans: The words ङी and आप् are specifically used in the sûtra in order to indicate that the Taddhita affixes should be added, *after* the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before.

Note:—The Kâśikâ gives the following answer to the above question.

Not so. The paribhâshâ you quote applies to that case where there is a rule relating to an individual word-form given in the Sûtra itself. In other words, "this paribhâshâ is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prâtipadikas generally (as the word 'prâtipadika' does in this sûtra) or denotes a particular prâtipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, वलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvâ, also includes the feminine: but not so everywhere. Moreover the words, ङी, आप् have been employed in the Sûtra, in order to make the taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (ङी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल,' and 'हरिण' is, 'काली' and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'॥ After these words we can apply the taddhita affix 'तरप्': as 'कालितरा,' 'हरिणितरा,' 'खट्वातरा,' and 'मालातरा'॥

Now, had we not used that word 'ñy-âp' in the Sûtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kâlitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

The word काल takes ङीष् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितरा॥ Why do you then say that the taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ñy-âp?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली; and when comparison alone is meant and

not feminine, we shall have कालतर ; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty ; and according to the general maxim, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ङ्य-आप्, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

The objector says :—The inclusion of ङी and आप् in this sûtra is useless, for the following reason :—all bases ending with the Feminine affixes can be considered as Prâtipadikas, on the strength of the maxim Prâtipadika grahane linga-vishishṭasya &c. For example, श्वश्रूः "mother-in-law," derived from the masculine श्वशुर with the affix ऊङ् see Vârtika under IV. 1. 68. S. 523. श्वशुरस्योकारस्य कारलोपश्च). Here the word श्वश्रू must be a pratipadika, otherwise no case affix can be added to it, because it is neither a ङी nor an आप् ending word. But we *see* that case-affixes are added to it, and it can only be if the maxim above given be universally valid. Holding the above maxim to be valid, we come to the conclusion that all words ending in Feminine affixes (such as ङी, आप्, ऊ etc.) are Pratipadikas ; hence there is no necessity of using the words ङी and आप् in the sûtra.

Ans. So far as the addition of case affixes are concerned, we may consider the inclusion of ङी आप् as superfluous. But this sûtra not only ordains case-affixes, but Taddhita affixes as well : for the sûtra means "Let *all* the affixes taught upto the end of the Fifth Book—whether case-affixes or Taddhita &c. come after bases ending in ङी—आप् and after Pratipadikas." So that the Taddhita affixes will be added to Feminines after the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before. This we *infer* because the words ङी and आप् are used in the sûtra. Thus we get आर्यका or आर्यिका ॥ If the Taddhita affixes were added first and then the Feminine, we could not have got the form आर्यिका ॥ For the swârthika कन् added by V. 4. 29. S. 2097. to आर्य being most antarang would come first and then the feminine आप्. Thus आर्य + क + आ = आर्यका ॥ Consequently the अ of र्य could not be changed to इ by इदीच्चामातः VII. 3. 46. S. 465.

For the अ here is not that अ which has replaced a long आ ॥ But if we add the Feminine affix first, we can get the desired form, thus :—

आर्या + क + आप् = आर्यका, here the long आ of आर्या is shortened by केणः VII. 4. 13. S. 834.

And so we can apply the rule इदीच्चा and get आर्यिका

१८३ स्वौजसमौट्छष्टाभ्यांभिस्ङेभ्यांभ्यस्ङसिभ्यांभ्यस्ङसोसामङ्योस्सुप् । ४ । १ । २ ॥

ङ्यन्ताश्चाबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाच्च परे स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः स्युः । सुङस्योरुकारेकारौ जश्शसोश्च लुक् ॥

183. (After what ends with the feminine termina-

tions ङि or आप्, or after a crude-form, the following affixes are employed): —

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	aut (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭâ (a)	bhyâm	bhis
4th.	ṅe (e)	bhyâm	bhyas
5th.	ṅasi (as)	bhyâm	bhyas
6th.	ṅas (as)	os	âm
7th.	ṅi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like ङ ञ in सु and ङसि are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final प् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyâhâra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The letters ज, ट, ङ and प are इत् or servile letters.

१८४ । विभक्तिश्च । १ । ४ । १०४ ॥

सुप्तिङौ विभक्तिसंज्ञौ स्तः । तत्र सु औ जस् इत्यादिनां त्रिकाणां प्रथमादयः सप्तम्यन्ताः प्राचां संज्ञास्ताभिरिहापि व्यवहारः ॥

184. The triads of conjugational affixes and case-affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, *i. e.*, the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

१८५ । सुपः । १ । ४ । १०३ ॥

सुपश्चीणि चीणि वचनान्येकश एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥

185. Of सुप् the case affixes, the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

१८६ । द्येकयो र्द्विवचनैकवचने । १ । ४ । २२ ॥

द्वित्वैकत्वयोरेते स्तः ॥

186. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

१८७ । बहुषु बहुवचनम् । १ । ४ । २१ ॥

बहुत्वे एतत्स्यात् । रुत्वविसर्गौ । रामः ॥

187. In expressing multeity, a Plural case affix is employed.

Declension of Masculines ending in अ ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word राम ending in short अ ॥ In Nom. Sing. the affix सु is added.

Thus राम+सु=राम+ँ=राम+र्=रामः ॥ In forming the Dual, the following applies.

१८८। सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ। १। २। ६४ ॥

एकविभक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ॥ प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ नादिचि ॥ वृद्धिरेचि ॥ रामौ ॥

188. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sûtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśesha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped.

Thus राम+राम=रामौ. The word रामौ is formed by adding the affix औ to राम and by superseding VI. 1. 102. S. 164 by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 and applying VI. 1. 88 S. 72, we get the *vriddhi*. In forming the Nom. Pl. we add जस्. Thus राम+जस् ॥ The ज् is indicatory by the following sûtra.

१८९। चुटू। १। ३। ७ ॥

प्रत्ययावौ चुटू इतौ स्तः। इति जस्येत्संज्ञायाम् ॥

189. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

Thus the ज of जस् would become इत्. So the affix is really अस्. But is not the final स् of जस् also इत् by the sûtra हलन्त्यम् I. 3. 3. S. 1.? No, because of the following exceptions:—

१९०। न विभक्तौ तुस्माः। १। ३। ४ ॥

विभक्तिस्थास्तवर्गसकारमकारा इतो न स्युः। इति सकारस्य नेत्त्वम् ॥

190. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

Therefore the स् of जस् is not इत्. Thus राम+अस्. At this stage the following rule appears which requires the अ+अ to be changed to अ by पररूपमेकादेश:

१६१ । अतो गुणे । ६ । १ । ९७ ॥

अपदान्तादकारादुगुणे परतः पररूपमेकादेशः स्यादिति प्राप्ते । परस्थाप्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । अतो गुणे इति हि पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन्बाधन्ते नोत्तरानिति न्यायेनाकः सवर्णे इत्यस्यैवायमपवादो नतु प्रथमयोरित्यस्यापि । रामाः ॥

191. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

But this *ekâdesa* rule is superseded by the subsequent rule प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः VI. I. 102. S. 164, which requires the lengthening of the preceding vowel; while the present sûtra अतोगुणे debars the immediately succeeding sûtra अकःसवर्णे दीर्घः VI. I. 101. S. 85. by the maxim :—

Paribhâshâ :—*Apavâdas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavâda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).

Therefore the nearest rule VI. I. 101. S. 85 is superseded by the present sûtra and not the subsequent rule VI. I. 102. S. 164. Thus राम+अस् = रामाः. The Vocative case is like the nominative; the only difference is in the singular. The Vocative singular is called Sambuddhi by the following :—

१६२ । एकवचनं संबुद्धिः । २ । ३ । ४९ ॥

संबोधने प्रथमाया एकवचनं संबुद्धिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

192. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

Thus the vocative singular of राम is राम+सु ॥ Here the following sûtra applies.

१६३ । एङ्ह्रस्वात्संबुद्धेः । ६ । १ । ६९ ॥

एङन्ताद्ध्रस्वान्ताच्चाङ्गाद्धल्लुप्यते संबुद्धेरित् । संबुद्ध्याक्षिप्तस्याङ्गस्यैङ्ह्रस्वाभ्यां विशेषणान्नेह । हे कतरत्कुलेति । हे राम । हे रामौ । हे रामाः । एङ्ग्रहणं किम् । हे हरे हे विष्णो । अत्र हि परत्वान्नित्यत्वाच्च संबुद्धिगुणे कृत ह्रस्वात्परत्वं नास्ति ॥

193. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular, after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The elision here being taught with regard to the base which is a संबुद्धि and which is qualified by having ए or ओ or a short vowel for its final, it does not apply to हे कतरत्कुल !

In हे कतरत् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अत्, the substitute of सु ; for the affix there is अदड् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being ङित् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर्+अत्, here we have not a prâtipadika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word एङ् is used in the sûtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution required by ह्रस्वस्य गुणः VII. 3. 108, is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे हरि+सु, the affix is not elided, first, and then guṇa substituted for इ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided, similarly हे विष्णो. For the guṇa substitution is stronger than elision, because it is a rule subsequent in order, the elision being VI. 1. 69, the Guṇa being VIII. 3. 108 ; and because Guṇa is a nitya rule. Therefore when हरि is guṇated to हरे, there being no short vowel, left, the elision of सु would not have taken place had the word एङ् been not used in the sûtra.

Now the accusative singular is formed thus : राम+अम्. Here applies the following Sûtra.

१९४ । अमि पूर्वः । ६ । १ । १०७ ॥

अकोऽम्यचि परतः पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । रामम् । रामौ ॥

194. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus राम-।-अम्=रामम्. So also accusative dual राम+औ=रामौ as before. Now the accusative plural is formed thus :—राम+शस् ॥ Here applies the following sûtra.

१९५ । लशकतद्धिते । १ । ३ । ८ ॥

तद्धितवर्जप्रत्ययाद्या लशकवर्गा इतः स्युः । इति शसः शस्येत्संज्ञा ॥

195. The initial ल and श, and the gutturals of all affixes, except Taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल्, श्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes.

Therefore श् being इत्, the affix is अस्. Thus राम+अस्. At this stage applies the following sûtra :—

१९६ । तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि । १ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घात्परो यः शसः सकारस्तस्य नः स्यात्पुंसि ॥

196. After such a long vowel homogeneous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus राम-ा-शस् = राम + आस् = रामान् ॥ Now, should not the final न् of रामान् be changed to ण् by the following sûtra ?

१९७ । अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

अट्कवर्गपवर्गआङ्नुम् एतैर्व्यस्तैर्यथासंभवं मिलितैश्च व्यवधानेऽपि रषाभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात् समानपदे । पदव्यवायेऽपीति निषेधं बाधितुमाङ्ग्रहणम् । नुम्ग्रहणमनुस्वारोपलक्षणार्थम् तच्चाकर्तुं शक्यम् । अयोगवाहानामदसूपदेशस्योक्तत्वात् । इति णत्वे प्राप्ते ॥

197. The substitute ण takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह्, or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the anusvâra नुम् intervenes, singly or conjointly, causing separation between न and the anterior र or ष, provided that these letters occur in one word.

The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अट् pratyâhâra. Its specification in the sûtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

NOTE :—The pratyâhâra अट stands for vowels and the letters ह य व र and it includes the ayogavâha letters anusvâra and visarga. Therefore the mention of नुम् in the sûtra could well have been avoided, for नुम् here denotes anusvâra. Thus करणम् हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्गेण, अर्घेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. दर्पेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चर्म्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणद्धम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणद्धम् (of VIII. 4. 14).

So also when the anusvâra separates the letters e. g. वृंहणम्, वृंहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root बृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इदित् (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvâra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sûtra ?

The word नुम् in the sûtra refers to anusvâra, and must be taken coextensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like तृंहणं from तृंह स्तृंह हिंसार्थे ॥ Here the anusvâra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvâra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvara, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम् from इवि: प्रीणनार्थः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of ष ॥

But the present sûtra is not applicable to रामान् because of the following sûtra.

१९८। पदान्तस्य। ८। ४। ३७॥

पदान्तस्य नस्य णत्वं ण स्यात्। रामान्॥

198. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute. Thus रामान्॥

१९९। यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम्। १। ४। १३॥

यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात्क्रियते तदादि शब्दस्वरूपं तस्मिन्प्रत्यये परेऽङ्गसंज्ञं स्यात्। भवामि भविष्यामीत्यादौ। विकरणविशिष्टस्याऽङ्गसंज्ञार्थं तदादिग्रहणम्। विधिरिति किम्। स्त्री इयती। प्रत्यये किम् वत्रश्च। प्रत्ययविशिष्टस्य ततोऽप्यधिकस्य वा मा भूत्॥

199. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base or stem, (anga).

Note:—The words of this sûtra require some explanation. Yasmat after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih a precept, i. e. a rule enjoining an affix; tadâdi, that which begins therewith; pratyaye = in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows; is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (dhâtu) or a nominal base (prâtipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmât is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadâdi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता he will do, हर्त्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ get the name अंग they are guṇated by (VII. 3. 84): similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in औपगवः &c.

The word kṛi hṛi are anga with regard to the affix tâ &c. उपगु + अण् = औपगवः; कापटवः. Here upagu and kapatu are anga with regard to aṇ. Similarly कृ + स्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short अ is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word kṛi, the form which begins with kṛi i. e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadâdi, therefore, has been used in the sûtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate vikaraṇas like sya &c., or नुम् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + नुम् + इ = कुण्डन् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa + num + i = kuṇḍan + i = kuṇḍâni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word "vidhi" "enjoined" in the sûtra? Observe ङी इयती ॥

Here the word इयती "this much or as much" is really an affix, as we shall show later on. But as this is not ordained after strî by any rule, the word strî does not get the designation अङ्ग before it. Not being an Anga, the ई of strî is not elided by यस्येतिच (VI. 4. 148. S. 311.)

That the Pronoun इयती is a mere pratyaya is shown by the history of its derivation as given below :—

इदम्+वतु=इदम्+घतु (किमिदंभ्यां वो घः VI. 2. 40. S. 1841,) the व is changed to घ ॥ The affix वतु is added to idam with the force of "measure" by V. 2. 39 read with V. 2. 40.

=इदम्+इयत्(घ changed to इय by VII. 1. 2 S. 475. आयनेयी)=ईय्+इयत् (इदमष्किम VI. 3. 90 S. 1018.)

=O+इयत् (ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्येतिच)=इयत्+ङीप्=इयती Feminine.

Thus इयती is really a Pratyaya, for the *base* इदम् is altogether elided.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यये "when the affix follows" in the sûtra? For would not the word तदादि limit the designation अङ्ग to that only after which there was actually an affix?

Ans. No. Because without the word प्रत्यये the sûtra would have run thus "after whatsoever is an affix enjoined, that which begins therewith is called an Anga." In this view, we could not get the form वव्रश्च the 3rd Per. Sing in the Perfect (लिट्) of the root ओव्रश्चू 'to cut.'

This is thus formed :—

व्रश्चू+णल्=व्रश्च्+व्रश्च्+अ (VI. 1. 8, S. 2177 लिटिधातोरनभ्यासस्य)
=वृश्च्+व्रश्च्+अ (VI. I. 17 S. 2408 लिव्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम्)
=वर्श्च्+व्रश्च्+अ (VII. 4. 66 S. 2244 उरत् and उरण् रपरः)
=व+व्रश्च्+अ (VII. 4. 60 S. 2179 हलादिशेषः)=वव्रश्च ॥

If the word "pratyaye" did not exist, then the designation anga would be applied to the whole base plus the affix *i. e.* (व्रश्च्+अ) as a whole. That being so, व+व्रश्च will assume the form of उव्रश्च for the व will be vocalised by VI. 1. 17. For the अ in the place of व्र will not be sthânivat by अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ; because to be sthânivat there must be an efficient cause outside (पर), as अ of णल्, but this अ of णल् was, by hypothesis included in the Anga designation. So there being no पर cause, the अ substitute of व्र in वृ will not be sthânivat; and not being so, it will not be considered as a samprasâraṇa vowel. The अ of व not being a Samprasârana, the prohibition of न सम्प्रसारणे &c. VI. 1. 37 (when a semivowel has once been vocalised, there is

no vocalisation of the other semivowel that precedes it, will not apply, and so व will be vocalised to उ.

२०० । अङ्गस्य । ६ । ४ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

200. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sûtra.

२०१ । टाङसिङसामिनात्स्याः । ७ । १ । १२ ॥

अकारान्तादङ्गाट्टादीनां क्रमादिनादय आदेशाः स्युः । णत्वम् । रामेण ॥

201. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन for the Instrumental ending आ ; आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus रामेण the न being changed to ण ॥

२०२ । सुपि च । ७ । ३ । १०२ ॥

यञादौ सुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

202. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (literally a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the pharse अतो दीर्घो यञि is understood here (VII. 3. 101 S. 2170.

Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम

२०३ । अतो भिस ऐस् । ७ । १ । ९ ॥

अकारान्तादङ्गाद्भिस ऐस् स्यात् । अनेकाल्त्वात्सर्वादेशः । रामैः ॥

203. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

The *âdesa* ऐस् consists of more than one letter and therefore replaces the whole of this, by the rule अनेकाल्शित् सर्वस्य I. 1. 55. S. 45. Thus राम + ऐस् = रामैः ॥

२०४ । ङेर्यः । ७ । १ । १३ ॥

अतोऽङ्गात्परस्य ङे इत्यस्य यादेशः स्यात् । रामाय । इह स्थानिवद्भावेन यादेशस्य सुप्त्वात्सुपि चेति दीर्घः । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्येति परिभाषा तु नेह प्रवर्तते । कष्टाय क्रमणे इत्यादिनिर्देशेन तस्या अनित्यत्वज्ञापनात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

204. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus राम+ए=राम+य=रामाय. Here the य being taken to be sthânivat to ए gets also the designation of सुप् and therefore the अ of राम is lengthened before य by the rule VII. 3. 102. S. 202. The maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधि र्निमित्तं तद्विघातस्य. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" does not apply here. Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥ The anitya nature of this maxim is indicated by Pânini himself, by forming the dative of कृष्ट as कृष्टाय in Sûtra III. 1. 14 &c.

The ङेः is the anomalous Genitive case of the Dative ending ङे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28 S. 382. The ङेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

So also रामाभ्याम् as before. The dative plural is formed thus राम+भ्यस्. Here applies the following Sûtra :—

२०५ । बहुवचने झल्येत् । ७ । ३ । १०३ ॥

झलादौ बहुवचने सुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्यैकारः स्यात् । रामेभ्यः । बहुवचने किम् । रामः । रामस्य । झलि किम् । रामाणाम् । सुपि किम् । पचध्वम् । अदस्वम् ॥

205. Before a case-ending beginning with भ् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal stem.

As रामेभ्यः ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe रामः ; रामस्य ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल् consonant? Observe रामाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3. S. 300). Why a case-affix? Observe पचध्वम्, and not पचेध्वम् ॥

Now, we form the Ablative Singular. राम+ङसि=राम+आत् (by VII. 1. 12. S. 201). Here the त् of the affix should be changed to द् by झलां जशोऽन्ते and द् will then optionally be changed to त् by the following Sûtra.

२०६ । वावसाने । ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अवसाने झलां चरो वा स्युः । रामात् । रामाद् । द्वित्वे रूपचतुष्टयम् । रामाभ्याम् । रामेभ्यः । रामस्य सस्य द्वित्वपक्षे खरि चेति चर्त्वेऽभ्यन्तरतमत्वात्तस्य स एव न तु तकारः । अल्पप्राणतया प्रयत्नभेदात् । अत एव सः सीति तादेश आरभ्यते ॥

206. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words झलां चर् is understood in the sûtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant By VIII. 2. 39, S. 84, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus रामात् or रामाद्. The final त् and द् may be doubled by अचि च (VIII. 4. 47) we get four forms as रामात् or रामात्त् or रामाद् or रामाद्द्॥

N. B.—This is not approved by Tatvabodhini, as the meaning of the sûtra अचि च is that after a vowel every consonant except ह may be doubled provided that a *consonant* follows; for the word अच् 'non-vowel' does not mean absence of *all* letters, but rather the absence of vowels only. Inferentially there must be a consonant. Bhattoji has taken the negation in अचि in the sense of Prasajya pratishedha; while the proper view is to take it as a Paryudâsa pratishedha.

So also रामाभ्याम्; रामेभ्यः; रामस्य॥ In रामस्य when the स is doubled, this स will not be changed to त by खरि च VIII. 4. 55. S. 121. but it will remain as स only, because there is difference between स and त as regards effort, the त being अल्पप्राण. Had त and स been the same, and had त been produced by 'खरि च' then there would have been no need of teaching the substitution of स by त in Sûtras like VIII. 4. 49. S. 2342.

२०७। ओसि च। ७। ३। १०४॥

ओसि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात्। रामयोः॥

207. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As राम+ओस्=रामयोः

Now, we have to form the Genitive plural:—राम+आम्. Here comes the next Sûtra.

२०८। ह्रस्वनद्यापो नुट्। ७। १। ५४॥

ह्रस्वान्तान्नद्यन्ताद्आन्ताच्चाङ्गात्परस्यामो नुडागमः स्यात्॥

208. The augment न् is added before the Genitive Plural ending आम्, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadî (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix आ॥

As राम+न्+आम्॥

At this stage applies the next Sûtra.

२०९ । नामि । ६ । ४ । ३ ॥

नामि परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाणाम् । सुपि चेति दीर्घो यद्यपि परस्तथापीह न प्रवर्तते । सन्निपातपरिभाषाविरोधात् । नामीत्यनेन स्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषा बाध्यते । रामे । रामयोः । सुपि एत्वे कृते ॥

209. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुट्).

Thus राम + नाम् = रामाणाम् ॥

The sûtra सुपि च (VII. 3. 102. S. 202) would also have caused lengthening and being a subsequent one would also have applied, yet it does not apply here, because of the *Paribhâshâ* संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥ '(That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).' But the very fact that this sûtra is enunciated here debars the above *Paribhâshâ*.

Now, we have to form the Locative Singular;—राम + इ = रामे ॥ So also रामयोः ॥ The plural will be राम + सु = रामे + सु (VII. 3. 103. S 205.) At this stage applies the following sûtra.

२१० । अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः । ८ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आपादपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

210. Upto the end of the third Pâda of the VIIIth. Book, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word."

२११ । इण्कोः । ८ । ३ । ५७ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

211. From this, upto the end of the third chapter of the VIIIth. Book, should be supplied in every sûtra, the following :—" when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र् or a guttural precedes."

The word इण् is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र् is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. कु means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense.

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । ३ । ५९ ॥

सहेः साडः स इति सूत्रात्स इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमनुवर्तते । इण्कवर्गाभ्यां परस्यापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्ययावयवश्च यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । विवृतावघोषस्य सस्य तादृश एव षः । रामेषु । इण्कोः किम् । रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । सुपीः । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । अपदान्तस्य किम् । हरिस्तत्र । एवं कृष्णमुकुन्दादयः ॥

212. ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhâtupâṭha by VI. 1. 64. S. 2264), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58. S. 211, 424), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स from VIII. 3. 56. Therefore, the स is replaced by ष both being *Vivrita* and Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण vowel or कु'? Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute स or that which is an affix'? Observe सुपीः ; सुपिसौ ; सुपिसः the स here is part of the Churâdi root पिस "to go," and is neither a substituted स nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe हरिस्तत्र ॥ Similarly should be declined कृष्ण, मुकुन्द and all other words ending in अ ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम !	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ !	रामौ	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामयोः
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः !	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणाम्	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS.

२१३ । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वादीनि शब्दस्वरूपाणि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । तदन्तस्यापीयं संज्ञा । द्वन्द्वे चेति ज्ञापकात् । तेन परमसर्वत्रेति त्रल् । परमभवकानित्यत्राकच सिद्धति ॥

213. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanâma or pronouns.

The words ending in *sarva* &c. are also *sarvanâma*. This we infer from the Sûtra द्वन्द्वे च I. 1. 31. S. 224 which prohibits the application of the term *Sarvanama* to *Dvanda* compounds. (That is in all other compounds except *Dvandva*, the words ending in *Sarva* &c. are *sarvanamas*. For some other exceptions see I 1. 29. and 30. S. 222 and 223.) Therefore, we

have the form परमसर्वत्र with the affix त्रल् (V. 3. 10 S. 1957.) The word परम ending in *sarva* gets the name of *sarvanama* and therefore the affix *tral* is added to it. Similarly परमभवकान्. Here the affix अकच् is added by V. 3. 71 S. 2026.

२१४ । जसः शी । ७ । १ । १७ ॥

अदन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य जसः शी स्यात् । अनेकाल्त्वात्सर्वादेशः । नचार्वणस्त्र इत्यादाविव नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वमिति वाच्यम् । सर्वादेशस्यात्प्रागित्संज्ञाया एवाभावात् । सर्वे ॥

214. After a pronominal stem ending in अ, ई (शी) is substituted for the nominative plural (जस्)

The substitute is long ई for the sake of the subsequent sûtra VII. 1. 19, S. 310 which gives in the dual the forms like वारणी, मधुनी. In the case of सर्व and words ending in अ, it matters little whether the substitute be short इ or long ई for their *sandhi* will always result in ए.

The substitute शी consists of more than one letter namely of श and ई, and therefore it replaces the whole of the *Sthâni* जस् (I. 1. 55 S. 45)

It is not like the substitute त्र &c. of the Sûtra VI. 4. 127. S. 364 which replaces the final न् of भवन् &c, for त् is an affix of which क is an anubandha, and the following Paribhâshâ applies to it.

Praibhâshâ:—(That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.

But शी like ङा and ङी is not put down as an affix in Pânini's Grammar and therefore their initials ङ् and श् are not Anubandhas. For the Sûtras I. 3. 7 and 8 S. 189 and 195 are applicable only to *Pratyayas*. But शी is nowhere orignally taught as a *Pratyaya*. It becomes a *Pratyaya* only then when it replaces the whole of जस् and before such substitution शी not being a *pratyaya* the श् cannot be called इत्; when it is substituted for the whole of जस् then it becomes a *pratyaya* and then its श् becomes an Anubandha.

Note:—The opinion of Sekhara is that श of शी is इत् from its very beginning; because it is liable to elision (इत्संज्ञायोगत्वमनुबन्धत्वम्) and so the whole affix जस् is replaced because the substitute is शित् ॥

Thus सर्व + जस् = सर्व + शी = सर्व + ई = सर्वे.

२१५ । सर्वनाम्नः स्मै । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ङे इत्यस्य स्मै स्यात् । सर्वस्मै ॥

215. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

Thus सर्वस्मै ।

२१६ । ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ङसिङ्योरेतौ स्तः । सर्वस्मात् ॥

216. After a Pronominal stem ending in **अ**; there is substituted **स्मात्** for the Ablative ending **अस्** and **स्मिन्** for the Locative ending **इ** ॥ °

Thus **सर्वस्मात्** ।

२१७ । आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् । ७ । १ । ५२ ॥

अवर्णान्तात्सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुडागमः स्यात् । एत्वषत्वे । सर्वेषाम् । सर्वस्मिन् । शेषं रामवत् एवं विश्वादयोऽप्यदन्ताः ।

सर्वादयश्च पञ्चत्रिंशत् । सर्व, विश्व, उभ, उभय, डतर, डतम, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, त्वत्, त्व, नेम, सम, सिम ।

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ।

स्यद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अदस्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु, किम्, इति ।

उभशब्दो द्वित्वविशिष्टस्य वाचकः । अत एव नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः । तस्येह पाठस्तु उभकावित्यकजर्थः । नच कप्रत्ययेनेष्टसिद्धिः । द्विवचनपरत्वाभावेनोभयत उभयत्रेत्यादाविबाधप्रसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ॥ उभयोऽन्यत्रेति ॥ अन्यत्रेति द्विवचनपरत्वाभावे ।

उभयशब्दस्य द्विवचनं नास्तीति कैयटः । अस्तीति हरदत्तः । तस्माज्जस्यथजादेशस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन तयप्प्रत्ययान्ततया प्रथमचरमेति विकल्पे प्राप्ते विभक्तिनिरपेक्षत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वान्नित्यमेव संज्ञा भवति । उभये ।

डतरडतमौ प्रत्ययौ । यद्यपि संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तग्रहणं नास्ति । सुप्तिङन्तमिति ज्ञापकात् । तथापीह तदन्तग्रहणम् । केवलयोः संज्ञायाः प्रयोजनाभावात् ।

अन्यतरान्यतमशब्दावव्युत्पन्नौ स्वभावाद्द्विबहुविषये निर्धारणे वर्तेते । तत्रान्यतमशब्दस्य गणे पाठाभावान्न संज्ञा ।

स्व स्व इति ह्रस्वान्तावन्यपर्यायौ । एक उदात्तोऽपरोऽनुदात्त इत्येके । एकस्तान्त इत्यपरे ।

नेम इत्यर्धे । समः सर्वपर्यायः । तुल्यपर्यायस्तु नेह गृह्यते । यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानामिति ज्ञापकात् ॥

अन्तरं बहिर्योगेति गणसूत्रेऽपुरीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अन्तरायां पुरि ॥

217. After a Pronominal stem ending in **अ** or **आ**, the affix **आम्** of the Genitive Plural gets the augment **स्** at the beginning.

The word **आत्** of the last sûtra is understood here. Thus **सर्वेषाम्** (The **अ** is changed to **ए** by VII. 3. 103. S. 205 and the **स्** is changed to **ष्**) **सर्वासिन्**. The rest of the declension of **सर्व** is like **राम**.

Note:—But **भवताम्** of **भवत्** ॥ The **आम्** of the sûtra is the Genitive Plural ending **आम्**, and not the **आम्** of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116 S. 270;

for that आम्, takes the augments याट्, आट् or स्याट् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुट् or नुट्॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III. 1. 35 &c.), because that refers to verb and not to Sarvanâma; nor the आम् of V. 4. 11., for the same reason. The word आमि is exhibited in the sûtra in the locative case for the sake of the subsequent sûtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sûtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनाम्नः सुट्), because सर्वनाम्नः being in the Ablative case, the augment सुट् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य॥

Other *Sarvanâmas* ending in अ as विश्व &c., are similarly declined.

The *Sarvanâmas* are thirty-five in number, namely:—1 सर्व 'all,' 2 विश्व 'all,' 3 उभ 'two,' 4 उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix 5 डतर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix 6 डतम as कतम 'which of many,' 7 अन्य 'other,' 8 अन्यतर 'either,' 9 इतर 'other,' 10 त्वत् 'other,' 11 त्व 'other,' 12 नेम 'half,' 13 सम 'all,' 14 सिम 'whole.' So also 15 पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' 16 पर 'subsequent,' 17 अवर 'west or posterior,' 18 दक्षिण 'south or right,' 19 उत्तर 'north or inferior, 'subsequent,' 20 अपर 'other or inferior,' 21 अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanâmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also 22 स्व when it does not mean a kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also 23 अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanâma. 24 स्यद् 'he, she, it,' 25 तद् 'he, she, it,' 26 यद् 'who,' 27 एतद् 'this,' 28 इदम् 'it,' 29 अदस् 'that,' 30 एक 'one,' 31 द्वि 'two,' 32 युष्मद् 'you,' 33 अस्मद् 'I,' 34 भवतु 'you,' 35 किम् 'what.'

The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number; as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3, 71. S. 2026) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal; as उभकौ॥

Q. But, could not the same purpose have been served by adding the affix क by sûtra V. 3. 70. S. 2025?

Ans. No. For, the affix अकच् being added before the final vowel of उभ leaves the उभ always a dual word on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते i. e. "(Any term) that may be employed (in Grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) *inserted* in that (which is actually denoted by it)." Therefore, अकच् being *inserted* in उभ does not change its character of always being in the dual, while क् being added to it would have destroyed that character. Had it lost its character of being always a dual, then in the case of क् affix, it would have required the insertion of अयच् by sûtra V. 2. 44. S. 1845 as it takes it before the affixes त and तस् in उभयतः, उभयत्र॥ Therefore Katyâyana has said.

Vârtika:—The word उभय is used in other places where the sense of dual is not necessary. According to Kaiyata, उभय has no dual number; but according to Haradatta it has. Therefore, before the affix जस् (Nom. Pl.), the substitute अयच् (V. 2. 44. S. 1845) being considered as स्थानिवत् to तयप् which it replaces, the word उभय is considered as ending in तयप् and therefore it would have been optionally a *sarvanâma* by the sûtra I. 1. 3 3. S. 226. But the affix अयच् being added irrespective of any विभक्ति, it is an *antaranga* rule and therefore, it makes उभय *always* and not optionally a *sarvanâma*. Thus उभये but never उभया : ॥

The words डतर and डतम in the above list are affixes ordained by VII. 1. 25. S. 315 and V. 3. 92 S. 2047 &c. By giving these affixes in this list, it is meant that the words ending in these affixes are सर्वनाम ॥ This is according to the *Paribhâshâ*:—" An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in Grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself."

Q. If so, then the words ending in तरप् and तमप् should also be called घ (I. 1. 22. S. 2003).

Ans. This is not so, according to the *Paribhâshâ*:—" An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix."

The employment of the word अन्त (in सुप्तिङन्तं 'that which ends with 'Sup or Tin') in I. 4. 14. S. 29. indicates (the existence of) this Paribhâshâ; for, if the Paribhâshâ did not exist, अन्त would be superfluous, because सुप्तिङ alone would, in accordance with the preceding Paribhâshâ, denote that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tin.'"

Q. 'But this is also a संज्ञा विधि and therefore the affixes डतर, डतम should not denote the words ending in those affixes.

Ans. In spite of the above Paribhâshâ, the affixes डतर, डतम denote here the words ending in those affixes. Because giving these affixes the name of *sarva-nâma*, would be useless, because nowhere in this Grammar, these affixes by themselves have been treated as Sarva-nâma.

The words अन्यतर and अन्यतम are not derivative words formed by the affixes डतर and डतम, but are considered as primary words, and, therefore, they naturally denote निर्धारण specifying अन्यतर denoting, निर्धारण of one out of two, and अन्यतम denoting निर्धारण or determination of one out of many. In other words, they do not get the force of निर्धारण by virtue of sûtras V. 3. 92 and 93 S. 2047 and 2048 but by their inherent force. The word अन्यतम, however, not being read in the above list of *sarvanâmas* is not a Sarvanâma.

There are two स्व in the above list, namely स्वत् and स्व, having the same meaning namely "other," and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udâtta, and of the other anudâtta. Some give स्वत् as a separate word ending in त् and say that both have anudâtta accent. The word नेम means "half." The word सम is a sarvanâma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pâṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10. S. 128. where he uses the regular Genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the Genitive plural would have been समेषाम्॥

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

२१८। पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्। १। १। ३४॥

एतेषां व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणपाठात्सर्वत्र या प्राप्ता सा जसि वा स्यात्। पूर्वे पूर्वाः॥ स्वाभिधेयापेक्षावधिनियमो व्यवस्था। व्यवस्थायां किम्। दक्षिणा गाथकाः। कुशला इत्यर्थः। असंज्ञायां किम्। उत्तराः कुरवः॥

218. The words pûrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' uttara 'north,' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanâma, before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of Sarvanâmas. They are always sarvanâmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than vyavasthâ or the fixed limit with regards to their own meaning, limit in time and space, they are not sarvanâmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञा). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a Sarvanama, as, दक्षिणा गाथकाः 'clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरवः 'the Northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a Proper Noun (like Northmen).

When these seven words are sarvanâma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural when they may be declined either as sarvanâmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prâpta-vibhâshâ.

२१९। स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम्। १। १। ३५॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यवाचिनः स्वशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात्। स्वे। स्वाः। आत्मीया इत्यर्थः। आत्मान इति वा। ज्ञातिधनवाचिनस्तु स्वाः। ज्ञातयोऽर्था वा।

219. The word sva 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property, is optionally a sarvanâma, before the affix जस्.

The word स्व when it does not mean a ज्ञाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanâma, in every number and case, as it has been enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः ॥

२२० । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः । १ । १ । ३६ ॥

बाह्ये परिधानीये चार्थेऽन्तरशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात् । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा गृहाः । बाह्या इत्यर्थः । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा शाटकाः । परिधानीया इत्यर्थः ॥

220. The word antara being always a sarvanama, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix जस्.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, *viz.*, 'outer' is always sarvanâma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहा 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments." The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanâma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanâma, e. g. ग्रामयोरंतरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे ॥

२२१ । पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

एभ्यो ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ वा स्तः । पूर्वस्मात् । पूर्वात् । पूर्वस्मिन् । पूर्वे । एवं परादिनामपि ॥ द्वेषं सर्ववत् । एकशब्दः संख्यायां नित्यैकवचनान्तः ॥

221. स्मात् and स्मिन् are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings, after पूर्व and the eight that follow it.

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, अवरस्मात् or अवरात्, अवरस्मिन् or अवरे, दक्षिणस्मात् or दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणस्मिन् or दक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात् or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन् or अन्तरे ॥)

The word 'एक' when denoting a numeral is always singular. But in any other meaning, it may have other numbers also, as एके, एकेषाम् ('of some'). 'एक' has eight meanings.

२२२ । न बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २६ ॥

बहुव्रीहौ चिकीर्षिते सर्वनामसंज्ञा न स्यात् । स्वकं पिता अस्य स स्वकपितृकः । अहकं पिता यस्य स मत्कपितृकः । इह समासात्प्रागेव प्रक्रियावाक्ये सर्वनामसंज्ञा निषिध्यते । अन्यथा लौकिके विग्रहवाक्य इव तत्रापि अकच् प्रवर्तेत । स च समासेऽपि श्रूयेत । अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तमतिभवकानितिवत् । भाष्यकारस्तु स्वकपितृको मकपितृक इति रूपे इष्टापत्ति कृत्वैतत्सूत्रं प्रत्याचख्यौ । । यथोत्तरं मुनीनां प्रामाण्यम् । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतास्तु न सर्वादयः । महासंज्ञाकरणेन तदनुगुणानामेव गणे संनिवेशात् । अतः संज्ञाकार्यमन्तर्गणकार्यं च तेषां न भवति । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्तस्मै सर्वाय देहि । अतिक्रान्तः सर्वमतिसर्वस्तस्मै अतिसर्वाय देहि । अतिकतरं कुलम् । अतितत् ॥

222. The words sarva &c., are not Sarvanâma when they are intended to be employed in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus स्वकं पिता यस्य = स्वस्कपितृकः । Similarly, अहकं पितायस्य = मत्कपितृकः । Here the affix अकच् is added by sûtra V. 3. 71 S. 2026 in the sense of contempt or unknown relationship. Here before the taking place of the compound, the name of the *sarvânama* is prohibited with regard to the words स्वत्कम् and अहकं other wise, in ordinary language, the word अकच् would have been used, as it is employed, in the above analytical stage. This अकच् would have been retained even in the compound, as it is retained in the compound अतिभवकान् whose analysis is अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तम्. But the word स्वत् and मत् not being treated as a *sarvanama* take only the ordinary affix क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and not the affix अक. Had they been treated as *sarvanama* then अकच् would have been inserted before त् by V. 3. 71 S. 2026 giving the forms स्वकत् and महकत् and these forms would have been retained in the compound.

But Patanjali has given the forms स्वकत्पितृकः and मकत्पितृकः and has shown the futility of having made this Sûtra at all. According to his opinion, this Sûtra is unnecessary. Therefore, according to the maxim, when the three sages differ, the opinion of the last one is authoritative, we should follow the opinion of Patanjali in this matter.

Vârtika :—The words सर्व &c. when employed as proper names (संज्ञा) or as a secondary member of a compound (उपसर्जन) are not to be declined as *sarvanâma*. This we infer by Panini's using such a big word as Sarvanâma, instead of making a short technical name like टि &c. Therefore सर्व &c are Sarvanamas when they have the meaning of "all &c." as given above in the list, because only those words have been included in the list

which have the appropriate meaning of "all" &c, and not words which denote something else, though their form may be "sarva &c." Because in the list such words are only included which have the attributes of the thing defined. Therefore, the rules applicable to these words by the fact of being called *sarvanâma* संज्ञाकार्यम् or the rules applicable to portions of them by the fact of their being enumerated in this list अन्तरगणकार्यं do not apply. Thus the rules VII. 1. 25. S. 315, VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and VII. 2. 106. S. 381. are rules of अन्तर गण कार्य, that is rules which have taken up particular portions of words given in this list. These rules do not apply to words when they are used as संज्ञा and उपसर्जन. Therefore if सर्व be the name of a person, the dative will be सर्वाय, as सर्वाय देहि "give to the person called Sarva" Here the dative is not सर्वस्मै Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanama, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि "give to (him who is) Above-all." Similarly अतिकतरं कुरुम्. Here there is not the substitution of अदड् as required by sûtra VII. 1. 25. S. 315. For कतर would have formed कतरत् but अतिकतर does not form अतिकतरत् but अतिकतरम् because here कतर is उपसर्जन and therefore अन्तर गण कार्य rule VII. 1. 25 S. 315 does not apply. Similarly अतितत्. Here VII. 2. 102 S. 265 requiring the substitution of अ for the final of तद् and the rule VII. 2. 106. S. 381 requiring the substitution of स for the non-final त do not apply. For though the ordinary form of Nominative Singular of तत् is सः, the compound of तत् with अति will not be अतिसः in the nominative, but अतितत्.

२२३ । तृतीयासमासे । १ । १ । ३० ॥

अत्र सर्वनामता न स्यात् । मासपूर्वाय । तृतीयासमासार्थवाक्येऽपि न । मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

223. In the Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanâma.

Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word mâsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e. g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै ; ॥ The same will be the case even when there is no compounding, but the sense is of the Instrumental compound ; as मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

२२४ । द्वन्द्वे च । १ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वन्द्वे उक्ता संज्ञा न । वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् । समुदायस्यायं निषेधो न त्ववयवानाम् । नचैवं तदन्तविधिनासुड्प्रसङ्गः सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुडिति व्याख्यातत्वात् ।

224. And in the Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva etc., are not sarvanâma.

Thus वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् ॥ This sûtra prohibits the designation Sarvanâma with regard to the *whole* compound, and not with regard to its various members. The word इतर therefore is already a Sarvanâma. Then there arises the following difficulty. Why should not सुट् be added to आम् in the genitive plural, giving us the form वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम ? We reply, that आम् gets सुट् only then when it is ordained after a Sarvanâma. Here it is not ordained after a Sarvanâma, but after a Dvanda compound which is not a Sarvanâma.

This prohibition applies to the compound as a whole and not to its various members. If so, why should not the augment सुट् come before the genitive plural affix आम् (VII. 1. 52. S. 217) in the case of इतर also here, by the rule of तदन्तविधि. This is not so because in explaining that sûtra, we have used the word विहितस्य *i. e.* सुट् is added only to that आम which is specifically ordained after a Sarvanâma and not to every आम in general. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others.' The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the Genitive plural we have :—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापरयाम् of the priors and the posteriors.

२२५ । विभाषा जसि । १ । १ । ३२ ॥

जसाधारं यत्कार्यं शीभावाख्यं तत्र कर्तव्ये द्वन्द्वे उक्ता संज्ञा वा स्यात् । वर्णाश्रमेतरे । वर्णाश्रमेतराः । शीभावं प्रत्येव विभाषेत्युक्तमतो नाकच् । किंतु कप्रत्यय एव । वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः ॥

225. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanâma, when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

It declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural and which in the pronominals is replaced by शी), the dvandva compounds may be treated either as sarvanâmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or वर्णाश्रमेतरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी. ॥

The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st. pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sûtra 224 is absolute. Thus, वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः Here अकच् is not added but क only in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

२२६ । प्रथमचरमतयालपार्धकतिपयनेमाश्च । १ । १ । ३३ ॥

एते जसः कार्यं प्रत्युक्तसंज्ञा वा स्युः । प्रथमे । प्रथमाः ॥ शेषं रामवत् । तयः प्रत्ययः ततस्तदन्ता आह्याः । द्वितये । द्वितयाः । शेषं रामवत् । नेमे । नेमाः । शेषं सर्ववत् । विभाषाग्रहणे तीयस्य द्विस्सुपसंख्यानम् ॥ द्वितीयस्मै । द्वितीयायेत्यादि । एवं तृतीयः । अर्थवद्ग्रहणान्नह । षट्जातीयाय । निर्जरः ॥

226. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' as well as words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few', ardha 'half', katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanâma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्द्धे or अर्द्धाः कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sûtra. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are pratipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prâpta-vibhâsâ, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like राम, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of राम. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sûtra, its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanâma before the case-affixes having an indicatory ङ (ङित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

Paribhâshâ.—(A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in Grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.

Therefore पटुजातीयाय and not पटुजातीयस्मै. Here the affix ईय जातीय and not तीय, and in the affix जातीय, the portion तीय has no independent meaning of its own.

Here ends the declension of Sarvanamans.

सर्व

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	सर्वः	हे सर्व	सर्वं	सर्वेण	सर्वस्मै	सर्वस्मात्	सर्वस्य	सर्वस्मिन्
Dual	सर्वौ	" सर्वौ	सर्वौ	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वयोः	सर्वयोः
Pl.	सर्वे	" सर्वे	सर्वान्	सर्वैः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेषाम्	सर्वेषु

Now, we take up the declension of the word निर्जर ॥ The Nominative Singular will be निर्जर + सु = निर्जरः ॥ The nominative dual will be निर्जर + औ ॥ Here applies the following sûtra.

२२७ । जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । २ । १०१ ॥

जराशब्दस्य जरस् वा स्यादजादौ विभक्तौ । पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदन्तस्य च । अनेकाल्त्वा-स्सर्वादेशे प्राप्ते । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् जरशब्दस्य जरस् । निर्जरसौ । निर्जरसः । इनादीन् बाधित्वा परत्वाज्जरस् । निर्जरसा । निर्जरसे । निर्जरसः । पक्षे हलादौ च रामवत् । वृत्तिकृता तु पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन इनातोः कृतयोः संनिपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वमाश्रित्य जरसि कृते निर्जरसिन निर्जरसादिति रूपे न तु निर्जरसा निर्जरस इति केचिदित्युक्तम् । तथा भिसि निर्जरसैरिति रूपान्तरमुक्तम ॥ तदनुसारिभिश्च षष्ठ्येकवचने निर्जरस्येत्येव रूपं स्वीकृतम् । एतच्च भाष्यविरुद्धम् ॥

227. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

By the *Paribhâshâ* ;—(A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) पद or अङ्ग is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base). The substitute जरस् will come in the case of निर्जर also.

The substitute जरस् consists of more than one letter and therefore by sûtra I. 1. 55. S. 45, should it not replace the whole of निर्जर ? No, because of the following

Paribhâshâ ;—Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated. Therefore जरस् will replace the जर portion of निर्जर and not the whole. But the rule is "जरा is replaced by जरस" There is no जरा with long आ in निर्जर, then why should there be any substitution ? But this substitution takes place according to the *Paribhâshâ* :—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place). Therefore जर of निर्जर is considered the same as निजरा ॥

Thus निर्जर + औ = निर्जरस् + औ = निर्जरसौ. The plural will be निर्जरसः ॥

The Instrumental singular will be formed by आ as निर्जरसा. The substitute vibhakti ending इन or आत् is debarred by जरस् and does not take place in the case of निर्जर. Thus निर्जरसा ; निर्जरसे &c.

In the other alternative and also before the case affixes beginning with consonants, the declension of निर्जर will be like राम ॥

According to the Vrittikâra the affixes इन and आत् will come by the rule of pûrva-vipratishedha, prohibition in anticipation ; and as the संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application, the Instrumental and Ablative singular forms will

be निर्जरासिन and निर्जरसात् and not निर्जरसा and निर्जरसः The Instrumental Plural will be निर्जरसैः। Those who follow this opinion make the Genitive singular निर्जरस्य॥ But all this is against the opinion of the Bhâsyakâra.

निर्जर

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरसम्	निर्जरसा	निर्जरसे	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसि
Dual	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरसोः	निर्जरसोः
Pl.	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरैः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरसां	निर्जरेषु

OPTIONAL FORMS

Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरम्	निर्जरेण	निर्जराय	निर्जरात्	निर्जरस्य	निर्जरे
Dual	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरयोः	निर्जरयोः
Pl.	निर्जराः	निर्जराः	निर्जरान्	निर्जरैः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जराणाम्	निर्जरेषु

२२८। पद्दन्नोमास्हृन्निशसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्छकन्नुदन्नासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु। ६। १। ६३॥

पाद, दन्त, नासिका, मास, हृदय, निशा, असृज्, यूष, दोष्, यकृत्, शकृत्, उदक, आस्य एषां षष्ठ्यन्तानां यथासङ्ख्यं पदादय आदेशाः स्युः शसादौ वा। यत्तु आसनशब्दस्य आसन्नादेश इति काशिकायामुक्तं तत्प्रमादिकम्। पादः। पादौ। पादाः। पादम्। पादौ। पदः। पादान्। पदा। पादेन इत्यादि॥

228. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are optionally substituted :—**पद्** for **पाद्**, **दत्** for **दन्त**, **नस्** for **नासिका**, **मास्** for **मास**, **हृद्** for **हृदय**, **निश्** for **निशा**, **असन्** for **असृज्**, **यूषन्** for **यूष**, **दोषन्** for **दोस्**, **यकन्** for **यकृत्**, **शकन्** for **शकृत्**, **उदन्** for **उदक** and **आसन्** for **आस्य**॥

The Kâsikâ gives **आसन्** as the substitute for **आसन**. This is a mistake. Thus पादः, पादौ; पादाः; पादम् पादौ, पदः or पादान्, पदा or पादेन &c.

२२९। सुडनपुंसकस्य। १। १। ४३॥

सुट् प्रत्याहारः स्वादिपञ्चवचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि स्युरक्लीबस्य॥

229. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyâhâra suṭ (*i. e.*, the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanâmasthâna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

२३०। स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने। १। ४। १७॥

कॅप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं स्यात्॥

230. When the affixes beginning with स (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanâmasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

२३१ । यचि भम् । १ । ४ । १८ ॥

यकारादिष्वजादिषु च कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

231. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with सु and ending in क, follows, not being Sarvanâmasthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

२३२ । आकडारादेका संज्ञा । १ । ४ । १ ॥

इत ऊर्ध्वं कडाराः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्रागेकस्यैकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या पराऽनवकाशा च । तेन शसादावचि भसंज्ञैव न पदत्वम् । अतो जश्त्वं न । दतः । दता । जश्त्वम् । दद्भ्यामित्यादि । मासः । मासा । भ्यामि हल्त्वे यत्वे च यलोपः । माभ्याम् । माभिरित्यादि ॥

232. From this sûtra up to the aphorism Kadârâḥ Karmadhâraye (II.2. 38 S. 751.) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

Note. What is that name then ? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2. S. 175) and that which, were its claims disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, S. 31 and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11, S. 32) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name *i. e.*, 'heavy.' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root तक्ष् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततक्षत् . Similarly अरक्षत् . The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here, as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

Therefore, in the affixes beginning with the Accusative Plural and whose initial letter is a vowel, the preceding stem gets the name of *bha* only and not that of pada. The result of which is that the hard consonants are not changed into soft. Thus the accusative Plural of दन्त is दतः. The Instrumental singular is दता ॥ The त् is not changed to द by the जश् rule. But before the affixes beginning with consonants, the preceding stem gets the name of Pada and we have the softening of the consonants, as दद्भ्याम् &c. Similarly Ac. Pl. मासः, Ins. Sg. मासा. Before the affix भ्याम् the स of मास् will

be changed to र which will be changed to य which being elided, we have the forms यूभ्याम्, यूभिः ॥

२३३ । भस्य । ६ । ४ । १२९ ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

233. Whatever will be taught in the following up to the end of the sixth Adhyâya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19 S. 231 and 1896).

२३४ । अल्लोपोऽनः । ६ । ४ । १३४ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयञादिस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

234. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

२३५ । रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । ८ । ४ । १ ॥

एकपदस्थाभ्यां रेफषकाराभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । यूष्णः यूष्णा । पूर्वस्मादपि विधौ स्थानिवद्भाव इति पक्षे तु अड्व्यवाय इत्येवात्र णत्वम् । * पूर्वत्रासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य लोपः संयोगादिलोपलत्वणत्वेष्विति निषेधात् ॥

235. After र् and ष्, the ण् is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

Therefore the Ac. Pl of यूषन् is formed by eliding the अ and changing the न् into ण; as यूष्णः; Ins. Sg. यूष्णा ॥

If we apply the rule of स्थानिवद्भाव by sûtra अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ (I. 1. 57 S. 50), and this we can do by explaining the compound pûrva-vidhau = purva-smâd vidhau meaning " when a rule is to be applied on account of or *after* something which precedes the substitute " and consider the लोप to be स्थानिवत् to अ, in that case also the न will be changed to ण by the rule VIII. 4. 2 S. 197. i. e. न is changed to ण even when a vowel intervenes. But as a matter of fact, the लोपादेश is not स्थानिवत् according to the following vârtika.

Vârtika :—In the last three chapters of the 8th Book of Pâṇini's Ashtâdhyâyi, the rule of स्थानिवत् will not apply.

२३६ । नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य । ८ । २ । ७ ॥

नेति प्रातिपदिकेति च लुप्तषष्ठीके पदे । प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञकं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य नकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्दीर्घत्वमैत्वमैस्त्वं च न । यूषभ्याम् । यूषभिः । यूषभ्य इत्यादि ॥

236. The न् at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17 S. 230.), is elided.

The words न and प्रातिपदिक in the text are to be taken in the genitive case ; the sign of the genitive being elided here.

The elision of न by this Sûtra being considered asiddha for the purposes of the application of the previous Sûtras, there is not the lengthening

of sûtra VII. 3. 102 S. 202. or the ष substitution of VII. 3. 103. S. 205. or the ऐस substitution of VII. 1. 9. S 203. Therefore the forms are भूषभ्याम् and not भूषाभ्याम् ; भूषभिः and not भूषैः ; भूषभ्यः and not भूषेभ्यः ॥

२३७ । विभाषा ङिश्योः । ६ । ४ । १३६ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयञादिस्त्रादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपो वा स्यात् ङिश्योः । भूष्णि । भूषणि । पक्षे रामवत् । पदन्निति सूत्रे प्रभृतिग्रहणं प्रकारार्थम् । तथा च । भौडः श्यामपि दोषन्नादेशो भाष्ये ककुद्दोषणी इत्युदाहृतः । तेन 'पदङ्घ्रिश्चरणोऽस्त्रियां, स्वान्तं हृन्मानसं मन ' इति च संगच्छते । आसन्य० । दोष्शब्दस्य नपुंसकत्वमप्यत एव भाष्यात् । तेन दक्षिणं दोर्निशाचर इति संगच्छते । भुजबाहू प्रवेष्टो दोरिति साहचर्यात्पुंस्त्वमपि । दोषं तस्य तथाविधस्य भजत इति । द्व्योरह्नोर्भवो द्व्यह्नः ॥

237. In a Bha-stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As भूष्णि or भूषणि. In all other cases the word भूषण् is declined like राम. The word ङिश्योः is a compound of ṅi and śî and not ङि for the stem is not Bha there.

The word प्रभृति in the sûtra VI. 1. 63 S. 228 is used in the sense of प्रकार ie. the affixes therein taught, are illustrative only ; the substitution will take place even when a Sarvanâmasthâna affix follows. Therefore, where the dual affix औ is replaced by शी, and it is a Sarvanâmasthâna affix there also that rule VI. 1. 63 applies, for we have in the Bhâsya the example of ककुद्दोषणी. Similarly also the following are valid: "पदङ्घ्रिश्चरणोऽस्त्रियाम्" here पाद is changed before the Nom. Sg सु ; which is not a weak affix, "स्वान्तंहृन्मानसं मनः" here हृदय is changed to हृद in the Nom. Sg. These are from Amara-Kosha. and आसन्यं प्राणमूचुः " They (the Devas) said to the Prâṇa in the mouth" (Brihadâranyaka I. 3. 7). Here आस्य is changed to आसन् before the affix य । आसन्य means that which is born in the mouth. The word दोष् (hand) is used in the neuter gender in the Bhâsya of Pâtanjali. Therefore the following usage is correct :—तमुपाद्रवदुद्यम्य दक्षिणं दोर्निशाचरम्", । दो is also masculine gender because it is used along with भुज बाहू प्रवेष्टोदोः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word द्व्यह्नः ।

२३८ । संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याह्नस्याहनन्यतरस्यां ङौ । ६ । ३ । ११० ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्याह्नस्याऽहन्नादेशो वा स्यात् ङौ । द्व्यह्नि । द्व्यहनि । द्व्यह्ने । विगतमहर्द्व्यहः । व्यह्नि । व्यहनि । व्यह्ने । अह्नः सायः सायाह्नः । सायाह्नि । सायाहनि । सायाह्ने ॥

238. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह्न, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः = द्व्यह्नः, ॥ The Locative singular of this is द्व्यह्नि or द्व्यहनि, ॥ So also द्व्यह्ने, ॥ With त्रि—त्र्यह्नि, त्र्यहनि, त्र्यह्ने with साय—सायाह्नि सायाहनि, सायाह्ने ॥ These are एकदेशिसमासः, and this very sûtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or त्रि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने or मध्यमहनि, (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वाह्णे and अपराह्णे only.

Note.—The compounding in the above examples takes place by the rule II. 1. 51, S. 728., with the force of भव IV. 3. 11. S. 1381. Thus द्वि + अहन्. Here we add the Samâsânta affix टच् by the rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 and the अहन् is replaced by अह्न by V. 4. 88. S. 790. While the तद्धितार्थ affix अञ् which was ordained by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080.

Here ends the declension of masculine words ending in अ.

पाद

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	पादः	पादम्	पादेन or पद्या	पादाय or पदे।	पादात् or पदः	पादस्य or पदः	पादे or पादे
Dual	पादौ	पादौ	पादाभ्यां or पद्भ्याम्	पादाभ्यां or पद्भ्याम्।	पादाभ्याम् पद्भ्यां	पादयोः or पदोः	पादयोः or पदोः
Plural	पादाः	पादान् or पदः	पादैः पद्भिः	पादेभ्यः or पद्भ्यः।	पादेभ्यः or पद्भ्यः	पादानां or पदाम्	पादेषु or पत्सु

दन्त (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS ARE SHOWN BELOW)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	दता	दते	दतः	दतः	दति
Dual	...	दद्भ्याम्	दद्भ्याम्	दद्भ्याम्	दतोः	दतोः
Plural	दतः	दद्भिः	दद्भ्यः	दद्भ्यः	दताम्	दत्सु

मास (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	मासा	मासे	मासः	मासः	मासि
Dual	...	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	मासोः	मासोः
Plural	मासः	माभिः	माभ्यः	माभ्यः	मासाम्	मासु

ष्णुष (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	ष्णुषा	ष्णुषे	ष्णुषः	ष्णुषः	ष्णुषि
Dual	...	ष्णुषभ्याम्	ष्णुषभ्याम्	ष्णुषभ्याम्	ष्णुषोः	ष्णुषोः
Plural	ष्णुषः	ष्णुषाभिः	ष्णुषभ्यः	ष्णुषभ्यः	ष्णुषाम्	ष्णुषसु

Now, we take up the declension of the masculine words ending in आ such as विश्वपा.

२३६ । दीर्घाज्जसि च । ६ । १ । १०५ ॥

दीर्घाज्जसि इचि च परे प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न स्यात् । वृद्धिः । विश्वपौ । सवर्णदीर्घः । विश्वपाः यद्यपीह औङि नादिचीत्येव सिद्धं जसि तु सत्यपि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे क्षतिर्नास्ति तथापि गौर्यौ गौर्य इत्याद्यर्थं सूत्रमिहापि न्याय्यत्वादुपन्यस्तम् ॥

239. The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

The long vowel required by VI. 1. 102, S. 164. does not take place in the case of words ending in long vowels. Thus Nominative Singular of विश्वपा is विश्वपाः ; Nom. Dual विश्वपा + औ = विश्वपौ by the general rule of Vṛddhi and Nom. Pl. is विश्वपाः by lengthening the homogeneous letters अ and आ.

In the declension of विश्वपा the above forms are regularly obtained. In the case of Nom. Dual, the lengthening required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is debarred by VI. 1. 104 S. 165. as well. In the case of Nom. Pl. विश्वपा + जस् (अस्) there will be no harm if VI. 1. 102 S. 164 be applied, for even that rule will give the form विश्वपाः. Therefore in the case of विश्वपा the present Sûtra is not absolutely necessary. But we have given it here for the sake of logical consistency, for this Sûtra applies to stems ending in long vowels like गौरी, the Nom. Dual and Pl. of which will be गौर्यौ and गौर्यः respectively.

२४० । आतो धातोः । ६ । ४ । १४० ॥

आकारान्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्य भस्याऽङ्गस्य लोपः स्यात् । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । विश्वपः । विश्वपा । विश्वपाभ्यामित्यादि । एवं शङ्खभादयः । धातोः किम् । हाहान् । टा सवर्णदीर्घः । हाहा । ङे वृद्धिः । हाहे । ङसिङसोर्धीर्घः । हाहाः । ओसि वृद्धिः । हाहौः । ङौ आद्गुणः । हाहे । शेषं विश्वपावत् । आत इति योगविभागादधातोरप्याकारलोपः क्वचित् । त्वः भः ॥

240. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

The *lopa* will be of the final vowel by I. 1. 52 S. 42. Therefore Accu. Pl. will be विश्वपः ; Inst. Sing. विश्वपा ; विश्वपाभ्याम् &c.

Like विश्वपा should be declined, शङ्खभा &c. Why do we say the आ of a root? Observe हाहान् (the accusative Pl. of हाहा). Its Instr. Sing. will be हाहा + टा = हाहा by lengthening of homogeneous vowels. Its Dat. Sing. will be हाहा + ङे = हाहे by Vriddhi. Its Abl. and Geni. Sing. will be हाहाः + ङसि or ङस् = हाहाः by lengthening. Its Gen: and Loc: dual will be हाहा + ओस् = हाहौः

by Vriddhi. Its Loc. Sing will be हाहा + ङि = हाहे by guṇa. The rest are like विश्वपा.

By the rule of *yoga vibhaga* (योगविभागादिष्ट सिद्धिः) *i. e.* "From a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we may derive such results as may be desirable," the present Sûtra may be divided into two Sûtras eg. (1.) आतः, the final आ of a Bha stem is always elided; (2) धातोः, the final आ of a Bha Stem when it ends in a root is always elided. Thus are formed क्त्वः and ल्यपः the Genitive Singulars of Ktvâ and ल्यâ. For Pâṇini himself has declined क्त्वा and ल्यप् by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37. S. 3332 (समासेऽनञ्पूर्वेक्त्वोल्यप्) and III. 1. 83. S. 2557. (हलः क्त्वः शानज्झौ)

Here ends the declension of words ending in long आ.

विश्वपा

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	विश्वपाः	हे विश्वपाः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपा	विश्वपे	विश्वपः	विश्वपः	विश्वपि
Dual	विश्वपौ	„ विश्वपौ	विश्वपौ	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपोः	विश्वपोः
Plural	विश्वपाः	„ विश्वपाः	विश्वपः	विश्वपाभिः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपासु

हाहा

Singular	हाहाः	हे हाहाः	हाहाम्	हाहा	हाहे	हाहाः	हाहाः	हाहे
Dual	हाहौ	„ हाहौ	हाहौ	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहोः	हाहोः
Plural	हाहाः	„ हाहाः	हाहान्	हाहाभिः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाम्	हाहासु

Now we take up the declension of the word हरि. The Nom. sing. will be हरिः Nom. Dual will be हरि + औ = हरी by lengthening the preceding vowel VI. 1. 102. S. 464. The Pl. is हरि + जस् ॥ Here applies the following.

२४१ । जसि च । ७ । ३ । १०९ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः स्याज्जसि परे । हरयः ॥

241. Before the affix जस् of the Nom. Pl., guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

Therefore the इ of हरि is *guṇated* to ए. Thus हरि + अस् = हरे + अस् = हरयः । The Vocative Sing. will be हरि + सु Here the following rule applies.

२४२ । ह्रस्वस्य गुणः । ७ । ३ । १०८ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः स्यात्संबुद्धौ । एङ्ह्रस्वादिति संबुद्धिलोपः । हे हरे । हरिम् । हरी । हरीन् ॥

242. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

Therefore the इ of हरि is changed to ए and the affix is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus we get हे हरे.

The Acc. forms are हरिम्, हरी, हरीन्.

The Instr: sing is हरी+टा. Here the following two rules apply.

२४३ । शेषो घ्यसखि । १ । ४ । ७ ॥

अनदीसंज्ञौ ह्रस्वौ आविदुतौ तदन्तं सखिवर्जं घिसंज्ञं स्यात्॥ शेषः किम्। मत्यै। एकसंज्ञाधिकारासिद्धे शेषग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम्। ह्रस्वौ किम्। वातपन्थे। इदुतौ किम्। माले ॥

243. The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

Thus हरि is a ghi word. Why do we say 'the rest of the words'? Observe मत्यै, for मति being a feminine noun does not get the name of ghi but retains its name of *nadî;* for otherwise its declension will be मतये, formed by appplying the rule VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VII. 3. 111 S. 245 But. मतये is of course a wrong form. Though by the rule I. 4. 1. S. 232 if the word gets its designation ghi, it can never get the designation nadi and *vice versa*, and मति which is a nadi word can never be called *ghi*, and so even if the word शेष had not been used in the sûtra, there would not have been any fear of मति being confounded with a *ghi* word, still शेष is used in the sûtra for the sake of precision and clearness. Why do we say short इ and उ? Observe वातपन्थे॥ Why do we say इ and उ; ? Observe माले ॥

Note:—This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sutra. The word shesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory ङ्, the ghi nouns guṇate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि+ङे=अग्ने+ए=अग्नये "to the fire." So also वायु+ङे=वायवे "to the wind." But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ.

२४४ । आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ७ । ३ । १२० ॥

घेः परस्याङो ना स्यादस्त्रियाम्। आङिति टासंज्ञा ग्राह्या। हरिणा। अस्त्रियां किम्। मत्या ॥

244. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

The word आङ् is the ancient name of the affix टा. Thus हरि+टा=हरि+ना=हरिणा. Why do we say when they are not feminine? Observe मति+टा=मत्या.

Now we form the Dat: Sing. हरि+ङे. Here applies the following Sûtra.

२४५ । घेर्ङिति । ७ । ३ । १११ ॥

घिसंज्ञकस्य ङिति सुपि गुणः स्यात् । हरये । घेः किम् । सख्ये । ङिति किम् । हरिभ्याम् । सुपि किम् । पट्वी । घेर्ङितीति गुणे कृते ॥

245. For the इ and उ of the stems called घि (I. 4. 7.) Guṇa is substituted in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular.

Why of घि stems ? Observe सख्ये. Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. only ? Observe हरिभ्याम् ॥ The word case-ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्वी &c. ॥

The word पट्वी is formed by adding ङीष् to पटु (IV. 1. 44 S. 502). ङीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङित् and is added to पटु which is घि ॥

Thus हरि+ङे=हरे+ए=हरये.

Now we form the Ablative singular, हरि+ङसि=हरे+अस् (the इ of हरि is *guṇated* by the present Sûtra). At this stage applies the following Sûtra.

२४६ । ङसिङसोश्च । ६ । १ । ११० ॥

एङो ङसिङसोरति परे पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । हरेः । हर्योः । हरीणाम् ॥

246. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word), +अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Therefore हरे+अस्=हरेः The genitive dual will be हर्योः The pl. हरीणाम् ॥

Now, we form the Loc. Sing. हरि+ङि=हरे+इ ॥ (The इ is guṇated by the preceding sûtra). At this stage applies the folowing rule.

२४७ । अच्चेः । ७ । ३ । ११९ ॥

इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य ङेरौत्स्याद् घेरन्तादेशश्चाकारः । हरौ । हर्योः । हरिषु । एवं श्रीपत्यग्निरविकव्यादयः ॥

247. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

Therefore हरि+इ=हर+औ=हरौ ॥ The Loc. du. and pl. will be हर्योः and हरिषु respectively.

श्रीपति, अग्नि, रवि, कवि &c. are declined like हरि ॥

DECLENSION OF हरि

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Sing.	हरिः	हे हरे	हरिम्	हरिणा	हरये	हरेः	हरेः	हरौ
Dual.	हरी	,, हरी	हरी	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हर्योः	हर्योः
Plural.	हरयः	,, हरवः	हरीन्	हरिभिः	हरिभ्यः	हरिभ्यः	हरीणाम्	हरिषु

——:o:——

Now we decline the word सखि ॥ There applies the following rule.

२४८ । अनङ् सौ । ७ । १ । ९३ ॥

सख्युरङ्स्याऽनङादेशः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे । ङिच्चेत्यन्तादेशः ॥

248. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

Thus सखि + सु = सखन् + सु ॥ The अनङ् being a ङित् augment, replaces the final only, and not the whole (I. 1. 53 S.43). Now apply the following rules.

२४९ । अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

अन्त्यादलः पूर्वो वर्ण उपधासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

249. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

Therefore in सखन्, the अ of ख is penultimate or उपधा. Being उपधा, the following rule applies to this अ.

२५० । सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ । ६ । ४ । ८ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

250. In a stem ending in न् the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

Therefore, the अ is lengthened and we have सखान् + स्. Now the affix स् consists of a single letter and is called अपृक्त by the following rule.

२५१ । अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः । १ । २ । ४१ ॥

एकाल्प्रत्ययो यः सोऽपृक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

251. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

The result of this स् being called अपृक्त is that it is elided by the following rule.

२५२ । हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् । ६ । १ । ६८ ॥

हलन्तात्परं दीर्घौ यौ ङ्याप् तदन्ताच्च परं सुतिसंस्थितमपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते । हल्ङ्याब्भ्यः किम् । ब्रह्मबन्धूः । दीर्घात्किम् । निष्कौशाम्बिः । अतिखट्वः । सुतिसीति किम् । अभैत्सीत् तिपा सहचरितस्य सिपो ग्रहणात्सिचो ग्रहणं नास्ति । अपृक्तमिति किम् । बिभर्ति । हल् किम् । बिभेद । प्रथमहल् किम् । राजा । नलोपो न स्यात् संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सखा । हे सखे ॥

252. After a consonant, there is the elision of the nominative-affix स्, and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix ङी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sûtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or ङी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्त हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after consonant and hence we have translated it as above.

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धूः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long-vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कौशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say " when followed by सु ति, and सि"? Observe अभैत्सीत् ॥ The ति being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe बिभर्ति Why do we say 'the *consonant* is elided'? Observe बिभेद, ॥ Here the aprikta affix अ of the Perfect is not elided : though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sûtra.

Why do we say 'first consonant'? Observe राजा.

Why has the elision of स् (सु), त् (तिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, तक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स्=राजान्+स् (VI. 4. 8. S. 250)=राजान्स् and by eliding स by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान्[1] and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7 ; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope,

since] VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्,) is considered as if it had not taken effect.

Thus Nom. Sg सखा Voc Sg. हे सखे In forming the Dual सखि + औ the following rules apply.

२५३ । सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ९२ ॥

सख्युरङ्गात्परं संबुद्धिवर्जं सर्वनामस्थानं णित्स्कार्यकृत् स्यात् ॥

253. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vriddhi according to the following rule :—

२५४ । अचो ञ्णिति । ७ । २ । ११५ ॥

ञिति णिति च परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य वृद्धिः स्यात् । सखायौ । सखायः । सखायम् । सखायौ । घिसंज्ञाऽभावान्न तत्कार्यम् । सख्या । सख्ये ॥

254. Before the affixes having an indicatory ञ् or ण्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus सखि + औ = सखै + औ = सखायौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. सखायः, Acc. Sing. सखायम् Acc. dual सखायौ ॥

Instrumental Sing. will be formed by the affix टा ; and as the word सखि is not a घि word (See I. 4. 7. S. 243) it does not take न or *guṇa* as required by VII. 3. 120. S. 244 or VII. 3. 1. S. 245. Thus we have सखि + आ = सख्या.

Dative Sing. will be सखि + ए = सख्ये.

In forming the Ablative and Genitive, the following rule applies:—

२५५ । ख्यत्यात्परस्य । ६ । १ । ११२ ॥

खितिशब्दाभ्यां खीतीशब्दाभ्यां कृतयणादेशाभ्यां परस्य ङसिङ्सोरत उत्स्यात् । सख्युः ॥

255. There is the substitution of उ for अ of अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङसोः and उत् are understood here also. The ख्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and त्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि + अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus : सहखेन वर्तते = सखः, सखामिच्छति = सख + क्यच् (III. 1. 8.) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्विप् to the Denominative root सखीय we get सखीः 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी + अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनामिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्विप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive

singular of which is also लिन्युः, the न् of लूनी being the substitute of त् of Nishṭhâ is considered like त् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and ख्य in the sutra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c: where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is घि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim प्रकृणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to some this rule applies to all स्त्री and नदी, such as सुखीः one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय + क्विप्), and सुतीः 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय + क्विप्)) Thus सुख्युः, सुख्युः &c.

२५६ । औत् । ७ । ३ । ११८ ॥

इदुदंभ्यां परस्य ङेरौत्स्यात् । उकारानुवृत्तिरुत्तरार्था । सख्यौ । शेषं हरिवत् । शोभनः सखा सुसखा । सुसखायौ । सुसखायः । अनङ्णिद्भावयोराङ्गत्वात्तदन्तेऽपि प्रवृत्तिः । समुदायस्य सखिरूपत्वाभावादसखीति निषेधाप्रवृत्तेर्घिसंज्ञा । सुसखिना । सुसख्ये । ङसिङसोर्गुणे कृते कृतगुणादेशस्वाभावात् ख्यत्याविति युत्वं न । सुसखेः । सुसख्यौ इत्यादि । एवमतिशयितः सखा अतिसखा । परमः सखा यस्येति विग्रहे । परमसखा । परमसखायावित्यादि । गौणत्वेऽप्यनङ्णित्वे प्रवर्तेते सखीमतिक्रान्तोऽतिसखिः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्न टच् । हरिवत् । इहानङ्णित्वे न भवतः । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वेन सखिशब्दस्य लाक्षणिकत्वात् । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणात् ॥

256. After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Locative Singular.

As सख्यौ the rest of the declension of this word is like हरि.

But the declension of this word, when it forms the final member of a compound, is somewhat different. Thus the word सुसखा meaning a good friend, is declined as सुसखा, सुसखायौ, सुसखायः Here the adding of the affix अनङ् (VIII. 1. 93. S. 248.) and treating the case affixes as णित् as required by VII. 1. 92. S. 253. are operations which relate to the अङ्ग. or base and therefore those rules apply not only to the single word सखि but to a compound word also that ends in सखि. But the compound word सुसखि has not exactly the same form as सखि, therefore the rule I.4.7. S. 243 which makes the specific mention of the word सखि does not apply to सुसखि. Therefore the word सुसखि is घि and its Instrumental and Dative will be सुसखिना and सुसख्ये ॥ Similarly in Ablative andGenitive singulars the इ being *guṇated* by VII. 3. 111 S. 245 the last rule will not apply, because here the bases are सुसखे + अस् and सुसखे + ङसि and सुसखे + ङि. The last and the present rules apply only to that form of सखि where the खि is changed to ख्य.

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sûtras; in the case of घि words औ preceded by अ substitution of घि letters will be taught in the next sûtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sutra applies to words other than nadî and ghi.

Therefore the Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular of सुसखा will be सुसखेः, सुसखेः and सुसखौ respectively.

Similarly the compound word अतिसखि meaning 'one who has thrown away his friend' (सखा masculine) is declined like सुसखा ॥

But the word परमसखा when treated as a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning 'he whose friend is the Supreme' may give rise to a difficulty. For, here सखि is merely a secondary word, the real word being the object denoted by the word परमसखि. We therefore cannot treat सखि to be the अङ्ग or base, as we treated it in the case of the word सुसखा. How is this word परमसखि to be declined? It is declined like सुसखा, for though the word सखि here is merely a secondary word and not the base or अङ्ग, yet the rules of अनङ् and णित् apply to this case also. Thus परमसखा and परमसखायौ &c.

Now in the declension of the word अतिसखि when it is a compound meaning 'he who has thrown away his friend'(सखी feminine) the affix टच् does not apply, because the rule which says that the Masculine includes the feminine is not universal. That rule is thus enunciated: प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् *i. e.* 'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived from it by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.' Now applying this Paribhâsha to rule V. 4. 91 S. '788 which declares that the affix टच् is added to the words râjan, ahan, and sakhi when at the end of a compound, the Masculine word सखि would include the feminine word सखी also and therefore the form ought to be अतिसख and not अतिसखि. This anomaly, however, is prevented by the fact that the above Paribhâshâ is not universal. The word अतिसखि is declined like हरि and not like the word सखि; and therefore अनङ् and णित् do not apply. Because, the word सखी has been shortened to सखि by the rule I. 2. 48, S. 656 and this सखि is, therefore, merely a secondary word and not an original word like the सखि in सुसखि &c, above given. Therefore, the following Paribhâshâ applies to this word:—लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः &c. *i. e.* "Whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar,—or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed."

२५७। पतिः समास एव। १। ४। ८॥

पतिशब्दः समास एव घिसंज्ञः स्यात्। पत्यौ। पत्यै। पत्युः। पत्यौ। शेषं हरिवत्। समासे तु भूपतिना। भूपतये। कतिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः॥

257. The word pati is called ghi, only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the sûtra I. 4. 7. S. 243; the present sûtra is, therefore, a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या 'by the lord' but 'भूपतिना by the lord of the worlds.' So also पत्ये and भूपतये; पत्युः and भूपतेः, पत्यौ and भूपतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four ङित् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

Now we take up the declension of the word कति which is always plural. This word is called संख्या or a numeral as well as षट् by the following two rules, and therefore, there is some peculiarity in its declension.

२५८। बहुगणवतुडति संख्या। १। १। २३।

एते संख्यासंज्ञाः स्युः॥

258. The words bahu 'many,' gaṇa 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and ḍati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyâ).

The word कति is formed by the affix डति therefore it is a Sankhyâ.

२५९। डति च। १। १। २५॥

डत्यन्ता संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात्॥

259. And the saṇkhyâs ending with the affix ḍati are called shaṭ.

Because the word कति is formed by the affix डति, therefore it is called षट्. The result of being called षट् is that the declensional affixes are elided. The elision of an affix generally takes place by using one of the three words as given in the following Sûtra.

२६०। प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः। १। १। ६१॥

लुक्श्लुलुप्शब्दैः कृतं प्रत्ययादर्शनं क्रमात्तत्तत्संज्ञं स्यात्॥

260. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, ślu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms ślu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of ślu or lup.

The nominative and accusative affixes after the word कति are elided by using the term लुक्, as is shown in the following Sûtra.

२६१ । षड्भ्यो लुक् । ७ । १ । २२ ॥

षड्भ्यः परयोर्जश्शसोर्लुक् स्यात् ॥

261. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24 S. 369).

Therefore कति + जस् or कति + शस् = कति + O or कति + O. Now, what is the effect of this zero, does it produce its action on the stem or does it not? Naturally one would have thought, that when an affix is elided, with it must also vanish all the operations that that affix would have caused on the base. But this is not the case by the following Sûtra.

२६२ । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । १ । १ । ६२ ॥

प्रत्यये लुप्तेऽपि तदाश्रितं कार्यं स्यात् । इति ञ्णिति चेति गुणे प्राप्ते ॥

262. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependent upon it, take place as if it were present.

Therefore though जस् is elided after कति, yet it would cause the *guṇa* of the इ of कति, by VII. 3. 109 S. 241. Therefore the इ of कति requires to be guṇated; but this contingency is prevented by the following Sûtra.

२६३ । न लुमताङ्गस्य । १ । १ । ६३ ॥

लुक् श्लु लुप् एते लुमन्तः । लुमता शब्देन लुप्ते तन्निमित्तमङ्गकार्यं न स्यात् । कति । कतिभिः कतिभ्यः । कतिभ्यः । कतीनाम । कतिषु । अस्मद्युष्मत्तद्संज्ञकाङ्किषु सरूपाः । त्रिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । त्रयः । त्रीन् । त्रिभिः त्रिभ्यः ॥

263. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sûtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, श्लु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix

by force of the words लुप् &c. ; and by the word लोप ॥ In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not. Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base ; such as guṇa &c.

Thus we have कति (Nom Pl) कति (Acc. Pl); कतिभिः (Instru, Pl); कतिभ्यः (Dat. Pl); कतिभ्यः (Abl. Pl); कतीनाम् (Gen. Pl) कतिषु (Loc. Pl).

The word अस्मद् (I,) युष्मद् (Thou), and the words called यद् as defined above are alike in the three genders. Therefore the word कति is masculine, feminine and neuter.

The word त्रि is always used in the Plural. Thus त्रयः, (Nom. Pl.); त्रीन् (Acc. Pl.); त्रिभिः (Instr. Pl.) त्रिभ्यः (Dat. Pl.) त्रिभ्यः (Abl. Pl.) But the Genitive Plural is formed in accordance with the following sûtra.

२६४ । त्रेस्त्रयः । ७ । १ । ५३ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयादेशः स्यादामि ॥ त्रयाणाम् । परमत्रयाणाम् । गौणत्वे तु नेति केचित् । प्रियत्रीणाम् । वस्तुतस्तु प्रियत्रयाणाम् । त्रिषु । द्विशब्दो नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः ॥

264. त्रय is substituted for त्रि before the Genitive Plural affix आम् ॥

As त्रयाणाम् (त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda ; as त्रीणामपि समुद्राणाम् ॥) When the word त्रि forms the last member of a compound, even then also its declension is as above ; as परमत्रयाणाम्. But some say that in those compounds where त्रि is not a principal word, but only a secondary member of a compound, there this substitution will not take place. According to them the form would be प्रियत्रीणाम्. But the proper form is प्रियत्रयाणाम् here also.

The Locative Plural will be त्रिषु.

Now we take up the declension of the word द्वि which is always used in the Dual Number.

The first rule that applies to it is the following.

२६५ । त्यदादीनामः । ७ । २ । १०२ ॥

एषामकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याद्विभक्तौ । द्विपर्यन्तानामेवेष्टिः । द्वौ २ द्वाभ्याम् ३ । द्वयोः २ । द्विपर्यन्तानां किम् । भवान् । भवन्तौ । भवन्तः ॥ संज्ञायामुपसर्जनत्वे च नात्वम् । सर्वाद्यन्तर्गणकार्यत्वात् । द्विर्मा कश्चित् । द्विः । द्वी । द्वावतिक्रान्तोऽतिद्विः । हरिवत् । प्राधान्ये तु परमद्वौ इत्यादि । औडुलोमिः । औडुलोमी । बहुवचने तु उडुलोमाः । लोम्नोऽपत्येषु बहुष्वकारो वक्तव्यः । वाह्वादीभ्योऽपवादः । औडुलोमिम् । औडुलोमी उडुलोमान् ।

265. For the final of त्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Now the question is what are the त्यदादि words. त्यदादि words belong to the class of सर्वनाम and form a sub-division of it and would have been the

following, viz :—त्यद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अदस्, एक, द्वि. युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् but the *ishti* given below excludes the last four words from the list of त्यदादि.

Ishti :—The त्यदादि sub-division begins with the word त्यद् and ends with the word द्वि (inclusive).

The word द्वि belongs to the class of त्यदादि and therefore its final इ is changed to अ before the affixes, that is the base assumes the form of द्व।

Thus द्वौ (Nom. Dual); द्वौ (Acc. Dual); द्वाभ्याम् (Instru, Dative and Ablative Duals) द्वयोः (Genitive and Locative Duals). Why have we said that the त्यदादि words do not include the last four words? Observe the declension of भवत् which is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः (Nom. Sing.; Dual and Plural).

When त्यदादि words are used as संज्ञा (appellative), or, उपसर्जन (secondary members of a compound), then their final is not replaced by अ. Suppose the word द्वि is the name of a person, then it will be declined as द्विः (Nom, Sing.) द्वी (Nom. Dual); द्वयः (Nom. Pl.)

Similarly, when the word द्वि is an उपसर्जन as अतिद्वि (he who excels द्वि), it will be declined as अतिद्विः (Nom. Sing.), that is like हरि.

But when द्वि is the principal member of a compound, the अ substitution will take place; thus परमद्वौ &c.

The word औडुलोमि is thus declined :—औडुलोमिः (Nom. Sing.) औडुलोमी (Nom. Dual), but the Nom. Pl. will be उडुलोमाः by the following Vartika.

Vârtika :—After the word लोमन् the affix अ comes in the Plural number denoting the descendant. This Vartika debars the इञ् affix of IV. 1. 96. S. 1096.

The Accusatives will be औडुलोमिम् (Sing.); औडुलोमी (Dual); उडुलोमान् (Plural).

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short इ

——:o:——

Masculine long ई

वातप्रमीरित्युणादिसूत्रेण माङ ईप्रत्ययः स च कित् । वातं प्रमिमीते वातप्रमीः । दीर्घाज्जसि च । वातप्रम्यौ । हे वातप्रमीः ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ वातप्रमीम् । वातप्रम्यौ । वातप्रमीन् । वातप्रम्या । वातप्रमीभ्याम् ३ । वातप्रम्ये । वायप्रम्यः २ । वातप्रम्योः २ । वातप्रम्यश्चे । दीर्घस्वात्र नुट् । ङौ तु सवर्णदीर्घः । वातप्रमी । वातप्रमीषु । एवं यशोपध्वायवः । यान्त्यनेनेति यवीमार्गः । पाति लोकमिति पपीः सूर्यः । आपोः किद् पेति ईप्रत्ययः । क्लिबन्तवातप्रमीशब्दस्य तु अमि शसि ङौ च विशेषः । वातप्रम्यम् । वातप्रम्यः । वातप्रेम्यि । एरनेकाच इति वक्ष्यमाणो यण् प्रधीवत् । बह्वयः श्रेयस्योयस्य स बहुश्रेयसी । दीर्घञ्यन्त्यस्वाद्धलुञ्यावीति सुलोपः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word वातप्रमी. This word is

formed by the Uṇâdi affix long ई (See Uṇâdi Sûtras Chapter III. 158 and Chapter IV. 1.) added to the root मा to measure, The word literally means 'wind measurer' or 'moving swift as the wind'. It is the name of a kind of an antelope. The affix ई of वातप्रमी is कित् (Uṇâdi Chapter III. 159.) Therefore वातप्रमा + ई = वातप्रमी. The long आ being elided by the rule VI. 4. 64 S. 2372.

The Nom. Sing. is वातप्रमी : ॥ The dual is formed thus :—वातप्रमी + औ. Here the rule VI. 1. 102 S. 164. required the substitution of a single long ई in the place of ई + औ. But this is prevented by the rule VI. 1. 105. S. 239. and we get the regular form वातप्रम्यौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. वातप्रम्य : । The Voc. Sing हे वातप्रमी:. The Acc. Sing. is thus formed :—वातप्रमी + अम् The single substitution required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is set aside by VI. 1. 105. S. 239. But this latter rule is set aside by the Apavâda rule VI. 1. 107. (अमि पूर्वः) S. 194. by which there is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम्. Therefore the Acc. Sing is वातप्रमीम् The Acc. Dual and Pl : are वातप्रम्यौ and वातप्रमीन्. The Inst : Sing. is वातप्रम्या. The Ins: Dual and Pl: are वातप्रमिभ्याम् and वातप्रमीभिः The Dat forms are वातप्रम्ये वातप्रमीभ्याम् वातप्रमीभ्यः The Abl Sing is वातप्रम्यः The Genitive Sing and Dual are वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्योः The Genitive Pl : is वातप्रम्याम्. The augment नुट् is not added, because the word ends in a long vowel.

The Loc. Sing is thus formed वातप्रमी + इ, = वातप्रमी. The Loc. Pl : is वातप्रमीषु ॥

So the words ययी (literally that which goes or carries one, that is "a horse" or "a road;") and पपी (that which protects or drinks or the sun and moon) are declined like वातप्रमी. These words are also formed by the affix ई (Uṇâdi III. 159).

If the word वातप्रमी be derived by क्विप् and not कित् ई then in the Acc. Sing and Pl, and Loc. Sing the forms will be वातप्रम्यम, वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्यि respectively. वातप्रमी may be derived by क्विप् in this way. वातप्रमी मिव आचरति इति वातप्रमी. Here it is a Denominative verb in the sense of âchâra, formed by the affix क्विप् (III. 1. 10 and 11 S. 2664 and 2665) and to this Denominative root, क्विप् is added again in the sense of agent (III. 2. 76 S. 2983). The Acc. S. therefore is, वातप्रमी + अम् = वातप्रम् + य + अम्. Here य is substituted by VI. 4. 82. S. 272 and the word is declined like प्रधी.

Now we take up the declension of the word बहुश्रेयसी (one possessed of many admirable qualities). The word श्रेयस् is formed by the affix ईयसुन् added to श्र the substitute of प्रशस्य (V. 3. 60. S. 2009). To this is added the affix ङीप् by IV. 1. 6. S. 455 to form the feminine श्रेयसी.

The Nom. Sing of बहुश्रेयसी is बहुश्रेयसी + सु = बहुश्रेयसी + o (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 282).

The Nom. Dual and Pl : are बहुश्रेयस्यौ, बहुश्रेयस्यः .

The formation of Voc. Sing. is peculiar and the following rules apply.

Note :—The word बहुश्रेयसी is a Bahu-vrîhi compound. There is पुंवद्भाव by the rule VI. 3. 34. S. 831. The Samâsânta affix कप् is not added because of the rule V. 4. 156. S. 894. The long ई required to be shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656 is prohibited by the Vârtika under V. 4. 156. S. 894.

२६६ । यू स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

ईदूदन्तौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गौ नदीसंज्ञौ स्तः । प्रथमलिङ्गग्रहणं च । पूर्वं स्त्र्याख्यस्योपसर्जनस्वेऽपि नदीत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

266. Word-forms ending in long î and û, being names of females which are always feminines are called Nadî.

The word यू is a compound of ई + ऊ. The word stryâkhya means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grâmaṇî has. As the words कुमारी Kumârî 'a virgin' यवागू yavâgûḥ 'rice gruel.'

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the Dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्य्यै, the Dative of दुहितृ will be दुहित्रे .

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadî. As ग्रामणीः 'leader of a village'; सेनानीः 'leader of an army'; खलपूः 'a sweeper'; their Dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेन्यन्ये खलप्वे.

Why have we used the word âkhyâ 'name' in the text? Because the feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै, and खलप्वे स्त्रियै .

Vartika :—The gender of the word as originally used should be taken and not the gender of the Compound word. Here the original word श्रेयसी is feminine and though the Compound word बहुश्रेयसी is Masculine still for the purposes of getting the designation of Nadî the whole word बहुश्रेयसी will be treated as Nadî, though श्रेयसी in this Compound word is merely a secondary member (upasarjana).

Therefore बहुश्रेयसी getting the designation of Nadî is affected by the following rule in forming its Vocative.

२६७। अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः। ७। ३। १११॥

अम्बार्थानां नद्यन्तानां च ह्रस्वः स्यात् संबुद्धौ। हे बहुश्रेयसि। शसि बहुश्रेयसीन्।

267. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the words called Nadi.

Thus हे बहुश्रेयसि.

The Acc. Sing and Dual are बहुश्रेयसीम्, बहुश्रेयस्यौ respectively.

The Acc. Pl. is बहुश्रेयसीन्

There is no peculiarity in the Instrumental forms.

In forming the Dative forms, the following rules apply.

२६८। आण् नद्याः। ७। ३। ११२॥

नद्यन्तात्परेषां ङितामाडागमः स्यात्।

268. The augment आट् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. after the stem called Nadi.

When this आट् is added, there is the single substitution of a Vriddhi Vowel by the following rule.

२६९। आटश्च। ६। १। ९०॥

आटोऽचि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात्। बहुश्रेयस्यै। बहुश्रेयस्याः। नद्यन्तात्परस्याम्नुट्। बहुश्रेयसीनाम्॥

269. The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the augment आट् is followed by any vowel.

The आट् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadi*-words (VII. 3. 112). बहुश्रेयसी + आट् + ङे = बहुश्रेयस्यै (Dative Singular). (The आट् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेट्), similarly, बहुश्रेयस्याः

The augment नुट् is added to the Genitive Plural by VII. 1. 54. S. 208. As बहुश्रेयसीनाम्.

For the formation of the Loc. Sing. the following rule applies.

Note.—The anuvritti of एचि ceases: that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vriddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत् औद्भ्रीत्, औब्जीत् from roots ईक्षदर्शने. (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ ब्रज आर्जवे (Tud. 20).

Note—The च् 'and' in the sutra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. i. 95, 96 when उस्, ओत् and आङ् follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आद् ॥ Thus औक्षीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ + ऊढा = ओढा, तामैच्छत् = औढायत् ॥

२७०। ङेराम् नद्यामीभ्यः । ७ । ३ । ११९ ।

नद्यन्तादाबन्तान्नीशब्दाच्च ङेराम् स्यात् । इह परत्वादाटा नुड् बाध्यते । बहुश्रेयस्याम् । शेषमीप्रत्ययान्तवातप्रमीवत् । अङ्यन्तत्वान्न सुलोपः । अतिलक्ष्मीः । शेषं बहुश्रेयसीवत् । कुमारीमिच्छन् कुमारीवाचरन्वा ब्राह्मणः कुमारी । क्यजन्तादाचारकिबन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्विप् । हल्ङ्याबिति सुलोपः ।

270. For the ending ङि of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadî, after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

The augment नुट् is not added to this आम् but only to the आम् of Genitive Plural; because नुट् of the Sutra VII. 1-54, S. 208 is superseded by the subsequently taught augment आट् of the VII. 3. 112. S. 268.

Thus बहुश्रेयसी + ङि = बहुश्रेयसी + आट् + ङि (VII, 3. 112. S. 268) = बहुश्रेयसी + आट् + आम् = बहुश्रेयस्याम् ॥

The rest of the declensions of बहुश्रेयसी are like those of वातप्रमी ॥

The declension of the word अतिलक्ष्मी is as follows :—

Nom. Sing. is अतिलक्ष्मीः ॥ Here the affix सु is not elided as in the last case, because ई of लक्ष्मी is part of the word लक्ष्मी and is not a feminine affix and therefore the rule 'हलङ्याप्' (VI. 1. 68. S. 252) does not apply. The rest of the declensions are like those of बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Note.—The word लक्ष्मी is formed by the Unadi affix ई (Unadi Sutras III. 160 लक्षेर्मुट्च, as लक्ष् + मुट् + ई = लक्ष्मी) ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Masculine word कुमारी ॥ This word, though ordinarily feminine, when it is derived from the Denominative root कुमारी meaning a Brahman who desires a कुमारी or acts like a कुमारी (III. 2. 76. S. 2983) is Masculine, namely, the Denominative Verb कुमारी considered to be formed by the affix क्यच् (III. 1. 8 or III. 1. 10 S. 2657 or 2664) with the affix क्विप् of III. 2. 76.

Note—As कुमार्याम्, क्रिशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वाम्, धीरबन्ध्वाम्, खट्वायाम्, बहुराजायाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-ग्रामण्यम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word ग्रामणी is formed by क्विप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न is changed to ण by अग्र ग्रामाभ्याम्; and the यण् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

Thus कुमारी + सु = कुमारी ॥ सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252.

In forming the Dual, the following rules apply.

२७१ । अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ । ६ । ४ । ७७ ॥

इनुप्रत्ययान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधातोर्भ्रूइत्यस्य चाङ्गस्येयङुवङौ स्तोऽजादौ प्रत्यये परे । ङिच्चेत्यन्तादेशः । आन्तरतम्यादेरियङ् औरुवङ् इतीयङि प्राप्ते ॥

271. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भ्रू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

The substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् have indicatory ङ and therefore they are applied at the end and by the rule of nearness of substitutes इयङ् replaces इ and उवङ् replaces उ (whether long or short). Thus कुमारि + औ = कुमार् + इय + औ. But this is prevented by the next Sûtra.

Note:—Similarly आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from the roots of the 5th class. चिक्षियतुः लुलुवतुः, लुलुवुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भ्रुवौ and भ्रुवः ॥

२७२ । एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य । ६ । ४ । ८२ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजादौ प्रत्यये परे । इति यण् । कुमार्यौ । कुमार्यः । हे कुमारि । अमि शसि च । कुमार्यम् । कुमार्यः । कुमार्यै । कुमार्याः २ । कुमारीणाम् । कुमार्याम् । प्रधीः । प्रध्यौ । प्रध्यः । प्रध्यम् । प्रध्यः । उन्नयतीत्युन्नीः । धातुना संयोगस्य विशेषणादिह स्यादेव यण् । उन्न्यौ । उन्न्यः । हे उन्नीः । उन्न्यम् । ङेराम् । उन्न्याम् । एवं ग्रामणीः । अनेकाचः किम् । नीः । निधौ । निधः । अमि शसि च परत्वादियङ् । निधम् । निधः । ङेराम् । निधाम् । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । सुश्रियौ । यवक्रियौ । गोतकारकृतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नेष्यते । शुद्धधियौ । परमधियौ कथं तर्हि दुर्धियौ वृश्चिकभियेत्यादि । उच्यते । दुःस्थिता धीर्यैषामिति विग्रहे दुरित्यस्य धीशब्दं प्रति गतित्वमेव नास्ति । यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस्तं प्रत्येव गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाः । वृश्चिकशब्दस्य बुद्धिकृतमपाकरणं नेह विवक्षितम् । वृश्चिकसंबन्धिनी भीर्वृश्चिकभीरित्युत्तरपदलोपो वा ॥

272. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

Thus instead of इयङ् we get यण् âdeśa, therefore कुमारी + औ = कुमार्यौ; कुमारी + जस् = कुमार्यः ।

The Voc. Sing is हे कुमारि ॥ The Acc. Sing, Dual and Pl. are कुमार्यम्, कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः There are no peculiarities in the Instrumental forms.

The Dative Sing is कुमार्यै. The Ablative and Genitive Singulars are कुमार्याः ॥ The Genitive Pl. is कुमारीणाम् ॥ The Loc. Sing. is कुमार्याम् ॥

The word प्रधी is thus declined :—प्रधीः, प्रध्यौ: प्रध्यः, प्रध्यम, प्रध्यः &c. This word is derived from the root ध्या with the profix प्र. The य is changed to इ by Unâdi IV. 115. Thus प्रध्य + क्विप् = प्रधि. The short इ is lengthend by VI. 4. 2. S. 2559. So we have प्रधी.

The declension of the word उन्नी। It is formed by adding the prefix उत् to the verb नी. Therefore this long ई cannot be said to be preceded by a conjunct consonant, for the conjunct consonant of the Sûtra means the conjunct consonant of the verbal root and not the conjunct consonant obtained by adding a prefix to the simple root like नी. Therefore, the present Sûtra applies to उन्नी which is declined as उन्नीः, उन्न्यौ; उन्न्यः; हे उन्नीः; Acc. Sing उन्न्यम्, Loc. Sing उन्न्याम्॥

In the same way should be declined the word ग्रामणी, the Nom. Sing of which is ग्रामणीः॥

How do you explain the forms दुर्धियः where there is not ष्ण though दुर् is a Gati, and the word वृश्चिकभियः where the word वृश्चिक is a Kâraka? We reply that the preposition दुर् is not a Gati with regard to the word धी, because we analyse the word as दुःस्थिता धीर्येषां, a Bahuvrihi compound, in which दुर् is Gati with regard to the word स्थित understood. This compound is formed by the Vârtika प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्य &c. (II. 2. 24. S. 830.) by which the subsequent term स्थित is elided after the Gati word दुर्. In fact, the word *Gati* is a relative term with regard to the verb which a preposition immediately qualifies, and not with regard to any other verb with which it may be accidentally in contact. Similarly वृश्चिकभीः should not be analysed as an Ablative compound (पञ्चमी तत्पुरुष समासः) formed by 1. 4. 25. S. 588., as वृश्चिका द्बिभेति = वृश्चिकभीः; but as वृश्चिक-सम्बन्धिनीः भीः॥ In the first case the compound would mean 'a person afraid of a scorpion'; in the other case, which is applicable here, the fear arising from a scorpion. In the second case वृश्चिक is not a Kâraka with regard to भी. Therefore the vârtika applies to it.

२७३। न भूसुधियोः। ६। ४। ८५॥

एतयोर्यण् न स्यादचि सुपि। सुधियौ। सुधिय इत्यादि। सखायमिच्छति। सखीयति। ततः क्विप्। अल्लोपयलोपौ। अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाद्यणि प्राप्ते। क्वौ लुप्तं न स्थानिवत्। एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्णित्त्वे। सखा। सखायौ। सखायः। हे सखीः। अमि पूर्वरूपाप्रत्ययस्वाद्यणि प्राप्ते ततोऽपि परत्वात्सख्युरसंबुद्धाविति प्रवर्तते। सखायम्। सखायौ। शसि यण्। सख्यः। सह खेन वर्तत इति सखः। तमिच्छतीति सखीः। सुखमिच्छतीति सुखीः। सुतमिच्छतीति सुतीः। सख्यौ। सुख्यौ। सुत्यौ। ख्यत्यादिति दीर्घस्यापि ग्रहणादुकारः। सख्युः। सुख्युः। सुत्युः। लूनमिच्छतीति लूनीः। क्षाममिच्छतीति क्षामीः। प्रस्तीमिच्छतीति प्रस्तीमीः। एषां ङसिङसोर्यण्। नत्वमत्वयोरसिद्धत्वात् ख्यत्यादिस्युस्वम्। लून्युः। क्षाम्युः प्रस्तीम्युः। शुष्कीयतेः क्विप्। शुष्कीः। इयङ्। शुष्किय्यौ। शुष्किय्यः। ङसिङसोः शुष्किय इत्यादि॥

273. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभु—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः॥

Now, we take up the example of a word formed from a Denominative root, namely, the word सखी which is thus formed सखायं इच्छति = सखीयति (i.e. he who desires a friend). Thus the root सखीय is a Denominative root, to this is added the affix क्विप् and the letters अ and य् are both elided. Here the elision of य् being considered as स्थानिवत्, there would be यणादेश under the previous Sûtra in declining the word सखी. This is prevented by the following.

Vârtika:—when there is elision before the affix क्विप् the elision is not considered as *sthânivat*.

The rules by which the word सखी is formed are the same which have been already referred to in forming the word कुमारी as explained under VII. 3. 116. S. 270. In declining this word सखी which means "he who desires a friend" the same rules are to be applied which were applied to the word सखि meaning a friend (see VI. 1. 68 and VII. 2. 115. S. 252, 254), because of the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्णिस्त्वं ॥ Therefore we get the Nominative forms सखा; सखायौ; सखायः, Voc. हे सखीः. The Acc. Sing is सखायम्. It is thus formed सखी + अम् Here VI. 1. 107. S. 194 requires Pûrva-rûpa, that is सखीम्. But that rule is set aside by the subsequent rule VI. 4. 82. S. 272. requiring यण् which would have given the form सख्यम्. Both these forms are wrong, for the last rule even is set aside by the subsequent rule VII. 1. 92. S. 253. Hence the form सखि + अम् = सखायम् ॥

The Acc. Dual is सखायौ. The Acc. Pl. is सख्यः for the Acc. Pl. not being a Sarvanâmasthâna, there is regular Sandhi. There is no peculiarity in other cases of this word सखी, meaning 'one who desires a friend'.

There is another word सखी which is thus formed सह खेन वर्तते इति सखः. It is a Bâhu-vrîhi compound formed by II. 2. 28. S. 848. The सह is changed to स by VI. 3. 82 S. 849. In forming the Denominative verb from this सख, we add the affix क्यच् by III. 1. 8. S. 2657. Then, we add long ई by VII. 4. 33 S. 2658. and thus we get the Denominative root सखीय. From this root, we get the masculine noun सखी with the affix क्विप् on the analogy of the previous word.

Similarly are also formed the words सुखी meaning 'one who desires happiness'; and सुती meaning 'one who desires a son'. The declension of these words is as follows :—Nom. Sing. सखीः ; सुखीः ; सुतीः. The dual is सख्यौ ; सुख्यौ ; सुत्यौ, The Abl. and Gen. Singular forms are सख्युः ; सुख्युः ; सुत्युः ; by applying the sutra VI. 1. 112. S. 255.

Similarly the words लूनीः ; क्षामीः ; प्रस्तीमीः meaning respectively 'one who desires cut off things' e. g. flowers &c; 'one who desires Vishnu'; and 'one who desires crowd' &c. are to be declined.

Note:—The word लून is the past participle of the root लू to cut ; the *nishthâ* त is changed to न by VIII. 2. 44. S. 301 8. क्षाम is the past participle of the root क्षै to wane, the त is changed to म by VIII. 2. 53. S. 3032. Similarly प्रस्तीम is the past participle of the root स्त्यै to make noise, preceded by the preposition प्र The *nishthâ* त is changed to म by VIII. 2. 54. S. 3034. The *Samprasâraṇa* takes place by VI 1. 23.

The Nom. Sing forms are लूनाः ; क्षामीः ; प्रस्तीमीः In other cases their declension is like the word सुती &c., except the Abl. and Gen ; Sing. Here in these cases the words do not really end in खी and ती and therefore the rule VI. I. 112 S 255. is not strictly applicable to them, but as the न of लून and the म of क्षाम and प्रस्तीम are substitutes of त and as these are taught in the *Tripâdi*, namely the last three chapters of the *Ashtâdhyayî*, therefore the न and म substitutions are considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the rule contained in the 7¼ adhyâyas. In other words these words are considered as लूती ; क्षामी ; प्रस्तीमी ; and the rule VI. I. 112. S. 255 applying to them ; we have the Abl ; and Genitive Sing forms as लून्युः ; क्षाम्युः ; प्रस्तीम्युः ॥

But the declension of the similarly formed word शुष्की, derived from the noun शुष्क through the derivative verb शुष्कीय with the affix क्विप् is different. शुष्क is the past participle of the root शुष् where the *nishtha* त is changed to क by VIII. 2. 51. S. 3030 Thus the Nom. Sing. is शुष्कीः The Nom. Dual and Pl. are शुष्किणौ ; and शुष्किणः with the affix इयङ् by VI. 4. 77. S. 271 and not with यण् because the long ई is preceded by a conjunct consonant. The Abl and Geni ; singular is शुष्किणः &c.,

Similarly पक्वी is formed from the past participle पक्व where the *Nishtha* त is changed to व VIII. 2. 52. S. 3031 after the root पच् 'to cook.'

Here ends the declension of the masculine words ending in long ई ॥

———:o:———

शंभुर्हरिवत् । एवं विष्णु वायु भान्वादयः ॥

Declension of Masculine words ending in उ ॥ The declension of the word शम्भु is like that of हरि ॥ So also of विष्णु ; वायु, भानु ॥

The declension of the word क्रोष्टु is somewhat different in the first five cases, where the following rules apply.

२७४ । तृज्वत्क्रोष्टुः । ७ । १ । ९५ ॥

क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तृजन्तेन तुल्यं वर्तते असंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य स्थाने क्रोष्टृशब्दः प्रयोक्तव्य इत्यर्थः ॥

274. The word क्रोष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तृच् (तृ) ॥

Note:—The word क्रोष्टु is declined like क्रोष्टृ in the strong cases. As क्रोष्टा, क्रोष्टारौ, क्रोष्टारः, क्रोष्टारम्, क्रोष्टारौ ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in weak cases, and हे क्रोष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तृच् affix, i. e. acute on the final. The word क्रोष्टु is formed by the affix तृन् (Un सितनिगमि &c, 1. 69).

The word क्रोष्टु is treated as क्रोष्टृ and therefore the rules applicable to the words ending in ऋ apply to it, viz, the following Sutras.

२७५ । ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोः । ७ । ३ । ११० ॥

ङौ सर्वनामस्थाने च परे ऋदन्ताङ्गस्य गुणः स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

275. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

This rule requires क्रोष्टृ to be changed to क्रोष्टर्, but this is prevented by the following.

२७६ । ऋदुशनस्पुरुदंसोऽनेहसां च । ७ । १ । ९४ ॥

ऋदन्तानामुशनसादीनां चानङ् स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे ॥

276. Anaṅ (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ as well as for the final of uśanas, puru-daṁśas, and anehas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

२७७ । अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तॄणाम् । ६ । ४ । ११ ॥

अबादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । नप्त्रादिग्रहणं व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । तेन पितृभ्रातृप्रभृतीनां न । उशनृशब्दस्य तु भवत्येव । समर्थसूत्रे उशनतार इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । क्रोष्टा । क्रोष्टारौ । क्रोष्टारः । क्रोष्टारम् । क्रोष्टारौ । क्रोष्टून् ॥

277. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्तृ ॥

The words नप्तृ &c., in this sûtra are taken to denote *Niyama*, for if नप्तृ &c. be taken as derivative words formed with the affix तृन् or तृच्, there was no necessity of their separate mention in this sûtra, because the word तृन् and तृच् of the sûtra would have included them. Therefore we say the inclusion of these words shows *Niyama*, or restriction, namely, other derivative words formed by the Unâdi affixes तृन् and तृच् are not governed by this rule, such as the words पितृ भ्रातृ &c. But the word उशनृ is governed by this rule, because we find the उशनतारः in the Mahâbhâsya. Thus we get the forms क्रोष्टा; क्रोष्टारः; क्रोष्टारम्; क्रोष्टारौ; क्रोष्टून् ॥

In the Instrumental and other cases, there are double forms and the following rules upply:—

२७८ । विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि । ७ । १ । ९७ ॥

अजादिषु तृतीयादिषु क्रोष्टुर्वा तृज्वत् । क्रोष्ट्रा । क्रोष्ट्रे ॥

278. क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshṭṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्ट्रा or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्ट्रुः or क्रोष्टोः, क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्ट्रोः or क्रोष्ट्रोः ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes.

In forming the Abl. and Genitive, the following rules apply.

२७९ । ऋत उत् । ६ । १ । १११ ॥

ऋदन्तात् ङसिङसोरति परे उकार एकादेशः स्यात् । रपरत्वम् ॥

279. In the room of ऋ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Note:—Thus होतृ + अस् = होतुस् (The उ must always be followed by र् I. 1. 1 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ + अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces *two*, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sûtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

२८० । रात्सस्य । ८ । २ । २४ ॥

रेफात्संयोगान्तस्य सस्यैव लोपो नान्यस्य । रेफस्य विसर्गः । क्रोष्टुः । आमि परत्वात्तृज्वद्भावे प्राप्ते । * नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुट् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । क्रोष्टूनाम् । क्रोष्टरि । क्रोष्ट्रोः । पक्षे हलादौ च शंभुवत् ॥

280. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus क्रोष्ट्र + अस् = क्रोष्टुर्स् ॥ Here the final स् is elided and the र् is changed to visarga. Thus we get क्रोष्टुः Before the Gen: Pl: आम्, क्रोष्टु requires to be treated as क्रोष्ट्र by VII. 1. 97. S. 278 but this is prevented by the following *Vârt:*—नुम् and नुट् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vadbhâva ordained by the preceding sûtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun

प्रियक्रोष्टु will be प्रियक्रोष्टुने उरण्याय, हितक्रोष्टुने वृषलकुलाय, and not °क्रोष्ट्रे ॥ Similarly with नुद्, as क्रोष्टूनाम् ॥

The Loc. forms are क्रोष्टरि or क्रौष्टा; क्रोष्ट्राः &c.

Before affixes beginning with consonants there is only one form.

Note:—The word क्रोष्टु is formed from the root क्रुश् 'to cry' or 'to call' with the affix तुन् by the Unâdi I. 69. Similarly the word क्रोष्ट्र is formed from the same root with the affix ष्ट्रन् ॥ Both words denote the same object, i. e. 'a jackal'. But the word क्रोष्टु is defective in the first five cases, where क्रोष्ट्र supplies the want.

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short उ ॥

:o:

हूहूः हूहूौ । हूहूः । हूहूम् । हूहूौ । हूहूनित्यादि । अतिचमूशब्दे तु नदीकार्ये विशेषः । हे अतिचमु । अतिचम्वै । अतिचम्वाः २ । अतिचमूनाम् । अतिचम्वाम् । खलपूः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of Masculine words ending in long ऊ ॥ As हूहू (name of a celestial songster). The Nom: and Acc: forms are हूहूः; हूहूौ; हूहूः । हूहूम्; हूहूौ; हूहून् &c.

In declining the word अतिचमू', the *Nadi* rules will apply, i. e. I. 4. 3. S, 266, 267, 268 &c. The Voc. Sing. is therefore. हे अतिचमु ॥ The Dat: Sing is अतिचम्वै; Abl: and Gen. singular अतिचम्वाः; Gens; Pl: अति चमूनाम्; Loc. Sing अतिचम्वाम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of the Noun खलपू ॥ The Nom. Sing: is खलपूः ॥

In forming the Nom; Dual the following rule applies

२८१ । ओः सुपि । ६ । ४ । ८३ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य उवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजादौ सुपि । गतिकारकेतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नेष्यते । खलप्वौ । खलप्व इत्यादि । एवं सुल्वादयः । अनेकाचः किम् । लूः । लुवौ । लुवः ॥ धात्ववयवेति किम् । उल्लूः । उल्लूौ । उल्लूः । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । कट्पुवौ । कट्पुवः । गतीत्यादि किम् । परमलुवौ । सुपि किम् । लुलुवतुः । स्वभूः । न भूसूधियोः ॥ स्वभुवौ । स्वभुवः ॥

281. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded if by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper':—d. खलप्वौ, pl. खलप्वः; so also शतस्वौ and शतस्वः, and सकृल्लूः dual सकृल्ल्वौ and सकृल्ल्वः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes (non—सुप्); लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only). Why do we say forming part of the root? Observe, उल्लूः; उल्लूौ; उल्लूः ॥ Here the conjunct consonant is not part of the root but is

part of the preposition उत् + लू = उल्लू ॥ Why do we say when not preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe कटप्लूः, कटप्लुवौ, कटप्लुवः। Why do we say that the first member must be a Gati or a Kâraka? Observe. परमलूः, परम लुवौ ; परमलुवः ॥ Why do we say when a *case-affix* follows? Observe लुलुवतुः ॥

But the declension of the word स्वभू is not governed by this rule but by VI. 4 85. S. 273. Thus Nom: forms are स्वभूः ; स्वभुवौ ; स्वभुवः ॥ So also स्वयंभूः ॥

But the declension of the Noun वर्षाभू (the frog) is different and is governed by the following rule.

२८२ । वर्षाभ्वश्च । ६ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अस्योवर्णस्य यण् स्यादचि सुपि । वर्षाभ्वौ । वर्षाभ्वः । द्रुम्भवतीति द्रुम्भूः । अन्बूद्रुम्भूजम्बूकफेलूकर्कन्धूदिधिषूरिंखणादिसूत्रेण व्युत्पादितः । द्रुम्भौ । द्रुम्भवः । द्रुम्भुम् । द्रुम्भौ । द्रुम्भून् । शेषं हूहूवत् । द्रुम्भिति नान्ते हिंसार्थेऽव्यये भुवः क्विप् । द्रुम्भूः । द्रुकरपुनःपूर्वस्य भुवो यण् वक्तव्यः । द्रुभ्वौ । द्रुभ्व इत्यादि खलपूवत् । कारभ्वौ । कारभ्वः । दीर्घपाठे तु कर एव कारः । स्वार्थिकः प्रज्ञाद्यण् । कारभ्वौ । कारभ्वः । पुनर्भूर्यौगिकः पुंसि । पुनर्भ्वावित्यादि । द्रुम्भूकाराभूशब्दौ स्वयंभूवत् ॥

282. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभ्वौ, वर्षाभ्वः ॥

This is an exception to rule S 273.

The words अन्बू, द्रुम्भू; जम्बू, कफेलू, कर्कन्धू, दिधिषू are Uṇâdi formed words under Unâdi sûtras I. 96. Thus द्रुम्भूः "an author" or "a reciter"; द्रुम्भौ; द्रुम्भवः ; द्रुम्भुम्; द्रुम्भौ; द्रुम्भून्, The rest of the declensions is like those of हू हू ॥ The word द्रुम्भू is formed from the root द्रुम्भ् with the affix ऊ (technically कु)॥ But there is another word द्रुम्भू (meaning a kind of tree, snake or monkey) formed from the indeclinable word द्रु to injure and the verb भू with the affix क्विप् ॥ The declension of this word is governed by the following

Vârt:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when द्रु, कार and पुनर् precede भू, as द्रुम्भौ, द्रुम्भवः, पुनर्भ्वौ, पुनर्भ्वः काराभ्वौ (कराभ्वौ), काराभ्वः (कराभ्वः) ॥

In this vârtika, one reading is कर, and another reading is कार, namely करभू or कारभू (the meaning of both is the same, because कार is formed by the affix अण् without changing the sense, under sûtra V. 4. 38, S. 2106).

The word पुनर्भू must be taken as a masculine derivative word, and not the word पुनर्भू which is always feminine.

The Nouns द्रुम्भू and काराभू are declined like स्वयंभू ॥

Note:—According to Eastern Grammarians, these two words are declined like वर्षाभू ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculines in long ऊ ॥

Declension of masculines ending in ऋ.

धाता । हे धातः । धातारौ । धातारः ॥ ऋवर्णान्नस्य णत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ धातॄणामित्यादि । एवं नप्त्रादयः । उद्गातारौ । पिता । द्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नप्त्रादिग्रहणस्य नियमार्थत्वान्न दीर्घः । पितरौ । पितरः पितरम् । पितरौ । शेषं धातृवत् ; एवं जामातृभ्रात्रादयः । ना । नरौ । नरः । हे नः ॥

We take up the declension of the word धातृ. It is governed by the rules already referred to before, namely VII. 3. 110. S. 275; VII. 1. 94. S. 276., VI. 1. 111. S. 279. and VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus धाता; धातारौ; धातारः Voc. हे धातः

Vârtika :—After words ending in ऋ, the dental न is changed to cerebral ण.

Therefore Genitive Pl : is धातॄणां ॥

The declension of नप्तृ &c mentioned in VI. 4. 11. S. 277. is like धातृ ॥ So also that of उद्गातृ ॥

But the declension of पितृ is not like this. पितृ is a Uṇâdi formed word, about which there are two views. Some consider Uṇâdi affixes as no affixes at all, and therefore Uṇâdi words, as रूढि words. Others consider such words as derivative. According to the first view, the declension of पितृ is governed by VII. 3. 110. S. 275. and the ऋ of पितृ is guṇated. Thus Nom. Dual and Pl : are पितरौ; पितरः.

According to the second view, the word पितृ is considered to be formed with the affix तृण् and तृच् added to the root पा 'to protect' by Uṇâdi sutra II. 94. Then the sutra VI. 4. 11. S. 277 is read in a restrictive sense, by taking the word नप्तृ as restricting the rule only to नप्तृ &c and not to पितृ. Therefore, we never have पितारौ but always पितरौ. Thus पिता, पितरौ, पितरः ; पितरम्, पितरौ. The rest of the declensions is like those of धातृ. The words जामातृ, भ्रातृ &c are to be similarly declined.

	Nom	Acca.	Instr.	Dati.	Abl.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing	धाता	धातारं	धात्रा	धात्रे	धातुः	धातुः	धातरि
Dual	धातारौ	धातारौ	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धात्राः	धात्रोः
Plural	धातारः	धातॄन्	धातृभिः	धातृभ्यः	धातृभ्यः	धातॄणाम्	धातृषु

———:o:———

Sing	पिता	पितरं	पित्रा	पित्रे	पितुः	पितुः	पितरि
Dual	पितरौ	पतरौ	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पित्रोः	पित्रोः
Plural	पितरः	पितॄन्	पितृभिः	पितृभ्यः	पितृभ्यः	पितॄणां	पितृषु

The declension of the Noun नृ is ना, नरौ, नरः The Voc. Sing. is हे नः ॥

In the Genitive Plural there are two forms according to the following rule.

२८३ । नृ च । ६ । ४ । ६ ॥

नृ इत्येतस्य नामि वा दीर्घः स्यात् । नृणाम् । नृणाम् ।

283. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As स्वं नृणां नृपते, and स्वं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others it extends to secular literature also.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in short ऋ ॥

———:o:———

Declension of masculines ending in long ॠ ॥

कॄ तॄ अनयोरनुकरणे प्रकृतिवदनुकरणमिति वैकल्पिकातिदेशादिस्वे रपरत्वम् । कीः । किरौ । किरः । तीः । तिरौ । तिरः इत्यादि गीर्वत् । इस्वाभावपक्षे तु ऋदुशन इति ऋतो ङीति च तपरकरणादनङ्सुणौ न । कॄः । कॄौ । कॄः । कॄम् । कॄौ । कॄन् । कॄा । कॄे इत्यादि ॥

कॄ and तॄ are two roots, when imitative names are formed, we get the nouns कॄ and तॄ ॥ These nouns are treated like verbs कॄ and तॄ on the following maxim. *Paribhâshâ*:—"An imitative name is like original." Therefore the rule VII. 1. 100 S. 2390. read with I. 1. 51. S. 70. applies to these words. Thus we have किर् and निर् as bases. Therefore the Nom : forms are कीः ; किरौ, किरः ; तीः, तिरौ, तिरः ; These are, in fact, declined like the nouns ending in consonant र् as गिर् ॥

The above *Paribhâshâ* is, however, optional and the इर् substitution may not take place. In that case, the rules VII. 3. 110 S. 275 and VII. 1. 95. S. 276 requiring the guṇation and अनङ् substitution do not apply, because those rules are confined to bases ending in short ऋ as the word ऋत् in those sûtras shows, for the indicatory त् shows that the short ऋ is to be taken (see I. 1. 70 S. 15). Therefore, the declension of these words is कॄः, कॄौ, कॄः ; कॄम्, कॄौ ; कॄन् ; कॄा, कॄे etc.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in long ॠ

———:o:———

Declension of Nouns ending in ल्ऌ ॥

गम्ल्ऌ शक्ल्ऌ अनयोरनुकरणेऽनङ् । गमा । शका गुणविषये तु लपरत्वम् । गमलौ । गमलः । गमलम् । गमलौ । गम्लून् । गम्ला । गम्ले । ङसिङसोस्तु ऋत उदित्युस्वे लपरत्वे संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । गमुल् । शकुल् । इत्यादि ॥

We take the declension of nouns गम्ल्ऌ and शक्ल्ऌ the imitative nouns formed from the roots गम्ल्ऌ 'to go' and शक्ल्ऌ 'to be able'. In the Nom. Sing. we have अनङ् by VII. I. 94. S. 276, as गमा, शका ॥ In the other strong cases, we have guṇa by VII. 3. 110 S 275, as गमलौ; गमलः ; गमलम्, गमलौ. गम्लून् ; गम्ला ; गम्ले ॥

In Abl. and Gen: singular, the sûtra VI. 1. 111. S. 279 and I. 1. 51. S. 70 will apply. Therefore, the ल्+अ of the affix will be changed to उ followed by ल्॥ Thus we have गम्ल्+अस्=गमुल्+स्॥ The स् itself will be elided, because it is a final consonant. Thus, we have गमुल्॥ So also शकुल् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ल्॥

———:o:———

सेः। सयौ। सयः। स्मृतेः। स्मृतयौ। स्मृतयः॥

Declension of Nouns ending in ए॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word से॥ This word is thus formed; स+इः=सेः or स+ईः=सेः॥ The short इ is the name of Kâma (Cupid), as it may be considered to be derived from the word श meaning Vishnu with the अपत्य affix इ meaning the son of श॥ Similarly ई may be considered to be the feminine of श, namely the wife of Vishnu. से may therefore mean 'he who is accompanied by Kâma" or 'he who is accompanied by Lakshmi." Therefore, the word से is declined as सेः, सयौ सयः॥

Similarly the word स्मृते which has also two meanings, 'he who remembers Kâma (इ)' or 'he who remembers Lakshmi'. The word स्मृत being *Nishthâ* is placed first in this Bahu-vrîhi compound by II. 2. 36 S. 899. Thus we get स्मृतेः, स्मृतयौ; स्मृतयः॥

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ए॥

———:o:———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ओ॥

We take the word गो; to which the following rules apply:—

२८४। गोतो णित्। ७। १। ९०॥

गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिद्वत् स्यात्। गौः। गावौ। गावः॥

284. The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations: such as Vṛiddhi &c. As गौः, गावौ, गावः॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगुः, शबलगुः॥

Note:—How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगव; ? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनरवृत्तावविधि र्निष्ठितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Angâdhikâra VI, 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the Angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3. 108-109, the णित्व operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sûtra may be construed as Sam-

bandha-lakshanâ Sasthî (a Genitive denoting a general relation): and the meaning will be "that sarvanâmasthâna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow" While in चित्रगु, the sarvanâmasthâna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another *object*, namely to a "*person*' who possesses brindled cows. तृ in गातृ in this view is for specification only.

२८५। औतोऽम्शसोः। ६। १। ९३॥

आ ओत इति छेदः। ओकारादम्शसोरचि परे आकार एकादेशः स्यात्। शसा साहचर्यात्सुबेव अम् गृह्यते। नेह। अचिनवम्। असुनवम्। गाम्। गावौ। गाः। गवा। गवे। गोः। इत्यादि। ओतो णिदिति वाच्यम्। विहितविशेषणं च। तेन। सुद्यौः। सुद्यावौ। सुद्यावः। ओकारान्ताद्विहितं सर्वनामस्थानमिति व्याख्यानान्नेह। हे भानो। हे भानवः। उः शंभुः स्मृतो येन सः, स्मृतौः। स्मृतावौ। स्मृतावः। स्मृताम्। स्मृतावौ। स्मृताः। इत्यादि॥

285. For ओ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ॥

The word औतः is a compound of आ+ओतः॥ Thus गो+अम्,=गाम्, गो+अस्=गाः॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्यः॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also द्यां or द्याः पश्य; as the word द्यो is also a nominal stem ending in ओ॥ The Sârvanâmsthâna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) which would have caused Vṛiddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vṛiddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix शस् and as the word सुप् of the last sûtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अचिनवम्, असुनवम्॥ गाम्, गावौ; गाः; गवा; गवे; गोः etc.

Vârtika:—The sûtra VII. 1. 90 S. 284 should be read as ओतोणित् meaning the ending of strong cases are णित् after bases ending in ओ॥

Vârtika:—And the endings are णित् after those bases only which have ओ in them. Thus, the Noun सुद्यो is declined as सुद्यौः, सुद्यावौ, सुद्यावः॥

Some read the sûtra as ओतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to द्यो also: as, द्यौः, द्यावौ, द्यावः॥ If the reading be taken गोतः, then we extend this rule to द्यो also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in ओ; and this is done by the letter तृ in गोतः, for the तपर rule applies to *letters*, and not to *words*, so that गोतः means and includes words ending in ओ॥

The *Sarva-nâma sthâna* affixes are णित् only after original bases ending in ओ and not after a derivative base ending in ओ॥ Therefore the Sarvanama sthâna affix सु or जस् coming after the base भानो, which the Noun भानु assumes in the Vocative case is not to be treated as णित्, because the ओ here is derivative. Therefore हे भानो, हे भानवः॥

Similarly, the word स्मृतौ formed from स्मृत+उ meaning 'he wh

remembers उ or शंभु', is declined as स्मृनौः, स्मृनावौ, स्मृनावः ; स्मृनाम्, स्मृनावौ; स्मृनाः etc.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ओ ॥

—:o:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ऐ.

We take the word रै (wealth).

२८६ । रायो हलि । ७ । २ । ८५ ॥

रैशब्दस्याकारोन्तादेशः स्याद्धलि विभक्तौ । अचि आयादेशः । राः । रायौ । रायः । रायम् । रायौ । रायः । राया । राभ्यामित्यादि ॥

286. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रै ॥

Before affixes beginning with vowels, the ऐ of रै is changed to आय् by the ordinary rules of Sandhi. Thus राः, रायौ, रायः; रायम्, रायौ, रायः; राया, राभ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ऐ.

—:o:—

Declension of Nouns ending in औ.

ग्लौ । ग्लावौ ग्लावः । ग्लावम् । ग्लावौ । ग्लावः । इत्यादि । ओतोऽम्शसोरितीह न प्रवर्तते । ऐऔजिति सूत्रेण ओदौतोः सावर्ण्याभावज्ञापनात् ॥

We take the word ग्लौ. It is declined as ग्लौः, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः, ग्लावम्, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः etc.

The sutra VI. 1. 93. S. 285 applied only to bases ending in ओ and not to those which end in औ. Because ओ and औ are not savarṇa letters, a fact which we learn from Pāṇini mentioning them separately in the Maheswara sûtras ए ओङ् and ऐ औच् .

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in vowels.

—:o:—

DECLENSION OF सखि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सखा	सखायं	सख्या	सख्ये	सख्युः	सख्युः	सख्यौ	हे सखे
Dual	सखायौ	सखायौ	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सख्योः	सख्योः	सखायौ
Plural	सखायः	सखीन्	सखिभिः	सखिभ्यः	सखिभ्यः	सखीनाम्	सखिषु	सखायः

शोभनः सखा=सुसखा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सुसखा	सुसखायं	सुसखिना	सुसखये	सुसखेः	सुसखेः	सुसखौ	सुसखे
Dual	सुसखायौ	सुसखायौ	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसख्योः	सुसख्योः	सुसखायौ
Plural	सुसखायः	सुसखीन्	सुसखिभिः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखीनाम्	सुसखिषु	सुसखायः

पति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	पतिः	पतिम्	पत्था	पत्ये	पत्युः	पत्युः	पत्यौ	हे पते
Dual	पती	पती	पतिभ्यां	पतिभ्याम्	पतिभ्यां	पत्योः	पत्योः	पती
Plural	पतयः	पतीन्	पतिभिः	पतिभ्यः	पतिभ्यः	पतीनाम्	पतिषु	पतयः

भूपति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Ab.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	भूपतिः	भूपतिम्	भूपतिना	भूपतये	भूपतेः	भूपतेः	भूपतौ	भूपते
Dual	भूपती	भूपती	भूपतिभ्याम्	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपत्योः	भूपत्योः	भूपती
Plural	भूपतयः	भूपतीन्	भूपतिभिः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतीनाम्	भूपतिषु	भूपतयः

कति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	कति	कति	कतिभिः	कतिभ्यः	कतिभ्यः	कतीनाम्	कतिषु ॥

त्रि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	त्रयः	त्रीन्	त्रिभिः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रयाणाम्	त्रिषु

द्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Dual	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वाभ्याम्	Do	Do	द्वयोः	द्वयोः

अतिद्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिद्विः	अतिद्विम्	अतिद्विना	अतिद्वये	अतिद्वेः	अतिद्वेः	अतिद्वौ
Dual	अतिद्वी	अतिद्वी	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्व्योः	अतिद्व्योः
Plural	अतिद्वयः	अतिद्वीन्	अतिद्विभिः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्वीनाम्	अतिद्विषु

औडुलोमिः

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Si.	औडुलोमिः	औडुलोमिम्	औडुलोमिना	औडुलोमये	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमौ	औडुलोमे
D.	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां,	औडुलोम्योः	औडुलोम्योः,	औडुलोमी
P.	उडुलोमाः	उडुलोमान्	उडुलोमैः	उडुलोमेभ्यः	उडुलोमेभ्य	उडुलोमानाम्	उडुलोमेषु	उडुलोमाः

वातप्रमी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	वातप्रमीः	वातप्रमीम् or वातप्रम्यम्;	वातप्रम्या	वातप्रम्ये	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रमी or वातप्रम्बि;	हे वातप्रमीः
Dual	वातप्रमम्यौ	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रम्योः	वातप्रम्योः	
Plural	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रमीन् or वातप्रम्यः,	वातप्रमीभिः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रमीभ्यः,	वातप्रम्याम्	वातप्रमीषु	

बहुश्रेयसी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Si.	बहुश्रेयसी	हेबहुश्रेयसि	बहुश्रेयसीम्	बहुश्रेयस्या	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्याः	बहुश्रेयस्याः	बहुश्रेयस्याम्
D.	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यां	,,	,,	बहुश्रेयस्योः	,,
P.	बहुश्रेयस्यः	,,	बहुश्रेयसीन्	बहुश्रेयसीभिः	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यः	,,	बहुश्रेयसीनाम्	बहुश्रेयसीषु

अतिलक्ष्मी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	अतिलक्ष्मीः	हे अतिलक्ष्मि	अतिलक्ष्मीम्	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्ये	अतिलक्ष्म्याः	अतिलक्ष्म्याः	अतिलक्ष्म्याम्
D.	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यां	,,	,,	अतिलक्ष्म्योः	अतिलक्ष्म्योः
P	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्मीन्	अतिलक्ष्मीभिः	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यः	,,	अतिलक्ष्मीनाम्	अतिलक्ष्मीषु

कुमारी

	Nomi	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	कुमारी	कुमार्यम्	कुमार्या	कुमार्यै	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याम्	हे कुमारी
Dual	कुमार्यौ	,,	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमार्योः	,,	,,
Plural	कुमार्यः	,,	कुमारीभ्यः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीणाम्	कुमारीषु	,,	,,

प्रधी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	प्रधीः	प्रध्यम्	प्रध्या	प्रध्ये	प्रध्यः	प्रध्यः	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीः
Dual	प्रधी	प्रध्यौ	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रध्योः	प्रध्योः	प्रध्यौ
Plural	प्रध्यः	प्रध्यः	प्रधीभिः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीषु	प्रध्यः

उन्नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc
Sing	उन्नीः	उन्न्यम्	उन्न्या	उन्न्ये	उन्न्यः	उन्न्यः	उन्न्याम्	उन्नीः
Dual	उन्न्यौ	उन्न्यौ	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्न्योः	उन्न्योः	उन्न्यौ
Plural	उन्न्यः	उन्न्यः	उन्नीभिः	उन्नीभ्यः	उन्नीभ्यः	उन्न्याम्	उन्नीषु	उन्न्यः

ग्रामणी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	ग्रामणीः	ग्रामण्यम्	ग्रामण्या	ग्रामण्ये	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यां	ग्रामणीः
Dual	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्यौ
Plural	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामणीभिः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामण्यां	ग्रामणीषु	ग्रामण्यः

नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	नीः	नियम्	निया	निये	नियः	नियः	नियाम्	नीः
Dual	नियौ	नियौ	नीभ्यां	नीभ्याम्	नीभ्याम्	नियोः	नियोः	नियौ
Plural	नियः	नियः	नीभिः	नीभ्यः	नीभ्यः	नियाम्	नीषु	नियः

Sing	सुनीः	सुत्यम्	सुत्या
Dual	सुत्यौ	सुत्यौ	
Plural	सुत्यः	सुत्यः	like मधीः

शंभु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	शंभुः	शंभुम्	शंभुना	शंभवे	शंभोः	शंभोः	शंभौ	शंभो
Dual	शंभू	शंभू	शंभुभ्याम्	शंभुभ्यां	शंभुभ्यां	शंभ्वोः	शंभ्वोः	शंभू
Plural	शंभवः	शंभून्	शंभुभिः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभूनाम्	शंभुषु	शंभवः

क्रोष्टु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	क्रोष्टा	क्रोष्टारम्	क्रोष्ट्रा क्रोष्टुना	क्रोष्ट्रे क्रोष्टवे	क्रोष्टुः क्रोष्टोः	क्रोष्टुः क्रोष्टोः	क्रोष्टरि क्रोष्टौ
Dual	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्ट्रोः	क्रोष्ट्रोः
Plural	क्रोष्टारः	क्रोष्टून्	क्रोष्टुभिः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टूनाम्	क्रोष्टुषु

हूहू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	हूहूः	हूहूम्	हूहूा	हूहवे	हूहूः	हूहवः	हूहौ
Dual	हूहवौ	हूहवौ	हूहूभ्याम्	हूहूभ्यां	हूहूभ्यां	हूहवोः	हूहवोः
Plural	हूहवः	हूहूः	हूहूभिः	हूहूभ्यः	हूहूभ्यः	हूहूनाम्	हूहूषु

खलपू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Singular	खलपूः	खलप्वम्	खलप्वा	खलप्वे	खलप्वः	खलप्वः	खलप्वि
Dual	खलप्वौ	खलप्वौ	खलपूभ्यां	खलपूभ्यां	खलपभ्याम्	खलप्वोः	खलप्वोः
Plural	खलप्वः	खलप्वः	खलपूभिः	खलपूभ्यः	खलपूभ्यः	खलप्वां	खलपूषु

स्वभू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	स्वभूः	स्वभुवम्	स्वभुवा	स्वभुवे	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवि
Dual	स्वभुवौ	स्वभूवौ	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभुवोः	स्वभुवोः
Plural	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवः	स्वभूभिः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभुवां	स्वभूषु
Singular	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभ्वे	वर्षाभ्वा	वर्षाभ्वे	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वि
Dual	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूभ्यां	वर्षाभ्वोः	वर्षाभ्वोः
Plural	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभूभिः	वर्षाभूभ्यः	वर्षाभूभ्यः	वर्षाभ्वां	वर्षाभूषु

नृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	नाः	नरम्	नृा	नृे	नुः	नुः	नरि
Dual	नरौ	नरौ	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	नोः	नोः
Plual	नरः	नॄन्	नृभिः	नृभ्यः	नृभ्यः	,,	नृषु

कृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins,	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कीः	किरम्	किरा	किरे	किरः	किरः	किरि
Dual	किरौ	किरौ	कीर्भ्याम्	कीर्भ्याम्	कीर्भ्याम्	किरोः	किरोः
Plural	किरः	किरः	कीर्भिः	कीर्भ्यः	कीर्भ्यः	किराम्	कीर्षु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कॄः	कॄम्	कॄा	कॄे	कॄः	कॄः	कॄि
Dual	कॄौ	कॄौ	कॄभ्यां	कॄभ्यां	कॄभ्यां	कॄोः	कॄोः
Plural	कॄः	कॄन्	कॄभिः	कॄभ्यः	कॄभ्यः	कॄाम्	कृषु

गम्लृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गमा	गमलम्	गम्ला	गम्ले	गमुल्	गमुल्	गमलि
Dual	गमलौ	गमलौ	गम्लभ्याम्		,,	गम्लोः	गम्लोः
Plural	गमलः	गमून्	गम्लभिः	गम्लभ्यः	,,	गमूणां or गमृलृणां	गम्लषु

से

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	सेः	सयम्	सया	सये	सयः	सयः	सयि
Dual	सयौ	सयौ	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सयोः	सयोः
Plural	सयः	सयः	सेभिः	सेभ्यः	सेभ्यः	सयाम्	सेषु

गो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen	Loc.
Sing	गौः	गाम्	गवा	गवे	गोः	गोः	गवि
Dual	गावौ	गावौ	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गवोः	गवोः
Plural	गावः	गाः	गोभिः	गोभ्यः	गोभ्यः	ग	गासु व ष

स्मृतौ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	स्मृतौः	स्मृताम्	स्मृतवा	स्मृतवे	स्मृतोः	स्मृतोः	स्मृतवि
Dual	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतवोः	स्मृतवोः
Plural	स्मृतावः	स्मृताः	स्मृतोभिः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतवाम्	स्मृतोषु

रै

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	राः	रायम्	राया	राये	रायः	रायः	रायि
Dual	रायौ	रायौ	राभ्यम्	राभ्यां	राभ्यां	रायोः	रायोः
Plural	रायः	रायः	राभिः	राभ्यः	राभ्यः	रायाम्	रासु

ग्लौ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	ग्लौः	ग्लावं	ग्लावा	ग्लावे	ग्लावः	ग्लायः	ग्लावि
Dual	ग्लावौ	ग्लावौ	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लावोः	ग्लावौ
Plural	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लौभिः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लावाम्	ग्लौषु

:o:

अथाजन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER IX.

DECLENSION OF FEMININES ENDING IN VOWELS.

Now we take up the declension of the word रमा. (This word is formed from the root रम् 'to play' with the affix अच् and the feminine affix टाप्). The Nom. Sing is रमा. The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In forming the Nom : and Acc : Dual the following rule applies:—

२८७ । औङ आपः । ७ । १ । १८ ॥

आबन्ताट्टाप्परस्यौङः शी स्यात् । औङित्यौकारविभक्तेः संज्ञा । रमे । रमाः ॥

287. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

The ङ् in औङ् is for the purpose of including औ् also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औङ् taught by Pâṇini any where. Thus रमा + औ = रमा + शी = रमे ॥

The Pl : will be रमाः ॥

The Vocative Sing is formed according to the following Sûtra.

२८८ । संबुद्धौ च । ७ । ३ । १०६ ।

आप एकारः स्यात्संबुद्धौ । एङ्ह्रस्वादिति संबुद्धिलोपः । हे रमे । हे रमे । हे रमाः । रमाम् । रमे । रमाः । स्त्रीत्वान्नत्वाभावः ॥

288. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

Thus रमा + सु = रमे + सु = रमे ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus Voc : Sing. Dual and Pl : are हे रमे, हे रमे, हे रमाः respectively.

The Acc : forms are रमाम् ; रमे ; रमाः ॥ The न is not added in the Acc : Pl : because it is feminine. The rule VI. 1. 193. S. 196 applies only to the Masculine nouns.

In forming the Instrumental, the following applies.

२८९ । आङि चापः । ७ । ३ । १०५ ॥

आङि ओसि च परे आबन्तस्याङस्य एकारः स्यात् । रमया । रमाभ्याम् । रमाभिः ॥

289. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of

the Instrumental, **ए** is substituted for the final **आ** of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix **टा**, the Ins. Sing. by the ancient grammarians.

Thus **रमा + टा = रमे + आ = रमया** ॥ The Instr: dual and Pl. forms are **रमाभ्याम्, रमाभिः** ॥

In forming the Dative, the following sûtra applies :—

२९० । याडापः । ७ । ३ । ११३ ।

आपः परस्य ङिङ्ङसिनस्य याडागमः स्यात्। वृद्धिरेचि । रमायै । सवर्णदीर्घः । रमायाः । रमयोः । रमासु । एवं दुर्गादयः ॥

290. The augment **याट्** is added to the Dat. Abl. Gen and Loc. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in **आ** ॥

Thus **रमा + ङे = रमायाट् + ङे = रमाया + ए = रमायै** according to VI. 1. 88. S. 72.

The Abl: and Gen: Singulars are thus formed :—**रमा + ङसि = रमा + याट् + ङसि = रमाया + अस् = रमायाः** ॥

The Gen: and Loc: dual **रमयोः** is formed as follows **रमा + ओस् = रमे + ओस्** (VII. 3. 105 S. 289) = **रमयोः** ॥

The Gen: Pl: is **रमाणाम्** (**ण्** being added by VII. 1. 54. S. 208).

The Loc. Sing. **रमायाम्** is formed according to VII. 3. 116. S. 270. Thus **रमा + याट् + ङि = रमा + याट् + आम् = रमायाम्** ॥

The Loc. dual and Pl: are **रमयोः** and **रमासु** ॥ The Feminine Nouns **दुर्गा** &c. are to be similarly declined.

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Pronoun **सर्वा** ॥ In the first three cases, it is declined like **रमा** ॥ In forming the Dative and other cases the following rules apply :—

२९१ । सर्वनाम्नः स्याड्ढ्रस्वश्च । ७ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आबन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य ङितः स्याट् स्यादापश्च ह्रस्वः । याटोऽपवादः । सर्वस्मै । सर्वस्याः २ । एकादेशस्य पूर्वान्तत्वेन ग्रहणादामि सर्वनाम्न इति सुट् । सर्वासाम् । सर्वस्याम् । सर्वयोः । सर्वासु । एवं विश्वादय आबन्ताः ॥

291. After a Pronominal stem ending in long **आ** of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. receive the augment **स्याट्** and the **आ** of the stem is shortened.

As **सर्वस्मै, विश्वस्मै, यस्मै, तस्मै, कस्मै, भवत्यै भवत्याः, सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, यस्याः तस्याः, कस्या, अन्यस्मै अन्यस्याः** ॥

But अडुड्यै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine

This debars the augment याट् Thus Dat: Sing is formed as follows, सर्वा + स्याट् + ङे = सर्व + स्या + इ = सर्वस्यै ॥

Similarly the Abl: and Gen: Singular सर्वस्याः is formed.

In Gen: Pl: सुट् is added by VII. 8. 52 S. 217. Though the Feminine pronoun सर्वा is not mentioned in the सर्वादि class, yet the word सर्वा is called सर्वनाम, for the ekâdes'a आ of सर्वा (सर्व + आ = सर्वा) is considered as the final of the first, and hence the rule VII. 1. 52. S. 217 will apply to it. Thus we get the Gen: Pl: सर्वासाम् ॥

The Loc: Sing is thus formed सर्वा + ङि = सर्व + स्या + आम् = सर्वस्याम् ॥ The Loc: Dual and Pl: forms are सर्वयोः and सर्वासु ॥

So also other Feminine Pronouns ending in आ like विश्वा &c. are to be declined.

२९२ । विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २८ ॥

अत्र सर्वनामता वा स्यात् । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । उत्तरपूर्वायै । दिङ्मात्रमान्यन्तराले इति प्रतिपदोक्तस्य दिक्समासस्य ग्रहणमत्रेह । योत्तरा सा पूर्वा यस्या उन्मुग्धायास्तस्यै उत्तरपूर्वायै । बहुव्रीहिग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अन्तरस्यै शालायै । बाह्यायै इत्यर्थः । अपुरस्त्युक्तेर्नेह । अन्तरायै नगर्यै ॥

292. The Sarvanâma words are optionally declined as such when they occur in a Bahuvrîhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26. S. 845).

Thus उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वायै ॥ The Bahuvrîhi compound specifically taught in II. 2. 26. S. 845 and not every other bahuvrîhi. Therefore when the word उत्तरा or पूर्वा are so compounded as to denote a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East, there the word उत्तरपूर्वा (a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East) though a bahuvrîhi compound, formed of pronouns denoting points of compass, but as the whole compound does not denote the intermediate points of the compass but is the Name of a person, it is not treated as a Sarvanâma. Therefore its Dative Sing will be उत्तरपूर्वायै and not उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥

The word बहुव्रीहि is used in the sûtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sûtra would have referred to Bahuvrîhi compound even without employing the word bahuvrîhi in it.

The word अन्तरा is a Sarvanâma denoting 'outer' and so it is declined as अन्तरस्यै शालायै meaning the outer court, but when the word अन्तरा denotes a city' it is not a sarvanâma and therefore its declension will be अन्तरायै नगर्यै (See Vârtika under sutra VII. 1. 52 S. 217).

The word द्वितीया and तृतीया are similarly declined except in the ङित् affixes to which the following rule applies.

२९३ । विभाषा द्वितीया तृतीयाभ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां ङितः स्याट् स्यादापश्च ह्रस्वः । इदं सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । तीयस्य ङित्सूपसंख्यानात् । द्वितीयस्यै । द्वितीयाय । द्वितीयस्याः । द्वितीयायाः । द्वितीयस्याम् । द्वितीयायाम् शेषं रमावत् । एवं तृतीया ॥ अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ॥ हे अम्ब । हे अक्क । हे अल्ल ॥ असंयुक्ता ये डलकास्तद्वतां ह्रस्वो न ॥ हे अम्बाडे । हे अम्बाले । हे अम्बिके । जरा । जरसौ । शीभावात्परत्वाज्जरस् । आमि नुटः परत्वाज्जरस् । जरसामित्यादि । पक्षे हलादौ च रमावत् । इह पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन शीभावं कृत्वा संनिपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यतां चाश्रित्य जरसी इति केचिदाहुस्तन्निर्मूलम् । यद्यपि जरसादेशस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाबन्ततामाश्रित्य । औङ् आपः । आङि चापः । याडापः । ह्रस्वनद्यापः । ङेराम् । इति पञ्चापि विधयः प्राप्ताः । एवं नसनिशसृसु । तथाप्यनल्विधाविर्युक्तेर्न भवन्ति । आ आबिति प्रश्लिष्य आकाररूपस्यैवाऽऽपः सर्वत्र ग्रहणात् । एवं हल्ङ्यादिसूत्रेऽपि आ आप् ङी ई इति प्रश्लेषादतिखट्वः निष्कौशाम्बिरित्यादिसिद्धेर्दीर्घग्रहणं प्रत्याख्येयम् । नचैवमप्यतिखट्वायेत्यत्र स्वाश्रयमाकारत्वं स्थानिवद्भावेनाप्त्वं चाश्रित्य याट् स्यादिति वाच्यम् । आबन्तं यदङ्गं ततः परस्य याड्विधानात् । उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्यये तदादिनियमात् । पद्दन्न इति नासिकाया नस् । नसः । नसा । नोभ्यामित्यादि । पक्षे सुटि च रमावत् । निशाया निश् । निशः । निशा ॥

293. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याट् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयाय; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः द्वितीयस्याम or द्वितीयायाम्; तृतीयस्याम्; or तृतीयायाम् ॥

The remaining forms are like those of रमा ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word अम्बा ॥

According to VII, 3. 103. S. 267. the Voc. Sing is हे अम्ब ॥ So also हे अल्ल ॥

The final आ of the word ending in simple ड, ल and क is not shortened. Thus हे अम्बाडे; हे अम्बाले; हे अम्बिके ॥

The declension of जरा is somewhat peculiar. Thus Nom. Sg. जरा + सु = जरा ; Nom. Dual. जरा + औ = जरसौ ; जरा is replaced by जरस् (VII. 2. 101 S. 227) before the sûtra शी (VII. 1. 18. S. 287) could be applied. In Gen : Pl: जरस् substitution takes place before the augment नुट् could be added ; hence जरसाम् ॥ But the जरस् substitution is optional, so when there is no जरस् substitution and before consonantal affixes जरा is declined like रमा ॥

Some form the Nom. Dual as जरसी; their reason is that शी will replace औ even where जरस् substitution takes place and संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application. The Paribhâshâ is as follows :—

सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य i. e. "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." This

argument however is incorrect for the form जरसी is nowhere to be found. Ques. जरस् replacing जरा may be considered as like जरा by the rule of स्थानिवदादेश (I. 1. 56. S. 49), therefore the five rules mentioned above, namely, VII. 1. 18. S. 287. VII. 3. 105. S. 289. VII. 3. 113. S. 290; VII. S. 208; VII. 3. 116 S. 270. apply to जरा॥ Similarly those rules would apply also to नस् the substitute of नासिका; निश् the substitute of निशा, पृत् the substitute of पृतना 'an army'. (See VI. 1. 64 S. 2264).

Answer. No, for the स्थानिवत् rule does not apply in cases of आल्विधि॥ For the five rules mentioned above apply only to those Feminine forms which end in long आ and not to those forms which are substitutes of such long आ ending word. In fact, in the above rules the word आप्, ङी should be construed as compounded of आ + आप् = आप् and ङी + ई = ङी; that is those Feminine words in आप् and ङी which retain their आ and ई in this state before the affixes are added and not those words which do not end in आ and ई॥ For the same reason, the forms अतिखट्वः and निष्कौशाम्बि are not to be governed by these rules for they end in short अ and short इ॥ Similarly the Dative of अतिखट्व will be अतिखट्वाय॥ Here also the augment याट् will not apply.

नस् is substituted for नासिका in weak cases and is then declined as नसः; Instr: Sg. नसा &c. when this substitution does not take place नासिका is declined like रमा॥ Similarly निश् is declined. But before the affixes भ्याम् &c. the श् is changed to ड् by the following rule.

२९४। व्रश्चभ्रस्जसृजमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छशां षः। ८। २। ३६॥

व्रश्चादीनां समानां छशान्तयोश्च षकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च। षस्य जश्त्वेन डकारः। निड्भ्याम्। निड्भिः। सुपि तु सीति पक्षे धुट्। चर्त्वम्। तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चयो द्वितीया इति टतयोष्ठयौ न। न पदान्ताट्टोरिति ढुत्वं न। निट्त्सु। निट्सु॥

294. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij mrij, yaj, râj, and bhrâj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष् before *jhal* letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus व्रश्चः—व्रष्टा, व्रष्टुम्, व्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृट्॥ भ्रष्टा। भ्रष्टुम्। भ्रष्टव्यम्। धानाभृट्। सृज् स्रष्टा। स्रष्टुम्। रज्जुसृट्। मृज। मार्ष्टा। मार्ष्टुम् मार्ष्टव्यम्। कंसवरिसृट्। यज। यष्टा। यष्टुम्। यष्टव्यम्। उपयट्। राज्। सम्राट्। स्वराट्, विराट्, विभ्राट्॥

Thus निश् + भ्याम् = निष् + भ्याम् = निड्भ्याम्; निड्भिः॥ By VIII. 3. 29. S. 131, there is an optional augment द् before the Loc. Pl: सुप्; then this द् is changed to द् and ध् to त्॥ This last substitution being considered as *asiddha* because it is a त्रिपादि rule, the द् and त् are not changed to द् and थ as will be required by *Vârtika* under VIII. 3. 28, S. 131. Nor will the rule VIII. 4. 42. S. 114. apply. Thus we get. निट्त्सु or निट्सु॥

Now appears the following rule also for application.

२९५। षढोः कः सि। ८। २। ४१ ॥

षस्य ढस्य च कः स्यात्सकारे परे। इति तु न भवति। जश्त्वं प्रत्यसिद्धत्वात्। केचित्तु ब्रश्चादिसूत्रे दादेर्धातोरिति सूत्राद्धातोरित्यनुवर्तयन्ति। तन्मते जश्त्वेन जकारे। निज्भ्याम्। निड्भिः। जश्त्वम्। इचुत्वम्। चर्त्वम्। निच्शु। चोः कुरिति कुत्वं तु न भवति। जश्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् ॥ मांसपूतनासानूनां मांस्पूत्स्नौ वाच्यौ शसादौ वा * ॥ पूतः। पूता। पूभ्याम्। पक्षे सुटि च रमावत्। गोपा विश्वपावत्। मतिः प्रायेण हरिवत्। स्त्रीत्वान्नत्वाभावः। मतीः ॥ नात्वं न मत्या ॥

295. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Therefore निश+सु (Loc. Pl.)=निष्+सु=निड्+सु=निक्+शु=But the application of this rule would be wrong, for the जश् rule is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes this rule.

Some explain the last Sûtra by confining it to roots only, they read the anuvritti of धातोः in that Sûtra from the previous Sûtra, VIII. 2. 32 S. 325. According to them, there will be ज when जश् rule is applied. Thus निज्भ्याम्; निड्भिः। In fact, according to this opinion, there is no substitution of ष and so निश्+भ्याम is changed to निज्+भ्याम, Therefore, according to them, the Loc. Pl. will be निश्+सु=निज्+सु=निज्+शु=निच्+शु, The च् is not changed to क् by VIII. 4. 30 S. 378, because the जश् substitution is considered as *asiddha*.

Vârtika. Before the affixes of the Acc. Pl. and the rest the words मांस, पूतना and सानु are optionally replaced by मांस्, पूत्न and स्नु.

Therefore Acc. Pl. of पूत् will be पूतः; Instr: Sg. पूता; Instr - Dual पूद्भ्याम्। In the other alternative and in the strong cases, namely the first five inflectional cases पूतना is declined like रमा. The Feminine गोपा is declined like विश्वपा॥

The Feminine मतिः is declined like हरि except in the following cases :— The Acc. Pl. is मतीः; there is no न because it is Feminine. Similarly the Instr: Sg. is मत्या and not मतिना because VII. 3 120. S. 244. does not apply to Feminine nouns.

Before the ङित् affixes, मति is governed by the following rule.

२९६। ङिति ह्रस्वश्च। १। ४। ६ ॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्रीशब्दभिन्नौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गावीदूतौ ह्रस्वौ च इउवर्णौ स्त्रियां वा नदी संज्ञौ स्तो ङिति परे ॥ भाण् नद्याः ॥ मत्यै। मतये। मत्याः। मतेः। नदीत्वपक्षे औङादि ङेरौत्वे प्राप्ते ॥

296. When a case-affix having an indicatory ṅ (ṅit) follows, then feminine words ending in short इ and उ are optionally termed Nadî, as well as feminine nouns in long ई and ऊ which admit of iyaṅ and uvaṅ; but not so the word strî, which is always Nadî.

Feminine words in long î and û have been defined as nadî, words in

short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition, if they take iyaṅ and uvaṅ. The present sûtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ṅ are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have :—

Dative मतये or मत्यै, धनवे or धेन्वै, श्रियै or श्रियै ; Ablative and Genitive मते or मत्याः, धेनोः or धेन्वाः, श्रियः or श्रियाः ; Locative मतौ or मत्याम्, धेनौ or धेन्वां, श्रियि or श्रियां ॥ So also भुवै or भुवे &c. But strî is always स्त्रियै &c.

When the word मति is treated as a Nadî word, then the Loc. Sg. requires औ by VII. 3. 118, S. 256. But this is prevented by the following rule,

२६७ । इदुदुभ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११७ ॥

नदीसंज्ञकाभ्यामिदुद्भ्यां परस्य ङेराम् स्यात् । पक्षे अच्च घेः । मत्याम् । मतौ । एवं श्रुतिस्मृत्यादयः ॥

297. After the Feminine nadî words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

When this rule does not apply, then it is treated as a घि word and rule VII. 3. 19 S. 247 applies. Thus Loc. Sg : is मत्याम् or मतौ.

The words श्रुति, स्मृति &c. are declined like मति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of feminine nouns ending in ऋ like तिसृ, and चतसृ the feminine of त्रि and चतुर् which are formed by the following Sûtra.

२६८ । त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ । ७ । २ । ९९ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गयोरेतयोरेतावादेशौ स्तो विभक्तौ परतः ॥

298. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

२६९ । अचि र ऋतः । ७ । २ । १०० ॥

तिसृचतसृ एतयोर्ऋकारस्य रेफादेशः स्यादचि । गुणदीर्घोत्वानामपवादः । तिस्रः २ । आमि सुमाचरेति नुट् ॥

299. र् is substituted for the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

In the Genitive there is the augment नुट् under *Vârtika* VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus तिसृ + नुट् + आम् = तिसृ + नाम्. Here the Sûtra VI. 4. 3. S. 209. requires the lengthening of the ऋ but it is prevented by the following Sûtra.

३०० । न तिसृचतसृ । ६ । ४ । ४ ॥

एतयोर्नामि दीर्घो न स्यात् । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु । स्त्रियामिति त्रिचतुरोर्विशेषणान्नेह । प्रियास्रयस्त्रीणि वा अस्याः सा प्रियत्रिः मतिवत् । आमि तु प्रियत्रयाणामिति विशेषः । प्रियास्तिस्रो अस्य स इति विग्रहे तु प्रियतिसा । प्रियतिस्रौ । प्रियतिस्रः । प्रियतिस्रमित्यादि । प्रियास्तिस्रो अस्य तत्कुलं प्रियत्रि । स्वमोर्लुका लुप्तत्वेन प्रत्ययलक्षणाभावान्न तिसृदेशः । न लुमतेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे प्रियतिसृ । * रादेशात् पूर्वत्रिप्रतिषेधेन नुम् । प्रियतिसृणी प्रियतिसृणि । तृतीयादिषु वक्ष्यमाणपुंवद्भावविकल्पात्पर्यायेण नुमभावौ । प्रियतिस्रा । प्रियतिसृणा । इत्यादि । ह्रस्वे सत्याप् । द्वे २ । द्वाभ्याम् ३ । द्वयोः २ । गौरी । गौर्यौ । गौर्यश्च नदीकार्यम् । हे गौरि । गौर्यै इत्यादि । एवं वाणीनद्यादयः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणादनङि णिङ्ङावे च प्राप्ते ॥ विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणम् ॥ सखी । सख्यौ । सख्यः इत्यादि गौरिवत् । अङ्त्यन्तत्वान्न सुलोपः । लक्ष्मीः । शेषं गौरीवत् । एवं तरीतन्त्र्यादयः ॥ स्त्री । हे स्त्रि ॥

300. The finals of **तिस्** and **चतस्** are not lengthened before **नाम्** ॥

The Loc. Pl : is **तिसृषु**.

The word **स्त्रियाम्** qualifies **त्रि** and **चतुर्** and not the word **अङ्ग** 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, though the anga may be feminine, yet if **त्रि** and **चतुर्** refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as **प्रियास्रयोऽस्याः** or **प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः** = **प्रियत्रिः** 'a Brâhmanî to whom three are beloved.' dual. **प्रियत्रयः**, Pl. **प्रियत्रयः** ॥ Similarly **प्रियचतस्रः**, **प्रियचत्वारौ**, **प्रियचत्वारः** ॥ The word **प्रियत्रि** will be declined like **मति**. The only distinction being that the genitive Pl. will **प्रियत्रियाणाम्**.

Similarly the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when **त्रि** and **चतुर्** refer to a Feminine ; as **प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य** = **प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः** (VII. 1. 94) **प्रियतिस्रौ, प्रियतिस्रः** ॥

If the compound is analysed as **प्रिया तिस्रो अस्य तत्कुलं**, namely, if the compound refers to a neuter word, then the form will be **प्रियत्रि**. Here the Nom : and Acc. case endings **सु** and **अम्** are elided by VII. 1. 23 S. 319 by using the word **लुक्**. Therefore, there being no **प्रत्यय लक्षणं** (See I. 1. 63. S. 263), there will be no **तिस्** substitution. But if the Sûtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 be considered as not of universal application, then the **तिस्** substitution will take place and the Nom : and Acc. Singular will be **प्रियतिसृ**. The Nom : and Acc. Dual and Plural will be formed by the following *Vârtika:*—

Vârtika:—The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 S. 275 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 S. 299 and therefore there will be the augment **नुम्** by VII. 1. 73 S. 320. Thus the forms are **प्रियतिसृणी** and **प्रियतिसृणि**.

Before the Instrumental and other case-endings there will be optionally **नुम्** or the **र्** substitution, because the word may be treated optionally as Neuter or Masculine. Thus **प्रियतिस्रा** or **प्रियतिसृणा** &c.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun द्वि. The इ of द्वि is replaced by अ according to Sûtra VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it assumes the form द्व. To this is added the Feminine affix आप् and thus we get the form द्वा. It is always Dual and is declined as द्वा; द्वे; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वयोः; द्वयोः।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun गौरी. Its Nominative: forms are गौरी; गौर्यौ; गौर्यः। Its Voc. is हे गौरि according to VII. 3. 107 S. 267. Its Dat: will be गौर्यै by VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VI. 1. 90 S. 269.

The Feminine Nouns वाणी and नदी &c. are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declenson of the Fem: Noun सखी. There arises the doubt as to whether this word should take the affix अनङ् under Sûtra VII. 1. 93 S. 248 and the affix should be treated as णित् by VII. 1. 92. S. 253 on the maxim that "A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." For the above rules only use the Prâtipadika form सखी, and so according to this maxim, they may apply to the Noun सखी when it is Feminine. But this is not the case, however, when a *Vibhakti* is to be added, because then the above maxim is set aside by the following.

Paribhâshâ:—"A Prâtipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prâtipadika before a case-termination after the Prâtipadika, does not denote a crude form derived from the Prâtipadika by the addition of an affix denoting gender."

Thus Nom. forms of सखी are सखी; सख्यौ; सख्यः The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

———o———

Now we take up the declension of लक्ष्मी. As this word is not formed by the Feminine affix ई, therefore the Nom: Singular affix सु will not be elided, because the rule of elision taught in VI. 1. 68 S. 252 applies only to those Feminine words which are formed by the Feminine affix ई. The word लक्ष्मी is an Unâdi formed word. The long ई is not a Feminine affix. Thus Nom. Sing. is लक्ष्मीः॥ The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

So are the words तरी, तन्त्री &c. declined.

Note:—Some consider the लक्ष्मी to be formed by the *Vârtika* कृदिकारादक्तिनः under IV. I. 45. S. 503. the affix ङीष् is added to every कृदन्त word ending in इ or ई with the exception of the affix क्ति. According to this view, लक्ष्मी, तरी &c. are ङी formed, and so the Nom: Sing affix will be elided after them.

———o———

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun: स्त्री. Its Nom: Sg. is स्त्री. Its Vocative Sg. is हे स्त्रि.

In forming the Nom : Dual and Pl : the following rule applies.

३०१ । स्त्रियाः । ६ । ४ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङ् स्यादजादौ प्रत्यये परे । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

301. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः ॥

In the Acc : Dual and Pl : the following rule gives option as regard the इयङ् *âdeśa.*

३०२ । वाम्शसोः । ६ । ४ । ८० ॥

अमि शसि च स्त्रिया इयङ् वा स्यात् । स्त्रियम् । स्त्रीम् । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः । स्त्रीः । स्त्रिया । भ्यां स्त्रि। स्त्रियाः २ । स्त्रियोः । परत्वान्नुट् । स्त्रीणाम् । स्त्रियाम् । स्त्रियोः । स्त्रीषु । स्त्रियमतिक्रान्तः अतिस्त्रिः । अतिस्त्रियौ ॥

गुणनाभावौत्वनुड्भिः परत्वात्पुंसि बाध्यते । क्लीबे नुमा च स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङित्यवधार्यताम् ॥

जसि च ॥ अतिस्त्रयः । हे अतिस्त्रे । हे अतिस्त्रियौ । हे अतिस्त्रयः ॥ वाम्शसोः ॥ अतिस्त्रियम् । अतिस्त्रिम् । अतिस्त्रियौ । अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रीन् । अतिस्त्रिणा ॥ घेर्ङिति ॥ अतिस्त्रये । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रियोः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् ॥ अच्च घेः ॥ अतिस्त्रौ अतिस्त्रियोः, ॥

ओस्यौकारे च नित्यं स्यादम्शसोस्तु विभाषया । इयादेशोऽचि नान्यत्र स्त्रियाः पुंस्युपसर्जने ॥

क्लीबे तु नुम् । अतिस्त्रि । अतिस्त्रिणी । अतिस्त्रीणि । अतिस्त्रिणा । अतिस्त्रिणे । ङेप्रभृतावजादौ वक्ष्यमाणपुंवद्भावात्पक्षे प्राग्वद्रूपम् । अतिस्त्रये or अतिस्त्रिणे । अतिस्त्रिणः २ । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रिणा २ । अतिस्त्रियोरित्यादि । स्त्रियां तु प्रायेण पुंवत् । शसि अतिस्त्रीः । अतिस्त्रिया । ङिति ह्रस्वश्चेति ह्रस्वान्तस्वप्रयुक्ता विकल्पः । अस्त्रीति तु इयङुवङ्स्थानावित्यस्यैव पर्युदासः । तत्संबद्धग्यैवानुवृत्तेर्दीर्घस्यायं निषेधो नतु ह्रस्वस्य । अतिस्त्रियै । अतिस्त्रये । अतिस्त्रियाः २ । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् । अतिस्त्रियाम् । अतिस्त्रौ । श्रीः । श्रियौ । श्रियः ॥

302. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of strî is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्रियम् or स्त्रीम् ; स्त्रियः or स्त्रीः

The Instr : Sing is स्त्रिया ; Dat : Sing स्त्रियै. Abl : and Gen : Sing : स्त्रियाः ; Gen : Dual स्त्रियोः Gen : Pl. is formed by the addition of नुट् to the exclusion of इयङ्, because नुट् is taught subsequently. Thus स्त्रीणाम्. The Loc. forms are स्त्रियाम्; स्त्रियोः ; स्त्रीषु.

Now, we take up the declension of अतिस्त्रि, which means "one who has surpassed the woman." Its Nom. Sing. is अतिस्त्रिः ; Dual अतिस्त्रियौ.

Verse :—The इयङ् substitution, being taught previously, is superseded by the following rules in the Masculine, because they are taught subsequently, viz. the rule of Guna (VII. 3. 109, S. 241; VII. 3. 111 S. 245.) ; the ना substitution in the Instr : (VII. 3. 120, S. 244) ; the औ substitution (VII. 3. 119 S. 247)

and the नुट् augment (VII. 1. 54. S. 208). In the Neuter the नुम् being subsequent replaces the इयङ्.

Thus the rule 'जसिच' gives us the form अतिस्त्रयः. The Voc forms are हे अतिस्त्रे ; हे अतिस्त्रियौ ; हे अतिस्त्रयः. The Acc. forms are अतिस्त्रियम् or अतिस्त्रिम्; अतिस्त्रियौ ; अतिस्त्रियः or अतिस्त्रीन्. The Instr. Sing is अतिस्त्रिणा. The Dat. Sing is अतिस्त्रये (with the guṇa, according to VII. 3. 111. S. 245). The Abl. Sing. is अतिस्त्रेः ; The genitive forms are अतिस्त्रेः, अतिस्त्रियोः ; अतिस्त्रिणाम्. The Loc. Sing. is अतिस्त्रौ formed by अच्च घेः (VII. 3. 119. S. 247) The Loc. Dual is अतिस्त्रियोः.

Verse :—The इयङ् substitution taught above, is compulsory before the affixes of the Gen. and Loc. Duals (Viz. ओस्) also the Nom. and Acc. Duals (औ) and optionally before the Acc. Sing. and Pl. अम् and शस् and nowhere else when the स्त्री becomes the secondary member of a compound which denotes a Masculine.

When the compound अतिस्त्रि denotes a Neuter, then the declension is as follows :—Nom. and Acc. forms are अतिस्त्रि; अतिस्त्रिणी; अतिस्त्रीणि. The augment नुम् is added to the affixes of the Dual and Plural by VII. 1. 72 and 73 S. 314 and 320 The Instr : Sing : is अतिस्त्रिणा ; VII. 1. 73. In the dative and the rest, the Neuter is optionally treated like the Masculine according to VII. 1. 74 S. 321. Thus the Dat : Sing : is अतिस्त्रये or अतिस्त्रिणे. The Abl : Sing : is अतिस्त्रेः or अतिस्त्रिणः and so also is Gen : Sing. The Gen : and Loc : Dual अतिस्त्रियोः or अतिस्त्रिणोः &c.

When the word अतिस्त्रि is Feminine then it is declined almost like the Masculine अतिस्त्रि with the following exceptions :—The Acc. Pl : is अतिस्त्रीः; Instr : Sing : अतिस्त्रया. Before the ङित् case affixes, the rule of I. 4. 6 S. 296 applies and there is the option. The word अस्त्री of the Sûtra I. 4. 4. S. 303 which is read by *anuvritti* in the Sûtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 is confined to that form of स्त्री which takes the substitution इयङ्. Therefore the prohibition regarding the non inclusion of the word स्त्री in the Sûtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 refers to that form of स्त्री which ends in long ई and not to short ई as in अतिस्त्रि. The result is that the rule I. 4. 6. S. 296 will apply to the word अतिस्त्रि and it will be optionally treated as a *Nadi* word. Therefore, the Dat : Sing : is either अतिस्त्रये (as a Nadi) or अतिस्त्रये (as a ghi). The Abl : and Genitive Sing : forms are either अतिस्त्रियाः (as a Nadi) or अतिस्त्रः (as a ghi). The Genitive Pl : is अतिस्त्रिणाम्. The Loc : Sing : forms are either अतिस्त्रियाम् or अतिस्त्रौ ॥

——:o:——

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun श्री. Its Nom; forms are श्रीः; श्रियौ; श्रियः

The Vocative is governed by the following rule :—

३०३ । नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री । १ । ४ । ४ ॥

इयङुवङोः स्थितिर्ययोस्तावीदूतौ नदीसंज्ञौ न स्तो नतु स्त्री । हे श्रीः । श्रियै । श्रिये । श्रियाः । श्रियः ॥

303. Feminine words ending in î and û which admit the substitute (इयङ्) iyaṅ and (उवङ्) uvaṅ (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadî ; except the word strî, (which is called nadî notwithstanding its substituting iyaṅ).

The Vocative Singular is therefore हे श्रीः ॥

The Dative Sing is श्रियै or श्रिये ; Abl : Sing is श्रियाः or श्रियः by I. 4. 6. S. 296.

But in the Gen ; Pl : the following Sûtra applies:—

३०४ । वामि । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्र्याख्यौ यू आमि वा नदीसंज्ञौ स्तो नतु स्त्री । श्रीणाम् । श्रियाम् । श्रियि । श्रियाम् । प्रधीशब्दस्य तु वृत्तिकारादीनां मते लक्ष्मीवद्रूपम् । पदान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियां वर्तमानत्वं नित्यस्त्रीत्वमिति स्वीकारात् । लिङ्गान्तरानभिधायकत्वं तदिति कैयटमते तु पुंवद्रूपम् । प्रकृष्टा धीरिति विग्रहे तु लक्ष्मीवत् । अमि शसि च प्रध्यं प्रध्य इति विशेषः । सुष्ठु धीर्यस्याः सुष्ठु ध्यायति वेति विग्रहे तु वृत्तिमते सुधीः श्रीवत् । मतान्तरे पुंवत् । सुष्ठु धीरिति विग्रहे तु श्रीवदेव । ग्रामणीः पुंवत् । ग्रामनयनस्योत्सर्गतः पुंधर्मतया पदान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियामप्रवृत्तेः ॥ एवं खलपवनादेरपि पुंधर्मत्वमौत्सर्गिकं बोध्यम् । धेनुर्मतिवत् ॥

304. Feminine words ending in î and û, though admitting iyaṅ and uvaṅ substitutes, are optionally termed Nadî, when the affix âm (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word strî, which is always Nadî.

श्री + आम् = श्र इयङ् + आम् = श्रियाम्; or श्री + आम् = श्री + नुट् + अम् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीणाम् ;

The Loc. Sing. is श्रियि or श्रियाम् ।

The word प्रधी is declined like लक्ष्मी according to the author of वृत्तिकार and others, because it is taken to be a word which is always Feminine ; and which by its own annotation is Feminine without the help of any other word. But according to Kaiyata it is to be declined as a Masculine Noun, because it does not denote any gender. When this word is analysed as प्रकृष्टा धीः then it is to be declined like लक्ष्मी The only peculiarities being in the Acc : Sing and Plural, where the forms are प्रध्यम् and प्रध्यः ।

The word सुधी when analysed as, सुष्ठुधीर्यस्याः " that woman whose understanding is good" or when analysed as सुष्ठुध्यायति या 'She who meditates well', then it is declined as श्री according to वृत्ति author. According to others it is

to be declined as a Masculine Noun. But when it is analysed as a कर्मधारय Compound सुष्ठु धीः 'Good intelligence' it is always to be declined as a Feminine Noun like श्री.

The Feminine Noun ग्रामणी 'a female head af a village' is to be declined like the Masculine Noun ग्रामणी; because leadership of a village is, as a general rule, the duty of a male person, and so the word ग्रामणी in exceptional cases only denotes a female, and then it must have some epithet used along with it to indicate that it refers to a woman. Similarly, the word खलप्‌ 'a sweeper' applies primarily to a male person though a woman may occasionally take up that work.

———o———

Declension of Feminines ending in उ,

The Feminine Noun धेनु is declined like मति. We take up the declension of the Feminine Noun क्रोष्टु. In its declension, the following rule applies:—

३०५ । स्त्रियां च । ७ । १ । ९९ ॥

स्त्रीवाची क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तृजन्तवद्रूपं लभते ॥

305. The word क्रोष्टु is treated as if it ended in तृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्टृ, the feminine will be formed by the affix ङीप् by IV. 1. 5. as given below:—

३०६ । ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥

ऋदन्तेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । क्रोष्ट्री । क्रोष्ट्र्यौ । क्रोष्ट्र्यः । वधूगौरीवत् । भ्रूः श्रीवत् । हे सुभ्रूः । कथं तर्हि हापितः क्वासि हे सुभ्रु इति भट्टिः । प्रमाद एवायमिति बहवः । खलपूः पुंवत् । पुनर्भूः । इन्कोरिति णषा उवङो बाधनान्नियङुवङिति निषेधो न । हे पुनर्भु । पुनर्भ्वम् । पुनर्भ्वौ । पुनर्भ्वः ॥

306. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in न्।

Thus क्रोष्टु becomes क्रोष्ट्री and is declined as Nom: क्रोष्ट्री; क्रोष्ट्र्यौ; क्रोष्ट्र्यः।

———o———

Declension of Feminine nouns endings in ऊ,

The Feminine Noun वधू is declined like गौरी; भ्रू is declined like श्री. Its Voc. Sing is हे सुभ्रूः। How then does the Bhatti use the Voc. Sing as सुभ्रू in the following passage हा पितः क्वासि हे सुभ्रु'? The Bhatti has misapplied Sûtra I. 2. 48 S. 656 which is not applicable because भ्रू is not formed by any Feminine affix but by the affix डु added to the root भ्रम (See Unâdi II. 68). If he has not applied that rule, he might have applied the Sûtra VII. 3. 107. S. 267

and so shortened the vowel in the Vocative. But सुभ्रू is not a Nadi word, because of the prohibition I. 4. 4. S. 303 and so the rule of shortening will not apply to it. The use by Kâlidâsa of the form सुभ्रु in the sentence विमाने सुभ्रु पितृगृहे कुतः is also erroneous.

The Feminine Noun खलपू is to be declined like the Masculine Noun खलपू।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun पूनर्भू. By the *Vârtika*. under VI. 4. 84. S. 282, the ऊ is replaced by व् and thus the उवङ्, substitution is prevented, and therefore the prohibition of the *Sutra* I. 4. 4. S. 303 does not apply to पुनर्भू which is declined like a Nadi word. Thus the Voc. Sing is हे पुनर्भूः. The Acc. forms are पुनर्भ्वम्; पुनर्भ्वौ; पुनर्भ्वः

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule will apply;

३०७। एकाजुत्तरपदे णः। ८। ४। १२॥

एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन् समासे पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिस्थस्य नस्य नित्यं णत्वं स्यात्। आरम्भसामर्थ्यान्नित्यत्वे सिद्धे पुनर्णग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम्। णं बाधित्वा परस्यान्नुट्। पुनर्भूणाम्। वर्षाभूः। भेकजातौ नित्यस्त्रीत्वाभावात्। हे वर्षाभूः कैयटमते। मतान्तरे तु हे वर्षाभु। पुनर्नवायां तु हे वर्षाभु। भेक्यां पुनर्नवायां स्त्री वर्षाभूर्दर्दुरे पुमानिति यादवः। वर्षाभ्वौ। वर्षाभ्वः। स्वयंभूः पुंवत्॥

307. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Text:—The ण is repeated in this sûtra merely for the sake of distinctness, (and not to make the sûtra obligatory as is the view of the author of the Kâsikâ). Because the sûtra would be an obligatory rule even without it, because, the very fact that a separate sûtra is commenced, shows that it is not an optional rule like the sûtras VIII. 4. 10 and 11. S. 1054. and 1055. The augment नुट् is added, because it is subsequentely taught and supersedes the णत्व of the *Vârtika* under VI. 4. 84 S. 282. Thus पुनर्भूणाम्॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun वर्षाभू॥ When the word means a frog, it is both a Feminine and a Masculine and hence according to the opinion of Kaiyata, the Voc. Sing. will be हे वर्षाभूः॥ According to others, the Voc. Sing is हे वर्षाभु॥

According to the Lexicographer Yâdava, वर्षाभू is feminine when denoting a frog or the herb called Punarnavâ; and it is masculine when meaning a frog only.

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are वर्षाम्भौ ; वर्षाम्भः ॥

The declension of the Feminine Noun स्वयंभू is like that of the Masc: Noun.

———:o:———

Declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in ऋ ॥

We take up the declension of the Feminine nouns स्वसृ &c. In the declension of these Nouns the following rule applies.

३०८ । न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यः । १ । १ । १० ॥

षट्संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्रादिभ्यश्च ङीप्टापौ न स्तः ।

स्वसा तिस्रश्चतस्रश्च ननान्दा दुहिता तथा । याता मातेति सप्तैते स्वस्रादय उदाहृताः ॥

अप्तृन्नितिं दीर्घः । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । माता पितृवत् । शसि मातॄः । आगावत् राः पुंवत् ॥ नौर्ग्लौवत् ॥

308 The feminine affixes ङीप् and टाप् are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24), 'स्वसृ' &c.

The following seven words belong to the Svasrâdi class:—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्दा 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three', चतस्र 'four'.

There is lengthening of the penultimate Vowel by VI. 4. 11. S. 277. in the case of स्वसृ ॥ Thus the Nom : forms are स्वसा ; स्वसारौ ; स्वसारः ॥

The feminine Noun मातृ is declined like पितृ ॥ In the Acc : Pl : the form is मातॄः ॥

———:o:———

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ऐ ॥

The feminine Noun रै is declined like the Masc : Noun रै ॥

———:o:———

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

The feminine Noun द्यो is declined like the Masculine Noun गो ॥

———:o:———

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in औ ॥

The feminine Noun नौ is declined like the Masculine Noun ग्लौ ॥

———:o:———

Here ends the declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in Vowels.

रमा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	रमा	रमाम्	रमया	रमायै	रमायाः	रमायाः	रमायाम्	हे रमे
Dual	रमे	रमे	रमाभ्याम्	,,	,,	रमयोः	,,	हे रमे
Plural	रमाः	रमाः	रमाभिः	रमाभ्यः	,,	रमाणाम्	रमासु	हे रमाः

सर्वा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc,
Singular	सर्वा	सर्वाम्	सर्वया	सर्वस्यै	सर्वस्याः	,,	सर्वस्याम्
Dual	सर्वे	सर्वे	सर्वाभ्याम्	,,	,,	सर्वयोः	,,
Plural	सर्वाः	,,	सर्वाभिः	सर्वाभ्यः	,,	सर्वासाम्	सर्वासु

उत्तरपूर्वा N. E.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat,	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	उत्तरपूर्वा	उत्तरपूर्वाम्	उत्तरपूर्वया	उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वायै	उ.-पूर्वस्याः or उ.-पूर्वायाः	,,	उत्तरपूर्वस्याम् or उत्तरपूर्वायाम्
Dual	उत्तरपूर्वे	,,	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	,,	,,	उत्तरपूर्वयोः	,,
Plural	उत्तरपूर्वा	,,	उत्तरपूर्वाभिः	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्यः	,,	उत्तरपूर्वासाम् or उत्तरपूर्वाणाम्	उत्तरपूर्वासु

जरा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जरसम्	जरसा	जरसे	जरसः	,,	जरसि
Dual	जरसौ	,,	जराभ्याम्	,,	,,	जरसोः	,,
Plural	जरसः	,,	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	,,	जरसाम्	जरासु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins,	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जरया	जरायैः	जरायाः	,,	जरायाम्
Dual	जरे	,,	जराभ्याम्	,,	,,	जरयोः	,,
Plural	जराः	,,	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	,,	जराणाम्	जरासु

नासिका

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	नासिका	नासिकाम्	नसा	नसे	नसः	नसेः	नसि
Dual	नासिके	,,	नोभ्याम्	,,	,,	नसोः	,,
Plural	नासिकाः	नसः	नोभिः	नोभ्यः	,,	नसाम्	नस्सु

निशा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singulr	निशा	निशाम्	निशा	निशे	निशः	निशः	निशि
Dual	निशे	,,	निड्भ्याम् or निड्भ्याम्	,,	निशोः	,,	,,
Plural	निशाः	निशः	निड्भिः or निड्भिः	निड्भ्यः or निड्भ्यः	,,	निशाम्	निट्त्सु or निट्सु or निच्सु

अथाजन्त नपुंसक लिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER X.

DECLENSION OF NEUTER NOUNS ENDING IN VOWELS.

We take up the declension of the Neuter Noun ज्ञान ॥ In forming Nom : Sing the following rule applies.

३०६ । अतोऽम् । ७ । १ । २४ ॥

अतोऽङ्गात् क्लीबात्स्वमोरम् स्यात् ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ ज्ञानम् ॥ एङ्ह्रस्वादिति हल्मात्रलोपः । हे ज्ञान ॥

309. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

Thus ज्ञान + अम् = ज्ञानम् (See VI. 1. 11 7. S. 194)

In forming the Voc. Sg. the consonant only of the Nom : Sg. is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus हे ज्ञान ; i. e. the म् of अम् is elided and not the अ.

३१० । नपुंसकाच्च । ७ । १ । १९ ॥

क्लीबात्परस्यौङः शी स्यात् । भसंज्ञायाम् ॥

310. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ and the base gets the designation of *Bha.*

Note :—By Sûtra I. 1. 43. S. 229 the affixes coming after Neuter bases are not *Sarva-vâma Sthâna,* consequently the base before such affixes is *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231 if such affix begins with a Vowel. शी is such an affix and therefore the base before this affix is *bha* and hence the following rule applies.

३११ । यस्येति च । ६ । ४ । १४८ ॥

भस्येवर्णावर्णयोर्लोपः स्यादिकारे तद्धिते च परे । इत्यकारलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ औङः इयां प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ ज्ञाने ॥

311. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus ज्ञान + शी = ज्ञान् + ई = ज्ञानी. But this is not the correct form. The elision of अ is prevented by the following *Vârtika.* :—

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter and of certain feminines in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus ज्ञान + ई = ज्ञानि ॥ It is owing to this Vârtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sûtra.

In forming the Nom : and Acc : Plurals, the following rules apply

३१२ । जश्शसोः शिः । ७ । १ । २० ॥

क्लीबादनयोः शि स्यात् ॥

312. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus ज्ञान + जस् or शस् = ज्ञान + शि. Now, this शि gets the designation of *Sarvanâma Sthâna* as taught in the next Sûtra and being so called, the Sûtra after that applies to it ; by which a न् is inserted.

३१३ । शि सर्वनामस्थानम् । १ । १ । ४२ ॥

शि इत्येतदुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

313. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanâmasthâna.

३१४ । नपुंसकस्य झलचः । ७ । १ । ७२ ॥

झलन्तस्याऽजन्तस्य च क्लीबस्य नुमागमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । ज्ञानानि । धनानि । शेषं रामवत् । एवं धनवनफलादयः ॥

314. The augment नुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus ज्ञान + शि = ज्ञान + नुम् + शि = ज्ञान । न् + इ = ज्ञान + नि = ज्ञानानि. The penultimate vowel is lengthened by VI. 4. 8. S. 250.

The Acc : forms are similar to those of the Nominative. The rest are declined like those of राम ॥

Thus are to be declined the Neuter Nouns धन, वन, फल &c.

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of the word कतर. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३१५ । अदूङ् डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः । ७ । १ । २५ ॥

एभ्यः ङीबेभ्यः स्वमोरदूङादेशः स्यात् ॥

315. अदूङ् is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम् after the five Pronouns डतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. डतर, and 2. डतम, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर). 2047 2048

Note :—These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanâmans are read together (Sec 1. 1. 27. S. 213)—डतर, डतम, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अदूङ् = कतरत् (the अ of katara elided by ङ्) : as कतरत् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरत् पश्य ॥

The force of this indicative letter ङ in the affix अदूङ् is to elide the final vowel by the following Sûtra.

३१६ । टेः । ६ । ४ । १४३ ॥

ङिति परे भस्य टेर्लोपः स्यात् ॥ वावसाने ॥ कतरत् । कतरद् । कतरे । कतराणि । भस्येति किम् । पञ्चमः । टेर्लुप्तस्वात्प्रथमयोरिति पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः एङ्ह्रस्वादिति संबुद्धिलोपश्च न भवति । हे कतरत् । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं पुंवत् । कतमत् । इतरत् । अन्यत् । अन्यतरत् । अन्यतमशब्दस्य तु अन्यतमामित्येव ॥ एकतरात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ एकतरम् । सोरमादेशे कृते संनिपातपरिभाषया न जरस् । अजरम् । अजरसी अजरे । परत्वाज् जरसि कृते झलन्तत्वान्नुम् ॥

316. Before an affix having an indicatory ङ्, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided in the case of a *bha* Stem.

Thus कतर + सु or अम् = कतर + अदूङ् = कतर् + अद् = कतरद् or कतरत् (द् is optionally changed to त् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.)

The Nom : and Acc : Dual and Pl. forms are कतरे ; कतराणि.

Why have we read the anuvritti of *bha* in this Sutra ? Observe पञ्चमः

Note :—The anuvritti of *bha* is read into this *Sûtra* from VI. 4. 129. S. 233. the word पञ्चम is formed by adding the affix डट् to the word पञ्चन् with the augment मट् (V. 2. 48 & 49. S. 1849 and 1850) Thus पञ्चन् + डट् The affix डट् does not cause the elision of the अन् of पञ्चन् but the न् is elided because it is final in a pada (See VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

Why do we make the affix have an indicatory ङ् ? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular : as कतर + अन् = कतरान् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अन् being the substitute of अम् will be sthânivat, and give us कतरत् by VI. 1. 107 even without

ङ्॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अतङ्; it would give कतरत् &c. without the aplication of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत्. The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprikta. See however VI. 1. 1. 69. S. 193.

If in the sûtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛitti of the word 'aprkta' then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e. the vocative of members in अम् will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if however, the anuvṛitti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरत् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरत् but हे कतर). Therefore, by reading the affix अत् with an indicatory ङ् i. e reading it as अद्ङ् we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अत् in कतरत् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरात्, which would have been the form had there been no ङ्).

Thus the Voc: Sing. is हे कतरत्.

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. In the rest the declension is like that of the Masculine.

The declension of कतम, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर is like that of कतर. Thus कतमत्; इतरत्, अन्यत् and अन्यतरत्॥ The word अन्यतम् forms its Nom: and Acc: Sing अन्यतमम् and not अन्यतमत्॥ Therefore it is a mistake to say सीमान्यादिष्वन्यतमस्यः॥

Vârtika:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to the word एकतर although it is formed with the affix डतर. Thus its Nom: Sing is एकतरम् and not एकतरत्.

:o:

Now, we take up the declension of the Neuter Noun अजर meaning 'one who does not decay' (अविद्यमाना जरा यस्य). The आ of जरा is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. Thus we get the form अजर. Thus अजर + सु = अजर + अम् (VII. 1. 24. S. 309). At this stage Sûtra VII. 2. 101. S. 227 requires the substitution of जरस् in the place of जर, but this is prohibited by the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination. For अम् is added to अजर as it ended in अ and since अ' has caused the production of अम्, this latter affix though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस to be substituted for जर॥

Thus Nom. Singular is अजरम् dual is अजरसी or अजरे,

In the case of Nom. Plural there is affix शि, and when जरस् is substituted, then we have the augment नुम् (VII. 1. 72. S. 314) because शि is Sarvanamasthâna. This नुम् must be added after the जरस् substitution has taken

place, because जरस् substitution is taught by VII. 2. 101 S. 227. which is latter in order of the Ashtâdhyâyi than नुम् augment which is taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314.

Thus अजर + शि = अजरस् + नुम् + इ = अजरन् + इ ॥ At this stage, applies the following Sûtra,

३१७। सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य । ६ । ४ । १० ॥

सान्तसंयोगस्य महतश्च यो नकारस्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । अजरांसि अजराणि । अमि लुक्रोपवादमम्भावं बाधित्वा परत्वाज्जरस् । ततः संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् । अजरसम् । अजरम् । अजरसौ । अजरे । अजरांसि । अजराणि । शेषं पुंवत् । पदान्त इति हृदयोरक्रान्तानां हृद् उदन् आसन् । हृन्दि । हृदा । हृद्याभित्यादि । उदानि । उद्ना । उदभ्याभित्यादि । आसानि । आस्ना । आस्भ्यामित्यादि । मांसि । मांसा । मान्भ्यामित्यादि । वस्तुतस्तु प्रभृतिग्रहणं प्रकारार्थमित्युक्तम् । अत एव भाष्ये मांस्पचन्या उखाया इत्युदाहृतम् । अवसमयादिस्वेन भस्त्वात्संयोगान्तलोपो न । पदान्त इत्यत्र हि छन्दसीत्यनुवर्तितं वृत्तौ तथाप्यपोभीत्यत्र मासश्छन्दसीति वार्तिके छन्दोग्रहणसामर्थ्याल्लोकेऽपि क्वचिदिति कैयटोक्तरीत्या प्रयोगमनुसृत्य पदादयः प्रयोक्तव्या इति बोध्यम् ॥

317. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases.

Thus अजरांसि. When जरस् substitution does not take place, the Nom Pl. will be अजराणि In the Acc: Sing:, we have अजर + अम्.

Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first, luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1, 23, (2) then the अम् substitutio n by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by VII. 2. 101 Of these लुक्-elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of VII. 2. 101 जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अजरसं ॥

When there is no जरस् substitution, the Acc. Sing. will be अजरम् ॥

The Acc: Dual will be अजरसौ or अजरे and Pl: अजरांसि or अजराणि ॥ The rest of the declensions is like those of the Masculine.

Note:—The form अजरांसि is thus evolved अजर + इ ॥ Here if the नुम् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the anga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the anga. But this augment will be an intervention with regard to जरा which is but a portion of the word अजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जरा will not take effect, because

of this नुम् intervention. And though tadantavidhi applies in these chapters (पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जरा which forms only a portion of a full word अजर ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the नुम् would be found after the स् of जरस् ॥ Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the नुम् should be added after-wards under VII. 1. 72.

The form अजरसं is thus evolved. We have अजर + अम् ॥ Here on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्, we substitute जरस for जर also, (for जर and जरा are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23. ordaining the luk of अम् and VII. 1. 24. teaching अम् ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

Now, we take up the declension of हृदय &c referred to in Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

The word हृदय is replaced by हृद्; उदक by उदन् and आस्य by आसन् and मांस by मांस्.

Thus in the weak cases (that is, Acc. Plural and onwards) the forms are हृन्दि हृदा, हृद्भ्याम् &c; उदानि; उदना, उदभ्याम् &c; आसानि, आस्ना, आसभ्याम् &c; मांसि, मांसा, मान्भ्याम, &c.

In fact, the word प्रभृति is used in the Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. in order to indicate method, so that not only the words mentioned in that sûtra, but other words also take such substituted forms before the weak cases. Therefore the author of *Mahâbhâsya* gives the example of 'मांसपच्या उखायाः' Here there is not the elision of the final of the conjunct consonant.

Note:—मांसपच्याः is thus formed. From the root पच् we form पचन with the affix ल्युट् in the sense of instrument and location, under Sûtra, III. 3. 93. S. 3271. meaning the vessel for cooking. To पचन is added the feminine affix ङीप्. मांसस्य पचनी = मांसपचनी. Here in forming the compound the genitive sign is elided by लुक् and the affix so elided leaves no trace behind by the Sûtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 and therefore मांस् would not have been substituted for मांस, but for the fact of our having explained the word प्रभृति in the sense प्रकार.

By taking this compound under I. 4. 20. S. 3390 and taking it to be a *bha*, there is not संयोगान्त लोप. Moreover, if in the Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. the anuvritti of छन्दसि be read from the Sûtra VI. 1. 60 S. 3514, yet these words are formed in secular literature also. Because, in Sûtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442, the author of Mahâbhâshya has read the following Vartika. मासश्छन्दसि meaning त् is substituted for the final of मास before a *bha* affix in the Chhandas. Now अपोभि (VII. 4. 48. S. 442) is a rule of Chhandas. Therefore the repetition of

छन्दस् in the *Vârtika* indicates by implication that छन्दस् rules are not confined to the Vedâs only but are found in secular literature also. In fact, this is the opinion of *Kaiyat* who says that the inclusion of मास in VI. 1. 63. S. 263. is for the purposes of *Chhandas* only. The repetition of the word *Chhandas* in मासश्छन्दसि *Vârtika* under Sûtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442. indicates that पद् &c substitution take place in secular literature also.

३१८। ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य। १। २। ४७॥

क्लीबे प्रातिपदिकस्याऽन्तस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात्। श्रीपं। ज्ञानवत्। श्रीपाय। अत्र संनिपातपरिभाषया अतो धात्वादित्याकारलोपो न॥

318. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prâtipadika.

Thus श्रीपा becomes श्रीप which is declined like ज्ञान॥ The Dative Sing. is श्रीपाय॥ Here आ is not to be elided by rule VI. 4. 140. S. 240 before the affix ङे on the maxim 'संनिपात लक्षण &c. (See S. 316)

:o:

Now, we take up the declension of वारि॥ Thus Nom: Sg. वारि+सु॥ Here applies the following rule.

३१९। स्वमोर्नपुंसकात्। ७। १। २३॥

क्लीबादङ्गात्स्वमोर्लुक् स्यात्। वारि॥

319. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

Thus वारि+सु=वारि+O=वारि॥

The Nom: Dual is वारि+औ॥ At this stage, the following rule applies.

१२०। इकोऽचि विभक्तौ। ७। १। ७३॥

इगन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुमागमः स्यादचि विभक्तौ। वारिणी। वारीणि। नलुमतेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्स्वपक्षे संबुद्धिनिमित्तो गुणः। हे वारे। हे वारि। आङो न। वारिणा। घेर्ङितीतिगुणे प्राप्ते॥ वृद्धौत्वतुड्ह्रस्वगुणेभ्यो नुम् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन *॥ वारिणे। वारिणः। वारिणोः। नुमचिरेति नुट्। नामीति दीर्घः। वारीणाम्। वारिणि। वारिणोः। हलादौ हरिवत्॥

320. The augment नुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वारि+नुम्+औ=वारि+नुम्=ई (VII. 1. 19. S 310)=वारिणी॥ The Nom: Pl: is वारीणि॥

The Voc : Sing : has two forms हे वारे or हे वारि ॥ हे वारे is formed by the guṇa of इ under rule VII. 3. 108. S 242 and though the affix is elided, still it leaves its effect behind, in spite of the rule I. 1. 63. S. 263 which declares that when an affix is elided by लु it leaves no trace behind. In fact, the rule I. 1. 63 S. 263 is *anitya*, according to one view. But if that rule is not considered *anitya*, then we have the next form हे वारि ॥

The Inst : Sing : is वारिणा ॥

The Dat : Sing : is वारि+ङे ॥ Here the rule घेर्ङिति VII. 3. 111 S. 245 requires guṇa. But the guṇa is set aside by the following *Vârtika.*

Vârtik. The augment नुम् comes by superseding in anticipation the rules of Vriddhi, औ substitution, तृज्वद्भाव and *guṇa.* Thus वारिणे: ॥

The Abl : and Gen : sing is वारिणः ॥

The Gen : dual is वारिणोः ॥

The augment नुट् is added by the *Vârtika* नुमचिर &c. under sûtra VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. in forming the Genitive Plural ; and the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 3. S. 209. Thus we get the Gen : Plural ; वारीणाम् ॥

The Loc : Sing : and Dual are वारिणि and वारिणोः respectively. Before the cosonant beginning affix सु of the Loc : Pl : it is like that of हरि (VII. 3. 119. S. 247.) i. e. वारिषु ॥

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of अनादि ॥ It may be a Masculine or a Neuter Noun. It is not exclusively a Neuter. Hence the following rule applies :—

३२१ । तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्गालवस्य । ७ । १ । ७४ ॥

वृत्तिनिमित्तैक्ये भाषितपुंस्कमिगन्तं क्लीबं पुंवद्वा स्याद्गालवाचि । अनादये । अनादिने । इत्यादि । शेषं वारिवत् । पीलुर्वृक्षस्तत्फलं पीलु तस्मै पीलुने । अत्र न पुंवत् । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदात् ॥

321. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gâlava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

Thus the Dative Singular is either अनादये or अनादिने &c. The rest of the declensions is like those of वारि ॥

पीलु is the name of a tree and is of Masculine gender ; its fruit called पीलु is of neuter gender. This last word has only one form. Thus the Dative

Singular is पीलुने and not पीलवे ॥ This is because the word पीलु denoting 'fruit' has no corresponding Masculine word denoting fruit, for the corresponding Masculine पीलु refers to the tree, and not to the fruit; so this word पीलु cannot be said to be नपुंसकः ॥

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of the Noun दधि ॥ In the declension of this word the following rule applies :

३२२ । अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ७५ ॥

एषामनङ् स्याद्वा दावचि स चोदात्तः ॥ अङ्गोपोऽनः ॥ दध्ना । दध्ने । दध्नः २ । दध्नोः २ । दध्नि । दधनि घोषं वारिवत् । एवमस्थिसक्थ्यक्ष्णि । तदन्तस्याप्यनङ् । अतिदध्ना । सुधि । सुधिनी । सुधीनि । हे सुधे । हे सुधि । सुधिया । सुधिना । प्रध्ना । प्रधिना । मधु । मधुनी । मधूनि । हे मधो । हे मधु । एवमम्बार्थादयः । सानुशब्दस्य स्नुर्वा । स्नूनि । सानूनि । प्रियक्रोष्टु । प्रियक्रोष्टुनी । तृज्वद्भावात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुम् । प्रियक्रोष्टूनि टादौ पुंवत्पक्षे प्रियक्रोष्ट्रा । प्रियक्रोष्टुना । प्रियक्रोष्ट्रे । प्रियक्रोष्टवे । अन्यत्र तृज्वद्भावात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुमेव । प्रियक्रोष्टुना । प्रियक्रोष्टुने । नुमचिरीति । नुद् । प्रियक्रोष्टूनाम् । सुलु । सुलुनी । सुलूनि ॥ पुनस्तृतृ । सुल्वा । सुलुना । धातृ । धातृणी । धातृणि । हे धातः । हे धातृ । धात्रा । धातृणा । एवं ज्ञातृकर्त्रादयः ॥

322. The acutely accented अन् (अनङ्) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi, and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Note :—Thus अस्थ्नौ, अस्थ्ने, दध्नौ, दध्ने, सक्थ्नौ, सक्थ्ने, अक्ष्णौ अक्ष्णे ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनङ् would have been also anudâtta, but for this sûtra. The stem getting the designation भ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udâtta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudâtta before, now becomes udâtta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As प्रियास्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन, प्रियदध्ना ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest ?' Observe अस्थिनी, दधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a cosonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, दधिभ्याम् ॥

Thus दधि + आ (Ins-sing)= दध् + अँन् + आ = दध् + न् + आ The अँ is elided by VI. 4. 134 = दध्ना, so also D. S. दध्ने G. A. S. दध्नः, G. and L. D. दध्नोः L. S. दध्नि, or दधनि ॥ In the remaining cases, it is like वारि as :—

N. S. दधि, N. D. दधिनी N. P. दधीनि ॥ Before consonantal affixes the form is दधिभ्याम् &c.

The अनङ् comes even after bases that are compound but which end in अस्थि &c as अतिदध्ना ॥

The word सुधि is thus declined :—

N. A. S. सुधि, N. A. D. सुधिनी ; N. Pl. सुधीनि; Voc. हे सुधे or हे सुधि ॥ I. S. सुधिया or सुधिना (VI. 4. 85 S. 323) the Ins. S. of प्रधि however is प्रध्ना or प्रधिना (VI. 4. 82 S. 272)

The word मधु is thus declined: as N. A. मधु, मधुनी, मधूनि, Voc. हे मधो or हे मधु; D. S मधुने, never मधवे, and so on.

So also the words अम्बु &c. The word सानु optionally assumes the form स्नु by the Vârtika under VIII. 2. 41 S. 295. Thus स्नूनि or सानूनि ॥

So also प्रियक्रोष्टु, प्रियक्रोष्टुनी ॥ The plural will have नुम् by prohibiting in anticipation the नृज्वद्भाव (VII. 1. 95. S. 274), as प्रियक्रोष्टूनि। In Ins. S and other cases, when the rule VII. 1. 74 applies, we have two forms as प्रियक्रोष्ट्रा or प्रियक्रोष्टुना, प्रियक्रोष्ट्रे or प्रियक्रोष्टवे ॥ In other cases there will be one form with नुम् alone, as प्रियक्रोष्टुना प्रियक्रोष्टुने ॥ There will be नुट् by नुमाचिर as प्रियक्रोष्टूनाम् ॥

The Noun सुलु is declined as follows: Nom: and Acc: forms are सुलु, सुलुनी, सुलूनि ॥ Instr: singular is सुल्वा or सुलुना ॥

The Noun धातृ is declined as follows:—Nom and Acc: forms are धातृ, धातृणी, धातृणि ॥ The Voc: Sing. is हे धातः or हेधातृ ॥

The Instr: Singular is धात्रा or धातृणा ॥

Similar is the declension of ज्ञात, कर्तृ &c.

—:o:—

Now we take up the declension of प्रधी ending in ओ ॥ In Neuter, the ओ is changed to इ in accordance with the following Sûtra:—

३२३। एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे। १। १ ४८ ॥

आदिश्यमानेषु ह्रस्वेषु मध्ये एच इगेव स्यात् ॥ प्रधु। प्रधुनी। प्रधूनि। प्रधुनेत्यादि। इह न पुंवत्। यद्दिगन्तं प्रधु इति तस्य भाषितपुंस्कत्वाभावात्। एवमग्नेऽपि। प्रधि। प्रधिणी। प्रधीणि। प्रधिणा। एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वाद्ग्रायो हलीत्यात्वम्। प्रधाभ्याम्। प्रधाभिः नुमचिरेति नुड्भावे प्रधानामिति माधवः। वस्तुतस्तु संनिपातपरिभाषया नुड्भावं न। नामीति दीर्घस्त्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषां बाधत इत्युक्तम्। प्रधीनाम्। सुधु। सुधुनी। सुधूनि। सुधुना। सुधुने। इत्यादि॥

323. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

Note:—This sûtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sûtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude from provided it ends in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + रै, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sûtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ अतिनु 'disembarked or landed,' गौ, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayîbhâva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of अच्' ? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्, Thus the short of आ is अ. अति + खट्वा = अति खट्वः। अति + माला = अतिमालः।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted ?' Because when प्लुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for अच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवदत्त३ !

Thus Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रधु, प्रधुनी ; प्रधूनि. The Instr : Sing. is प्रधुना etc. This word is not treated like a Masculine one because it has no corresponding Masculine form. 'प्ररि' which is derived from the root रॄ to give with the prefix प्र. The रॄ being changed to रि by the present Sûtra. we get the form प्ररि. It is declined as follows :—Nom : and Acc : forms are प्ररि प्ररिणी, प्ररीणि. Instr : Sing. प्ररिणा. By the maxim एकदेश &c, that is "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change something else, than what it was before the change had taken place," the rule applying to रॄ will apply to रि also. Hence the rule रायो हलि VII. 2. 85. S. 286 will apply to प्ररि also. Thus forms before भ्याम् and भिः will be प्रराभ्याम् and प्रराभिः। According to Mâdhava, the Genitive Pl : will be प्रराणाम्, the augment नुट् being added by the Vârtika नुमचिर &c. But as a matter of fact, there is not आ before नुट् in accordance with the Maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं, *i. e.* That which is taught in a rule the application of which occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." That is to say this, maxim does not apply and it is not of universal application, as we have already shown under Sûtra VI. 4. 9 S. 209. There the correct form is प्ररीणाम्॥

The word सुनु which is the shortened form of सुनौ meaning that which has a good boat, is declined in the Nom : and Acc : forms as सुनु, सुनुनी, सुनूनि॥ The Instr and Dat : Singular forms are सुनुना ; सुनुने respectively. &c.

Here ends the declension of Neuter Nouns ending in Vowels.

———:o:———

अथ हलन्तपुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XI.

DECLENSION OF MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

Now, we take up the declension of the word लिह् derived from the root लिह् 'to taste,' 'to lick' with the affix क्विप् ॥ The Nom : Sing : is लिह्+सु ॥ The ह् is changed to ढ् by the following rule.

३२४ । होढः । ८ । २ । ३१ ॥

हस्य ढः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । हलङ्याबिति सुलोपः । पदान्तत्वाद्धस्य ढः । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । लिद् । लिड् । लिहौ । लिहः । लिहम् । लिहौ । लिहः । लिहा । लिड्भ्याम् । लिट्सु ॥

324. ढ् is substituted for ह् before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लिह्+सु=लिह्+ O (The सु is elided by हल्ङ्याप् VI. 1. 68 S. 252.) =लिद् (The ह् is changed to द् because it is final in a pada)=लिड् (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84) or लिट् (VIII. 4. 56. S. 206).

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are लिहौ ; लिहः ॥

The Acc : forms are लिहम्, लिहौ ; लिहः ॥

The Instr : forms are लिहा, लिड्भ्याम् लिड्भिः ॥

The Loc : Pl : is लिट्सु (The त् being optionally added by VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or लिट्सु ॥

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of दामलिह ॥ It is derived from the Denominative Verb दामलिह्यति (दामलिहमात्मानमिच्छति one who desires a दामलिह्) Here the following sûtra is inapplicable, though the root दामलिह्य begins with द ॥

३२५ । दादेर्धातोर्घः । ८ । २ । ३२ ।

उपदेशे दादेर्धातोर्हस्य घः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । उपदेशे किम् । अधोगित्यत्र यथा स्यात् । दामलिहमात्मानं इच्छति दामलिह्यति । ततः क्विपि दामलिट् । अत्र मा भूत् ॥

325. Of a root beginning with द, in original enunciation, the घ is substituted for ह, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

But दामलिह् does not become दामलिक् because the anuvritti of the word उपदेश is understood in the above Sûtra and as in the Dhâtupâṭha there is no root like दामलिह्, so this rule is inapplicable (See the Not given below).

Why have we used the word upadesa in explaining the present sûtra? So that there may be ग substitution in अधोक् which does not begin with ह् in its conjugated form, but the root of which begins with ह् ॥

Note:—For the final ह् of a ह्-beginning root, ग is substituted under similar circumstances. As दग्धा, दग्धुम्, दग्धव्यम्, काष्ठधुक्, दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, गोधुक्, from दह् and दुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes क्त &c. ध is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the ग becomes ग by VIII. 4 53. For the ग in काष्ठधुक् is substituted ग by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4 56, and ह् becomes ध by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with ह्"? Observe लेढा, लेढुम्, लेढव्यम्, गुडलिट् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word रोद: but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole: so that it means "the word which begins with ह् and forms part of a root, for the ह् of such a part is substituted ध." What does follow from it? The letter ध is substituted in अधोक् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोरवयवो यो वर्णिशब्दस्तदवयवस्य हकारस्य &c.), the ध would have come in examples like मास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा षष्ठी will appear necessary in sûtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the fore of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain the forms दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, for here no *portion* is taken but *whole* word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भाव: "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sûtra, by saying 'that root which begins with ह् in its original enunciation in Dhâtupâṭha'? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with ह् ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like दामलिह्य (दामलिहमिच्छति = दामलिह्यति), it is a root which begins with ह्; the ह् of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to ग, for it is not a root of upadesa. Therefore, when we add क्विप् to this root, we get दामलिट् by VIII. 2. 31, and not दामलिक् ॥

Now we take up the declension of 'दुह्' ॥ Here the following sûtra applies :—

३२६ । एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः । ८ । २ । ३७ ॥

धातोरवयवो य एकाच् झषन्तस्तदवयवस्य बशः स्थाने भष स्यात्सकारे ध्वशब्दे पदान्ते च। एकाचो धातोरिति सामानाधिकरण्येनान्वये तु इह न स्यात्। गर्दभमाचष्टे गर्दभयति। ततः क्विप्। णिलोपः। गर्धप्। झलीति निवृत्तम्। स्ध्वोर्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्। तेनेह न। दुग्धम्। दोग्धा । व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन धात्वन्तत्वाद्भष्-भावः। जश्त्वचर्त्वे। धुक् धुग्। दुहो। दुहः। षत्वचर्त्वे। धुक्षु ॥

326. For the letters ब, ग, ड or द in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, or a portion of it and which ends in झ, भ, घ, ढ or ध, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or ध respectively in that portion of it which begins with बश् and ends with जष् before स or ध्व, or at the end of a pada (word).

In explaining this sûtra, we have used the word अवयव or a member or a portion. The root itself may be of more than one syllable, but if there is any member in it, which satisfies the requirements of this sûtra, that is to say, which begins with ब, ग, ड or द and ends with झ, भ, घ, ढ, ध, in other words, which begins with the third letter of the *Varga*, except ञ and ends with the fourth letter of the Varga, then for ब is substituted भ, for ग, घ, for ड, ढ, and for द, ध ॥ But had we explained the sûtra by saying एकाचोधातोः, that is, of a root which is monosyllabic and satisfies the above qualifications then we could not have got the form गर्धप् from the denominative root गर्दभयति The word गर्धप् is derived from the root गर्दभय by the affix क्विप् to the root and the elision of णि ॥ The द is changed to ध ॥

The anuvritti of झलि ceases here and is not to be read in the sûtra This had commenced from VIII. 2. 26 of the Ashṭâ dhyâyî.

By taking the letters स and ध्व in the sûtra, the substitution does not take place before any other letter, such as in दुग्धम्, दोग्धा ॥ Here द is not changed to ध ॥

By applying the maxim व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्, that is " An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach ;" the rule will apply to simple roots like to दुह् &c. also. Therefore दुह्+सु=दुह्+O=दुघ्+O=धुघ्=धुग् or धुक् ॥ The Nom : Dual and Pl : are दुहो ; दुहः ॥

In forming the Loc : Pl : the present sûtra will apply and we get the form धुक्षु ॥ (स् being changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212).

In declining ' द्रुह ' the following rule applies.

३२७। वा दुहमुहष्णुहष्णिहाम्। ८। २। ३३॥

एषां हस्य वा घः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च। पक्षे ढः। धुक्। धुग्। धुट्। धुड्। दुर्हौ। दुहः। धुग्भ्याम्। धुड्भ्याम्। धुक्षु। धुट्त्सु। धुट्सु। एवं मुहष्णुहष्णिहाम्॥ विश्ववाट्। विश्ववाड्। विश्ववाहौ। विश्ववाहः। विश्ववाहं। विश्ववाहौ॥

327. The ह of druh, muh, snuh, and snih is optionally changed to घ before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

The ह of these words is changed to घ optionally; in the other alternative it would be changed to ढ॥ Thus Nom: Sing is धुक् or धुग् or धुट् or धुड्॥

Instrumental, Dative and Ablative Dual is धुग्भ्याम् or धुड्भ्याम. Locative Pl: is धुक्षु or धुट्त्सु (VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or धुट्सु॥

Similar is the declension of मुह्, स्नुह् and स्निह्॥

———:o:———

Now, we take up the declension of विश्ववाह॥ The Nom: forms are विश्ववाट् or विश्ववाड्; विश्ववाहौ, विश्ववाहः; Acc: Sing and Dual are विश्ववाहम्, विश्ववाहौ॥

In forming the Acc: Pl: the rule after the following applies, because the base gets the designation of 'bha' before this affix; that is the semi-vowel व is changed to उ॥ This change is called संप्रसारण (Samprasâraṇa) or vocalisation, which is defined in the following sûtra.

३२८। इग्यणः संप्रसारणम्। १। १। ४५॥

यणः स्थाने प्रयुज्यमानो य इक् स संप्रसारणसंज्ञः स्यात्॥

328. The ik vowels which replace the semivowels yan are called samprasâraṇa.

Note:—This defines the word samprasâraṇa, or vocalisation. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ऌ, and their corresponding semi-vowels are य, व्, र्, and ल् included in the pratyâhâra yaṇ. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishthâ affix क्त (see sûtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasâraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the कित् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः 'slept' Similarly from वद्-उदितः, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यध्-विद्धः, ग्रह्-गृहीतम्-प्रच्छ्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.

३२९ । वाह ऊठ् । ६ । ४ । १३२ ॥

भस्य वाह- संप्रसारणमूठ् स्यात् ॥

329. The व् in वाह् is vocalised to ऊ (ऊठ्), when the compound stem is Bha.

३३० । संप्रसारणाच्च । ६ । १ । १०८ ॥

संप्रसारणाच्चि परे पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् ॥ एत्येधत्यूठ्सु ॥ विश्वौहः । विश्वौहेत्यादि । छन्दस्येव ण्विरिति पक्षे णिजन्ताद्विच् ॥

330. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi-vowel and the subsequent vowel.

Thus विश्ववाह + शस् = विश्व + ऊ + ओह् + शस् = विश्व + ऊह् + शस् = विश्वौहः (The Vriddhi is according to VI. 1. 89. S. 73) The Instrumental Singular is विश्वौहा and so on.

If वाह in विश्ववाह् be considered to have been formed by the affix ण्वि under sûtra III. 2. 64 S 3410, then there will be affix विच् after it by sûtra III. 2. 75. S 2980.

Note :—The word वाह् is a ण्वि formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada : hence we have used the word "compound." Thus विश्वौहः ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ ; and then विश्व + ऊह् = विश्वौह the Vriddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasâraṇa thus : प्रष्ठ + वह् + शस् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + अस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह् + अस् (the affix ण्वि III. 2. 64, will produce guna) = प्रष्ठौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact ण्वि is never added to वह् (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasâraṇa in ऊठ्, indicates the existence of the following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ; and the samprasâraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation : therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of अनड्वह्, In its declension the following rule applies :—

३३१ । चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ९८ ॥

अनयोराम् स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने स चोदात्तः ॥

331. चतुर and अनड्वह् get the acutely accepted augment आ (आम्) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus अनड्वह् + सु = अनड्वाह् + सु ॥ Then applies the following rule.

३३२ । सावनडुहः । ७ । १ । ८२ ।

अस्य नुम् स्यात्सौ परे । आदिस्थधिकारादवर्णात्परोऽयं नुम् । अतो विशेषविहितेनापि नुमा आम् न बाध्येत । अमा च नुम् न बाध्यते । सोर्लोपः । नुम् विधिसामर्थ्यादुसुभ्यांस्विति दस्वं न । संयोगान्तलोप-स्यासिद्धत्वान्नलोपो न । अनड्वान् ॥

332. अनडुह् gets the augment नुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By the last अनडुह् gets the augment आ after ड in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनड्वाह् and अनड्व ॥ By the present sûtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनड्वान् Nominative Singular; and अनड्वन् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede नुम्, nor are they superseded by नुम् ॥

The नुम् is specifically taught by this Sûtra, the ह is not changed to द् by VIII. 2. 72 S 334. The final न् is not elided, because the elision of ह् by VIII. 2. 23. S 54 is not perceived by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236, requiring the elision of न् because of the rule VIII. 2. 1. S 12. So the न् is not elided. Thus the Nom: Sing is अनड्वान्. In forming the Voc: the following rule applies.

३३३ । अम् संबुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ९९ ॥

चतुरनडुहोरम् स्यात्संबुद्धौ । आमोपवादः । हे अनड्वन् । अनड्वाहौ । अनड्वाहः । अनड्वहा ॥

333. चतुर् and अनडुह् get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule. As, हे अनड्वन्, हे अनड्वाहौ, अनड्वाहः ॥

The Instr: Sing. is अनड्वहा.

Before the affixes भ्याम्, भिः &c, the ह is changed to द् by the following rule.

३३४ । वसुस्रंसुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः । ८ । २ । ७२ ॥

सान्तवस्वन्तस्य संसादेश्च दः स्यात्पदान्ते । अनडुद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तेति किम् । विद्वान् । पदान्ते इति किम् । स्रस्तम् । ध्वस्तम् ॥

334. द् is substituted for the final स् of a word formed with the affix वस् and ending in स and for the final of स्रंस्, ध्वंस् and अनडुह् at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

Thus अनडुद्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say that the word formed with the affix क्वसु must end in स् ? Observe विद्वान्.

Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe स्रस्तम्; ध्वस्तम्.

———:o:———

Now, we take up the declension of तुराषाह्. In its declension, the following rule aplies :—

३३५ । सहेः साडः सः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

साड्रूपस्य सहेः सस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । तुराषाट् । तुराषाड् । तुरासाहौ । तुरासाहः । तुराषाड्भ्यामित्यादि । तुरं सहत इत्यर्थे छन्दसि सह इति ण्विः । लोके तु साहयतेः क्विप् । अन्येषामपीति पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः ॥

335. ष is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साड् (साट्) ॥

Thus तुराषाट्, साड् is derived from सह् by the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 63 S 3409), there is vriddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ढ (VIII. 2. 31). and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137 S. 3539).

Note :—साडः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साड् except this derived from सह्: why then the word is used in the sûtra? There is another form साड not derived from सह् ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सडः, सडस्य अपत्यं = साडिः॥ He in whose name there is the letter ड is called सड ; as मृड ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साड्' ? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स"? So that the आ of साड् may not be changed to cerebral : the ड् is already cerebral.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ह् ॥

———:o:———

There is no masculine noun ending in द् though on the analogy of the Noun कमल् (See 340) we may form तोद् meaning तोदमाचष्टाणः and decline as तोद्, तोदौ, तोदः yet this द् will allways be elided by the rule VI. 1. 66 S. 873. We take up, therefore, the declension of the Masculine nouns ending in द् *eg* सुदिव् In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३६ । दिव औत् । ७ । १ । ८४ ॥

दिविति प्रातिपदिकस्य औत्स्यात्सौ परे। अल्विधित्वेन स्थानिवत्त्वाभावाद्धलङ्त्वादिति सुलोपो न ॥ सुद्यौः । सुदिवौ । सुदिवः । सुदिवम् । सुदिवौ ॥

336. औ is substituted for the final of the prâtipadika दिव् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.)

Note :—There is a nominal-stem दिव् which is taken here. It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिव् is not to be taken here, as it has the in-

dicatory letter उ and is exhibited in the Dhâtupâtha as दिवु ॥ The nominal-stem derived from दिवु. does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom. Sg. of which is द्यौः as अक्षद्यूः (See VI, 4. 19, and VI. 1. 131).

The rule VI. 1. 68 S 252, required the elision of द्यु; but this is prevented, because औ is not स्थानिवत् to ऊ for the purposes of अल्विधि rule VI. 1. 68. S 252. Thus the Nom: forms are द्युद्यौः, सुदिवौ, सुदिवः. The Acc: forms are सुदिवम्, सुदिवौ &c.

Before भ्याम् and भिः the following rule applies :—

३३७ । दिव उत् । ६ । १ । १३१ ॥

दिवोऽन्तादेश उकारः स्यात्पदान्ते । द्युभ्याम् । द्युभिः । चत्वारः । चतुरः । चतुर्भिः । चतुर्भ्यः २॥

337. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

Note:—The portion पद of the word पदान्त must be read into this sûtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = द्युकामः, द्युमान्, विमलद्यु दिनं, द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prâtipadika and not a dhâtu, for as a dhâtu it ought to have its servile letter (anubandha) and should have been read as दिवु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for व् by VI. 4 19. In that case we shall have अक्षद्यूभ्याम्, अक्षद्यूभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊठ् (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊठ् substitution the forms will be द्यूभ्याम्, द्यूभिः ॥ The ऊठ् also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sûtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

Thus Instr: Dual and Pl. are द्युभ्याम्; द्युभिः.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in व् ॥

———:o:———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in र्.

We take up the declension of चतुर् which is always Plural. Its Nom: Pl: is चतुर्+जस्=चतुर्+आम्+जस् (S. 331)=चत्वारः । Its Acc; Instr:, Dat. and Abl: Pl: are चतुरः, चतुर्भिः, चतुर्भ्यः, चतुर्भ्यः respectively.

In forming the Gen: Pl: the following rule applies —

३३८ । षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च । ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

षट्संज्ञकेभ्यश्चतुरश्च परस्यामो नुडागमः स्यात् । णत्वं । द्वित्वं । चतुर्णाम् ॥

338. The augment न् is added before the Genitive pl. ending आम् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after चतुर् ॥

Text:—The न् is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 1. S, 235 and this ण is optionally doubled by VIII. 4. 46. S. 59.

As चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in र् is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

Note:—This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमषण्णाम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियषण्णाम्, प्रियपञ्चानाम्, प्रियचतुराम्, where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

In forming the Loc. Pl, the following is held in abeyance, because the विसर्जनीय taught there applies to that र् which is derived from रु and not to every र.

३३९ । रोः सुपि । ८ । ३ । १९ ॥

सप्तमीबहुवचने परे रोरेव विसर्जनीयो नान्यरेफस्य । षत्वम् । षस्य द्वित्वे प्राप्ते ॥

339. Visarjaniya is substituted for the रु called र् (and not any other र्), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

This rule not applying, we have चतुर्+सु=चतुर्+षु by VIII. 3. 59 S. 212. Then rule VIII. 4. 46 S. 59 requires optional doubling, but this is set-aside by the following.

३४० । शरोऽचि । ८ । ४ । ४६ ।

अचि परे शरो न द्वे स्तः । चतुर्षु । प्रियचत्वाः । हे प्रियचत्वः । प्रियचत्वारौ । प्रियचत्वारः । गौणत्वे तु नुट् नेष्यते । प्रियचतुराम् । प्राधान्ये तु स्यादेव । परमचतुर्णाम् । कमलं कमलां वा आचक्षाणः कमल् । कमलौ । कमलः । षत्वं । कमल्षु ॥

340. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows,

Note:—The word न is to be read into the sûtra. This debars the application of rule VIII. 4. 46. S, 59. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्षः, अक्षदर्शः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe दद्दर्शते ॥

Text:—Thus चतुर्षु.

Now, we take up the declension of प्रियचतुर् which may he declined in all numbers (See Note under S. 338). प्रियचतुर्+सु=प्रियचतु+आ+र्+स् (VII. 1. 98. S. 331)=प्रियचत्वाः. In the Voc: Sing, instead of आम् there will be अम् by VII. 1. 99. S. 333. Thus हे प्रियचत्वः। The Nom: Dual and Pl: are प्रियचत्वारौ; प्रियचत्वारः, As चतुर् here is a secondary member of a Compound, the augment नुट् required by VII. 1. 55. S. 338 is not added to the formation of the Gen: Pl: Thus we have प्रियचतुराम्. But if the compound be not a Bahuvrihi, and चतुर् be a principal member, then the Genitive Pl. will be प्रियचतुर्णाम् ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in र् ॥

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

Now we take up the declension of कमल्. This is derived from the Noun कमलम् or कमला by passing through the चुरादिगण under the rule तत्करोति तदाचष्टे, that is, when the sense is कमलं कमलां वा चष्टाणः that one speaks of Kamala or Kamalâ. Thus कमल+णिच् (of चुरादिगण). To this we add the affix क्विप्, when the णिच् is elided by VI. 4. 51. S. 2313. Thus we get कमल्. Its declension is Nom. कमल्, कमलौ, कमलः. Its Loc. Pl. is कमल्षु. (The स् being changed to ष्).

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

———o———

There is no noun ending in श्. Therefore we take up the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in म्. In the declension of these nouns, the following rule applies.

३४१ । मोनो धातोः । ८ । २ । ६४ ।

धातोर्मस्य नः स्यात्पदान्ते । नत्वस्यासिद्धत्वान्नलोपो न । प्रशाम्यतीति प्रशान् । प्रशामौ । प्रशामः । प्रशान्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

341. न is substituted, at the end of a Pada, for the final म of a root.

As प्रशान्, this is formed by adding क्विप् to the root शम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. S. 2556. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रशामौ, प्रशामः where न is not at the end of a pada.

The Nom : forms are प्रशान्, प्रशामौ प्रशामः ; The Instr : Dual is प्रशान्भ्याम् &c.

———:o:———

Now, we take up the declension of किम् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies ;—

३४२ । किमः कः । ७ । २ । १०३ ॥

किमः कः स्याद्विभक्तौ । अकच्सहितस्याप्ययमादेशः । कः । कौ । के । कम् । कौ । काम् इत्यादि सर्ववत् ॥

342. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के, कम्, कौ, काम् ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकच् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For म of किम् being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced

by अ, had the sûtra been किंसोऽत् and the forms would have been the same (क्+अ+अ=क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c. The rest of the declension is similar to that of सर्व ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies.

३४३ । इदमो मः । ७ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदमो मः स्यात्सौ परे । त्यदाद्यत्वापवादः ॥

343. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. At this stage applies the next sûtra.

३४४ । इदोऽय् पुंसि । ७ । २ । १११ ॥

इदम इदोऽय् स्यात्सौ पुंसि । सोर्लोपः । अयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वं परूपत्वं च ॥

344. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sing. masculine.

As अयम् ॥

The case ending सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In other cases, sûtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. would apply and there will be Para-rupa (VI. 1. 97. S. 191) and so इदम् will assume the form इद् ॥

At this stage, will apply the following rule.

३४५ । दश्च । ७ । २ । १०९ ॥

इदमो दस्य मः स्वादिभक्तौ । इमौ । इमे । त्यदादेः संबोधनं नास्तीत्युत्सर्गः ॥

345. And म् is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम्+अम्=इदअ+अम् (VII. 2, 102 S. 265.)=इमअ+अम् (VII. 2. 109 S. 345.)=इमम् (VI. 1. 97, S. 191).

It is a general rule that there is no Vocative case of त्यदादि words.

In forming the Instrumental and other cases, the following rule applies:—

३४६ । अनाप्यकः । ७ । २ । ११२ ॥

अककारस्येदम इदोऽन् स्यादापि विभक्तौ । आबिति टा इत्यारभ्य सुपः पकारेण प्रत्याहारः । अनेन ॥

346. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say " not when क is added by V. 3. 71 "? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sûtra is a pratyâhâra, formed with the आ of टा (Ins. Sg), and प् of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

Before consonantal affixes, the following rule applies.

३४७ । हलि लोपः । ७ । २ । ११३ ॥

अककारस्येदम इदो लोपः स्यादापि हलादौ ॥ नानर्थकेऽलोन्त्यविधिरनभ्यासीवकारे ॥

347. The इद् of इदम् is elided before an âp case-affix beginning with a consonant, provided that the augment अकच् is not added.

Here applies the maxim—"The rule I. 1. 52. S. 42, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the genitive case, is not valid where what is exhibited in the genitive is meaningless, provided the rule teaching the substitution does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable. "

Having elided इद of इदम्, the only portion that remains now is म् which is replaced by अ VII. 2 102 S. 265. Thus we have only अ left. Thus अ + भ्याम् ॥ Now VII. 3. 102 S. 202 declares that a final अ is lengthened before a case affix beginning with यञ् ॥ But the solitary अ is initial and cannot therefore be final and so it should not be lengthened. To remove this doubt, we have the following Sûtra.

३४८ । आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् । १ । १ । २१ ॥

एकस्मिन् क्रियमाणं कार्यमाशविवाऽन्त इव स्यात् । आभ्याम् ॥

348. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

Thus अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ॥

In forming the Instr : Pl : the following rule applies :—

३४९ । नेदमदसोरकोः । ७ । १ । ११ ॥

अककारयोरिदमदसोर्भिस ऐस् न स्यात् । एत्वम् । एभिः । अत्वम् । नित्यत्वात् ङेः स्मै ; पश्चाद्भालिलोपः । अस्मै । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्मात् । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्य । अनयोः । एषाम् । अस्मिन् । अनयोः । एषु । ककारयोगे तु अयकम् । इमकौ । इमके । इमकम् । इमकौ, इमकान् । इमकेन । इमकाभ्याम् । इमकैः ॥

349. This substitution of ऐस् (required by VII. 1. 9 S 203) does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

Thus अ + भिः = एभिः (VII. 3. 103 S 205) The dative forms are thus

formed :—अ + ङे = अस्मै (VII. 1. 14 S. 215); अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ; अ + भ्यः = एभ्यः ॥ The Abl :, Gen : and Loc : forms are as follow:—अस्मात्, (VII. 1. 15 S. 216); आभ्याम् ; एभ्यः, अस्य (VII. 1. 12. S. 201) ; अनयोः (VII. 3. 104. S. 207 and VII. 2. 112. S. 346) ; एषाम् (VII. 1 52. S. 217) ; अस्मिन् (VII. 1. 15. S. 216) ; एषु (VIII. 3. 59 S. 212).

When अकच् is added the forms are as follows:—Nom : अयकम्, इमकौ, इमके ; Acc : इमकम्, इमकौ, इमकान् ; Instr : इमकेन, इमकाभ्याम्, इमकैः ॥

By the following rule, when इदम् is used in the second clause of a sentence referring to a man already mentioned in the first clause, the form is different in the Instr : and other cases.

३५० । इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ । २ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अन्वादेशविषयस्येदमोऽनुदात्तोऽश् आदेशः स्यात्तृतीयादौ । अशवचनं साकच्कार्थम् ॥

350. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvâdeśa) there is the substitution of अश् which is anudâtta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

Note :—The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (âdeśa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvâdeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by I. 1. 55 S. 45. and not only the final म्.

Text :—The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

३५१ । द्वितीयाटौस्वेनः । २ । ४ । ३४ ।

द्वितीयायां टौसोश्च परत इदमेतदोरेनादेशः स्यादन्वादेशे । किंचित्कार्यं विधातुपात्तस्य कार्यान्तरं विधातुं पुनरुपादानमन्वादेशः । यथाऽनेन व्याकरणमधीतमेनं छन्दोऽध्यापयेति । अनयोः पवित्रं कुलमेनयोः प्रभूतं स्वमिति । एनम् । एनौ । एनान् । एनेन । एनयोः । गणयतेर्विच् । सुगण् । सुगणौ । सुगणः । सुगण्ट्सु । सुगण्ट्सु । सुगण्सु । क्विप् । अनुनासिकस्य क्विझलोरिति दीर्घः । सुगाण् । सुगाणौ । सुगाणः । सुगाण्ट्सु । सुगाण्ट्सु सुगाण्सु । परस्वादुपधादीर्घः । हल्ङ्यादिलोपः । ततो नलोपः । राजा ॥

351. When an affix of the second case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual.) follows, एन which is anudâtta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

Anvâdeśa means the employment again of what has been employed to direct some operation, to direct another operation. Thus, "The grammar has been studied by him *(anena)*, now set him *(enam)*

to read the *Vedas*." or again "of these two *(anayoh)* the family is illustrious and their *(enayoh)*wealth is great." The cases in this form are:—*Acc.* एनम्, एनौ, एनान्, Instr: Sing: एनेन; Gen: & Loc. Dual एनयोः।

Here ends the declension of Masc: Nouns ending in न्.

———:o:———

There is no Masculine noun ending in ङ्. Now we take up the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ण् *e. g.* सुगण् which is formed by the affix क्विप् added to गण् (III. 2. 75 S. 2980) Its Nom: forms are सुगण्, सुगणौ, सुगणः; Loc. Pl. is सुगण्ट्सु, सुगण्ट्सु or सुगण्सु.

If it be formed with the affix क्विप् (III. 2. 76 S. 2983), then by VI. 4. 15 S. 2666, there is lengthening. Thus the forms will be. सुगाण्, सुगाणौ, सुगाणः; the Loc: Pl: is सुगाण्ट्सु, सुगाण्ट्सु, or सुगाण्सु.

Here ends the declension of Mas: Nouns ending in ण्.

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

Now, we take up the declension of राजन्. Its Nom: Sg. is राजन्+सु= राजान्+सु (The penultimate being lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S. 250)=राजान्+0 (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.)=राजा (the न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.).

In forming the Voc: the following rule applies:—

३५२। न डिसंबुद्ध्योः। ८। २। ८॥

नस्य लोपो न स्यात् ङौ संबुद्धौ च। राजन्। ङौ तु छन्दस्युदाहरणम्। सुपां सुलुगिति ङेर्लुक्। निषेधसामर्थ्यात्प्रत्ययलक्षणम्। परमे व्योमन्॥ ङाद्युत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः *॥ चर्मणि तिला अस्य चर्मतिलः। ब्रह्मणि निष्ठा अस्य ब्रह्मनिष्ठः। राजानौ। राजानः, राजानम्। राजानौ॥ अक्षोपोनः। इचुस्वम्। न चाक्षोपः स्थानिवत्। पूर्वत्रासिद्धे तन्निषेधात्। नापि बहिरङ्गतयाऽसिद्धः। यथोद्देशपक्षे षाष्ठी परिभाषां प्रति इचुस्वस्यासिद्धतयाऽन्तरङ्गाभावेन परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्तेः। जस्भ्योर्ङेः। राज्ञः। राज्ञा॥

352. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debars the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the sûtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. The examples of non-elision of न्, in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39). Here the sign of the Locative, namely, ङ् (ङि) is elided by VII. 1 39 S. 3561. In the Vocative singular the न् is not elided; as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन्॥

The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (Jñâpaka), that a word does get the designation of pada, though an affix has been elided after it by using लुक्, yet such elided affix does sometimes produce its effect inspite of I. 1. 63. S. 263.

Vart:—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided: as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्मतिलः, ब्रह्मणि निष्ठाअस्य = ब्रह्मनिष्ठः ॥

The Nom: Dual and Pl: are राजानौ; राजानः ।

The Acc. Sing and Dual are राजानम्; राजानौ ।

The Acc: Pl. is thus formed:—राजन्+शस्. Here राजन् gets the designation of *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231. and therefore the अ of राजन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. and the न् is changed to म् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. The elision of अ is not *Sthânivat*, because it is so prohibited in Sûtra VIII-2. 1. S. 12. Nor can the elision be considered *asiddha* on account of its being bahiranga. There are two aspects under which संज्ञा or technical terms, and *Pribhâshâs* may be viewed in Pâṇini's Grammar. One is यथोद्देशपक्ष and the other is कार्यकालपक्ष. The former *i. e.* यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjnâs and Paribhâshâs remain where they are taught;" and the latter, *i. e.* कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjnâs and Paribhâshâs are attracted by, or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain operations, provided that Samjnâs occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhâshâs concern them."

Here we take the first alternative and the change of अ into म being asiddha in the view of the rule I. 1. 94. S. 38., there is no *antaranga-hood* and so the Paribhâsha which declares that "antaranga is stronger than bahiranga" finds no scope for application. Therefore अ and म combining form अ. Thus we get the Acc. Pl. राज्ञः Inst. Sing is राज्ञा

Similarly परमे व्योमन् ॥ Here व्योमन् is in the Locative case. व्योमन्+ङि = व्योमन्+O (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) Here the affix is elided by using the word लुक्, and therefore there will be no pratyaya-lakshana (I. 1. 63 S. 263). The result would be that the word व्योमन् would not get the disignation of पद (सुप्तिङन्तंपदं) because it has no सुप् after it, so the rule न लोप (VIII. 2. 7. S. 236) will not hold good, and therefore there will be no elision of न् of व्योमन् ॥ But in that case the present Sûtra would have been useless. But the very fact that this sûtra is made, indicates that the rule न लुमताङ्गस्य is not *nitya*, and so, there will be pratyalakshana. That being the case, the word व्योमन् becomes पद, and so rule VIII. 2. 7 would have applied to it, but for this Sûtra.

Although भ संज्ञा excludes and debars पदसंज्ञा but in this case it has been superseded by the former.

Now we take up the formation of Acc. pl. Thus राजन्+शस् = राज्+O+न्+शस् (अल्लोपोऽन) Here the zero will be sthânivat (by अचः परस्मिन् I. 1. 57 S. 50) That being the case, न् will not be changed to ण्: and so we could not et

the form राज्ञः ॥ But the lopâdeśâ is not sthânivat, because of the vârtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवत् (See Mahâbhâshya I. 1. 58 and Siddhânta VIII. 4. 1)

If it be said that the lopa rule is Bahiranga, because it takes place on account of the affix शस् which is out side; and the change of न् into ञ् is inside it, or antaranga; and therefore the lopa will be asiddha with regard to इचुत्व, then we reply that there is no relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga here. The Paribhâshâ असिद्धं बहिरङ्गं &c. is derived from the Jñâpaka of षाह ऊठ् (VI. 4. 132 S. 329.) which belongs to the VIth Adhyâya and consequently does not see the इचुत्व vidhi of the VIIIth Adhyâya (VIII. 4. 41 S. 111.) by the sûtra पूर्वत्रासिद्धे, and so there will be no antaranga Bhâva. This proceeds on the view of यथोद्देश Paksha.

३५३ । नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति । ८ । २ । २ ॥

सुब्विधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ कृतितुग्विधा च नलोपोऽसिद्धो नान्यत्र । राजाश्व इत्यादौ । इत्यसिद्धत्वादात्वमेत्त्वमैस्त्वं च नेँ । राजभ्याम् । राजभिः । राज्ञे । राजभ्यः । राज्ञः । राज्ञोः । राज्ञाम् । राज्ञि । राजनि । प्रतिशीव्यतीति प्रतिदिवा । प्रतिदिवानौ । प्रतिदिवानः । अस्य भविष्यदङ्गेपेक्षते ॥

353. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment तुक् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sûtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as सुब्विधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि, तुग्विधि is that of ordaining the existence of something: e. g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is be given to it or when तुक् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुब्विधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुब्विधिः—As राजभिः, तक्षभिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस् by VII. 1. 9. S. 203. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्यां, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्यां by सुपि च (VII. 3. 102 S. 202.) nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103 S. 205): as in नराभ्यां and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 S. 236. would be asiddha by the general rule VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजायते (राजन् + क्यच् + ते = राज + य + ते = राजयते III. 1. 8. S. 2657 VII.

4. 33 S. 2658). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25 S. 2298.) and राजाश्व there is ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 101 S. 85).

On the other hand, from the elision's not being regarded as having taken effect, there is neither prolongation of the vowel (VII. 3. 102 S. 202) nor the change of अ to ऐ (VII. 3. 103 S. 205). nor the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् (VII. 1. 9. S. 203).

Thus Instr : dual and Pl : are राजभ्याम् and राजभिः respectively. The Dative forms are राज्ञे, राजभ्याम्, राजभ्यः ; Abl : and Gen Sing : राज्ञः ; Gen : dual and Pl : राज्ञोः and राज्ञाम् respectively. Loc : Sg. राज्ञि or राजनि ॥

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of प्रतिदिवन् ॥ This word is formed by the Uṇadi affix कनिन् (Uṇadi I. 156) added to the root प्रतिदिव् 'to shine.' It is declined as follows :—Nom: forms are प्रतिदिवा, प्रतिदिवानौ, प्रतिदिवानः ॥

In the Acc : Pl :. the base being bha, the अ of दिवन् is elided (VI. 4. 134. S, 234) and then the following rule comes into operation.

३५४ । हलि च । ८ । २ । ७७ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः स्याद्धलि । न चाङ्गोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वम् । दीर्घविधौ तन्निषेधात् । बहिरङ्गपरिभाषा नूक्तन्यायेन न प्रवर्तते । प्रतिदीव्नः । प्रतिदीव्नेत्यादि । यज्वा । यज्वानौ । यज्वानः ॥

354. Of a root ending in र् or व्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthânivat because of the prohibition in I. 1. 58 S. 57 with regard to दीर्घविधिः and so व् becomes penultimate.

Nor is this elision by VI. 4. 134. S. 234. a bahiranga and therefore asiddha, for the purposes of this rule which is an antaranga, for the reasons already given above under VIII. 2. 8. S. 352.

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतिदीव्नः ॥ Instr: Sg. प्रतिदीव्ना &c.

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of यज्वन् ॥ Its Nom : forms are यज्वा, यज्वानौ, यज्वानः ॥

But in Bha cases there will not be the elision of अ of अन् because of the following prohibition.

३५५ । न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् । ६ । ४ । १३७ ॥

वकारमकारान्तसंयोगात्परस्यानोऽकारस्य लोपो न स्यात् । यज्वनः । यज्वना । यज्वभ्यामित्यादि । ब्रह्मणः । ब्रह्मणा । ब्रह्मभ्यामित्यादि ॥

355. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus Acc : Pl. यज्वनः ॥ Instr : Sing and dual यज्वना, यज्वभ्याम् &c. Similar is the declension of ब्रह्मन् ॥ Nom. ब्रह्मा, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्माणः, Acc. ब्रह्माणम्, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्मणः; Ins. ब्रह्मणा, ब्रह्मभ्याम्, ब्रह्मभिः ॥

———:o:———

Now, we take up the declension of वृत्रहन् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

३५६ । इनृहनूपूर्यम्णां शौ । ६ । ४ । १२ ॥

एषां शाववोपधाया दीर्घो नान्ह्रश्च । इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ॥

356. The penultimate vowel is lengthened only before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् and nowhere else.

To this prohibition is the exception contained in the following sûtra.

३५७ । सौ च । ६ । ४ । १३ ॥

इन्नादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यात्संबुद्धौ सौ परे । वृत्रहा । हे वृत्रहन् । एकाजुत्तरपदे इति णत्वम् । वृत्रहणौ । वृत्रहणः । वृत्रहणम् । वृत्रहणौ ॥

357. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus वृत्रहा, ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In the Vocative singular we have हे वृत्रहन् ॥

The ह is changed to ण् by VIII. 4. 12 S. 307. Thus we get the following forms N. D. वृत्रहणौ ; N. Pl : वृत्रहणः, Acc : Sg. and Dual : वृत्रहणम् and वृत्रहणौ respectively.

In Acc : Pl : the अ of हन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 and the ह is changed to guttural by the following Sûtra.

३५८ । होहन्तेर्ञ्णिन्नेषु । ७ । ३ । ५४ ॥

ञिति णिति च प्रत्यये नकारे च परे हन्तेर्हकारस्य कुत्वं स्यात् ॥

358. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicatory ञ्, or ण् and before न् ॥

The next Sûtra हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य is divided by the author into two parts, *Viz*, first, हन्तेः and then अत्पूर्वस्य ॥

३५६ । हन्तेः । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य हन्तेर्नस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रहण्यात् ॥

359. The न, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

As प्रहण्यात् ॥ This requires the न् of वृत्रहन् to be changed to ण्। But to this the second half of the above Sûtra makes an exception.

३५९ क । अत्पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्यैव नस्य णत्वं नान्यस्य। प्रघ्नन्ति । योगविभागसामर्थ्यादन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति न्यायं बाधित्वा एकाजुत्तरपदे इति णत्वमपि निवर्त्तते । नकारे परे कुत्वविधिसामर्थ्यादलोपो न स्थानिवत् । वृत्रघ्नः । वृत्रघ्ना इत्यादि । यत्तु वृत्रघ्न इत्यादौ वैकल्पिकं णत्वं माधवेनोक्तं तच्चाष्यवार्तिकविरुद्धम् । एवं शार्ङ्गिन् यशस्विन्नर्यमन्पूषन् । यशस्विन्निति विन्प्रत्यये इनोऽनर्थकत्वेऽपि इनहन्नित्यत्र ग्रहणं भवत्येव । आनिनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्तीति वचनात् । अर्यम्णि । अर्यमणि । पूष्णि पूषणि॥

359 A. The न् of हन् is changed to ण् when it is preceded by short अ and in no other case, that is to say, when हन् retains the form हन् and not घ्न when the अ is elided and हन् assumes the form घ्न or when the अ is lengthened.

Thus प्रघ्नन्ति: ॥ This interpretation is given because it is possible to divide this Sûtra into two by the maxim योगविभागादिष्टसिद्धिः *i. e.* "from a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we are allowed to derive only such results as may be desirable."

Paribhâshâ :—"A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything, either enjoins or forbids only that which is nearest to it in some other rule."

This maxim being set aside by the fact of the योगविभाग, the Sûtra VIII. 4. 12. S. 307. ordaining णत्व also ceases. The elision of अ is not sthânivat because otherwise the ह will never be followed by न and so there will be no scope for Sûtra VII. 3. 54. S. 358. Thus Acc. Pl. is वृत्रघ्नः. Instr. Sing : वृत्रघ्ना &c.

But the optional form वृत्रण्: with a cerebral ण instead of dental न, according to the opinion of Mâdhava is a mistake, because it is opposed to Kâtyâyana and Patanjali. The न is never changed to ण.

The nouns शार्ङ्गिन्, यशस्विन्, अर्यमन्, पूषन् are similarly declined.

यशस्विन् is formed with the affix विन् and not इन्. The इन् portion in यशस्विन् has no meaning ; and so the rules VI. 4. 12. S. 356 and VI. 4. 13. S. 357. should not apply to it. However these rules are applied, in accordance with the following *Paribhâshâ*,

Paribhâshâ:—"Whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning".

Loc : Sing of अर्यमन् is अर्यम्णि or अर्यमणि ॥

Loc. Sing of पूषन् is पूष्णि or पूषणि ॥

—o—

Now, we take up the declension of मघवन्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३६० । मघवा बहुलम् । ६ । ४ । १२८ ॥

मघवन्शब्दस्य वा तृ इत्यन्तादेशः स्यात् । ऋ इत् ॥

360. तृ is diversely substituted for the final of मघवन् ॥

ऋ of तृ is इत्. And thus we get मघवत्.

Here applies the next Sûtra, showing the force of this indicatory ऋ,

३६१ । उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः । ७ । १ । ७० ॥

अधातोरुगितो नलोपिनोऽञ्चतेश्च नुमागमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । मघवान् । इह दीर्घे कर्तव्ये संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वं न भवति बहुलग्रहणात् । तथा च श्वन्नुक्षन्निति निपातनान्मघशब्दस्य तुपा च भाषायामपि शब्दद्वयसिद्धिमाश्रित्यैतत् सूत्रं प्रत्युक्तमाकरे । हविर्जक्षिति निःशङ्को मखेषु मघवानसाविति भट्टिः । मघवन्तौ । मघवन्तः । हे मघवन् । मघवन्तम् । मघवन्तौ । मघवतः । मघवता । मघवद्भ्यामित्यादि । तृस्वाभावे मघवा । छन्दसीवनिपौ चेति वानिबन्तं मध्योदात्तं छन्दस्येव, अन्तोदात्तं तु लोकेऽपीति विशेषः । मघवानौ । मघवानः । सुटि राजवत् ॥

361. Whatever has an indicatory उ, ऋ and लृ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्चति) get the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Thus Nom : Sing. is मघवान्. The penultimate अ is lengthened by VI. 4. 14. S. 425. The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and the त is elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54.

The form being मघवन्त, the elision of त् takes place by the Tripâdi rule संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and therefore this elision is not perceived by the दीर्घ rule of the Sixth Book of Pânini (*i. e.* VI. 4. 14. S. 425). The अ of वन् therefore not being penultimate will not be lengthened, as it is not lengthened in Verbal Nouns like कुर्वन् &c, where also the elision of त् is held to be asiddha. Why do we lengthen it in the case of मघवन्? Because of the word बहुलं in the last Sûtra VI. 4. 128 S. 360.

As this word मघवान् requires the help of बहुल to give us the proper form, the author of Mahâbhâshya has effected the formation of मघवान् by the Unâdi I. 159, and he has also assumed that the affix मतुप् will effect the same form when added to मघ in secular literature, and therefore he has in his commentary stated that the Sûtra मघवा बहुलं is a redundancy. The author of Bhatti Kâvya also uses the form in secular literature as:—हविर्जाक्षीति निःशङ्को मखेषु मघवानसौ॥ "That Maghavân eats fearlessly the sacrificial offerings in the sacrifices."

The Nom: Dual and Pl. will be मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः ॥

The Voc: Sing will be हे मघवन् ॥

The Acc. forms are मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवतः ॥

Instr: forms are मघवता, मघवद्भ्याम् &c.

When तृ is not substituted for the final न् of मघवन्, then the Nom: *Sing is* मघवा ॥

Vârtika:—In the Chhandas, the affixes ई and वनिप् are added to nouns in the sense of मतुप् (See Sûtra V. 2. 122. S. 3498.) Therefore if the word मघवन् be formed with वनिप् added to मघ then the word मघवन् will have acute accent on the middle in the Chhandas alone, but in the secular literature it has acute accent on the final also. This is the difference, as मघवन्.

The Nom: Dual and Pl. are मघवानौ, मघवानः ॥

In the Sarvanâmasthâna affixes, मघवन्, without तृ is declined like राजन्. Thus N. D. मघवानौ, N. Pl. मघवानः; Acc. S. D. are मघवानम् and मघवानौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. the following rule applies:—

३६२। श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते। ६। ४। १३३॥

अन्नन्तानां भसंज्ञकानामेषामतद्धिते परे संप्रसारणं स्यात्। संप्रसारणाच्च। आद्गुणः। मघोनः अन्नन्तानां किम्। मघवतः। मघवता। स्त्रियां मघवती। अतद्धिते किम्। माघवनम्। मघोना। मघवभ्यामित्यादि। शुनः। शुना। श्वभ्यामित्यादि। युवन्शब्दे वस्योत्वे कृते॥

362. The व of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् when ending in अन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus मघवन्+शस्=मघउअन्+शस्=मघउन्+शस् (उ and अ become उ by VI. 1. 108. S. 330)=मघोन्+शस् (अ and उ become ओ by VI. 1. 87. S. 69) =मघोनः ॥

Why do we say 'when ending in अन्'? Observe Acc: Pl: मघवतः when the noun is मघवत् and not मघवन्॥ In this case the Instr: Sg. is मघवता ॥

The feminine form of मघवन् is मघवती ॥ Why do we say 'not before a Taddhita affix'? Observe माघवनम ॥

The Inst : Sg. and Dual of मघवन् are मघोना, मघवभ्यां &c. Similar is the declension of श्वन् ॥ Thus शुनः (Acc. Pl.), शुना (Instr : S.) ; श्वभ्याम् (Instr: Dual) &c.

Now we take up the declencsion of युवन् ॥

युवन्+शस्=यु+उ+न्+शस् ॥ Here the व of यु would also require to be vocalised. But this is prevented by the following Sûtra.

३६३ । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । ६ । १ । ३७ ॥

संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न स्यात् । इति यकारस्य नेत्वम् । अत एव ज्ञापकादन्तस्य यणः पूर्वं संप्रसारणम् । यूनः । यूना । युवभ्यामित्यादि । अर्वा । हे अर्वन् ॥

363. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

So व् of युवन् is not vocalised. Therefore, by the inference to be drawn from this rule, the final semivowel is vocalised.

Thus Acc : Pl : is यूनः ; Instr : Sg, and Dual are यूना, युवभ्य and so on.

Note :—Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sûtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sûtra is a jñapaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when उ of यु, and उ the samprasârṇa of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthânivat to the original, the य and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good ; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthânivat (See I. 1. 58 S. 51). Even though it be considered as sthânivat, it is still a separating letter.

Now, we take up the declension of अर्वन् ॥ Its N. S. is अर्वा, Its Voc : S. is हे अर्वन्

In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies.

३६४ । अर्वण स्रसावनञः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

नञा रहितस्यार्वन्नन्तस्याङ्गस्य तृ इत्यन्तादेशः स्यान्न तु सौ । उगित्त्वान्नुम् । अर्वन्तौ । अर्वन्तः । अर्वन्तम् । अर्वन्तौ । अर्वतः । अर्वता । अर्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । अनञः किम् । अनर्वा ; यज्वन् ॥

364. तृ (which is changed to न्त् in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is तृ, the ऋ is for the sake of making this affix an उगित्, so that in sarvanâmasthâna cases we have नुम् augment VII. 1 70. S. 361. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वतः, अर्वता, अर्वद्भ्याम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe अनर्वा (N. S). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यज्वन् ॥

In the declension of पथिन्, मथिन् &c. the following rules apply :—

३६५ । पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात् । ७ । १ । ८५ ॥

एषामाकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे। आ आदिति प्रश्लेषेण शुद्धाया एव व्यक्तेर्विधानान्नानुनासिकः ॥

365. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin' 'mathin' and 'ṛbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthânin here is a nasal (i. e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (I. 1. 50. 39) but to be pronounced purely for the आत् of the sûtra is really आ+आत्, indicating that pure आ is to be taken and not the nasal आँ ॥

३६६ । इतोऽत्सर्वनामस्थाने । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

पथ्यादेरिकारस्याऽकारः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

366. अ is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and ṛbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Note :—Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of आत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9. S. 3541. by which in the case of ऋभुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋभुक्षाणम् and ऋभुक्षणम् ॥

३६७ । थोन्थः । ७ । १ । ८७ ॥

पथिमथोस्थस्य न्थादेशः स्यात् सर्वनामस्थाने परे । पन्थाः । पन्थानौ । पन्थानः । पन्थानम् । पन्थानौ ॥

367. न्थ् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin, in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

३६८ । भस्य टेर्लोपः । ७ । १ । ८८ ॥

भसंज्ञकस्य पथ्यादेष्टेर्लोपः स्यात् । पथः । पथा । पथिभ्यामित्यादि । एवं मन्थाः । ऋभुक्षाः । स्त्रियां मान्तलक्षणे ङीपि भत्वाट्टिलोपः । सुपथी । सुमथी नगरी । अनृभुक्षी सेना ॥ आत्वं नपुंसके न भवति । न लुमताति प्रत्ययलक्षणनिषेधात् । सुपथि वनम् ॥ संबुद्धौ नपुंसकानां नलोपो वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे सुपथिन् । हे सुपथि । नलोपः सुप्स्वरेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्ध्रस्वस्य गुणो न । द्विवचने भत्वाट्टिलोपः । सुपथी । शौ सर्वनामस्थानत्वात् सुपन्थानि । पुनरपि । सुपथी । सुपथी । सुपन्थानि । सुपथा । सुपथे । सुपथिभ्यामित्यादि ॥

368. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin, and ṛbhukshin, before an affix beginning with a vowel or य (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मथा, मथे, ऋभुक्षः, ऋभुक्षा, ऋभुक्षे ॥

In the Feminine the affix ङीप् will be added by IV. 1. 5. as पथिन्+ङीप्, and the इन् is elided before the affix ङीप् by the present Sûtra. Thus सुपथी नगरी, and अनृभुक्षी सेना.

In the Neuter, there is not lengthening of VII. 1, 85. S. 365. because the affix is elided by using the word लुक् (VII. 1 43. S. 319) and therefore the affix सु leaves no trace behind by I. 1. 63. S. 263. Thus सुपथि वनम्. Thus सुपथिन् + सु = सुपथिन् + O = सुपथि (The final न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

In the Vocative Sing. of the Neuter Noun सुपथिन्, the elision of न् is optional, according to the following *Vârtika* :—

Vârtika :—In the Voc. Singular of the Neuter nouns, the elision of final न् is optional.

Thus हे सुपथिन् or हे सुपथि.

The short इ of सुपथि is not guṇated (as it is guṇated in हे हरे) because of the probibition contained in VIII. 2. 2. S. 353 by which the elision of न् is asiddha in the case of case-endings.

In the Nom : Dual, the base being bha, the टि portion of पथिन् is elided before the Dual affix शी. Thus सुपथी ॥

In the Nom : Pl. (शि) which is a Sarvanâmasthâna affix (I. 1. 42. S. 313) there is no elision and the rules VII. 1 86 and 87 S, 367 and 368 apply and so we get the form सुपन्थानि ॥

The Acc : forms are the same as the Nominative ones, as सुपथि, सुपथी. सुपन्थानि ॥

The Instr : Sing : and Dual are सुपथा, सुपथिभ्याम् ॥

The Dative Sing : is सुपथे &c.

———o———

Now, we take up the declension of पञ्चन्. It is a षट् word by the following definition.

३६९ । ष्णान्ता षट् । १ । १ । २४ ॥

षान्ता नान्ता च संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥ षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ पञ्च २ । संख्या किम् । विप्रुषः । पामानः । शतानि सहस्राणीत्यत्र संनिपातपरिभाषया नँ लुक् ॥ सर्वनामस्थानसंनिपातेन कृतस्य नुमस्तद्विघातकत्वात् । पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्भ्येति तुट् ॥

369. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called shaṭ.

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22. S. 261). Thus पंच पञ्च ॥ Why do we say संख्या ॥ Observe विप्रुषः and पामानः ॥

Note :—This sûtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivsion of the larger group sankhyâ. Those Sankhyâs which end in ष् or न् are called षट् ॥ The word sankhyâ is understood in this sûtra, because the word ष्णान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sankhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namaly पंचन् ' five,' षष् ' six,' सप्तन्, ' seven,' अष्टन् ' eight,' नवन् ' nine,' दशन् ' ten.'

The word अन्त in the sûtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika *i. e.*, must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि ' thousands,' अष्टानाम् ' of eights ' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided ; as शतान्+इ = शतानि &c.

In forming Nom : Pl : of शत we have शत+शि Then we add नुम् by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. Thus we get शतन्+शि । Here the word is a sankhyâ and ends in न् ॥ Why should not this शि be elided by VII. 1. 22. S. 261. This is not elided by the maxim संनिपात परिभाषा ॥ For the maxim, see VII. 1. 13. S. 204. Because it was the presence of शि that caused the insertion of न् and now this न् cannot cause the destruction of its originator. Thus we get शतानि ॥ सहस्राणि is also similarly formed.

The Instr, Dative and Acc : plurals are पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः respectively.

The augment नुट् is added by VII. 55. S. 338 in forming the Gen. Pl: Then the following sûtra comes into operation.

३७० । नोपधायाः । ६ । ४ । ७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यान्नामि परे । नलोपः । पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चसु । परमपञ्च । परमपञ्चानाम् । गौणत्वे तु न लुग्नुटौ । प्रियपञ्चा । प्रियपञ्चानौ । प्रियपञ्चानः । प्रियपञ्चानम् ॥ एवं सप्तन् नवन् दशन् ॥

370. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1. 55. S. 338) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7. S. 370.) = पञ्चानाम् (न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

The Loc. Pl. is पञ्चसु. Similar is the declension of परमपञ्च. Thus N. Pl. परमपञ्च. Gen : Pl. is परम पञ्चानाम्.

When पञ्च is a secondary member of a compound, there is neither लुक् of Sûtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261. nor the नुट् augment of VII. 1. 55. S. 338. Thus प्रियपञ्चन् is declined as Nom : प्रियपञ्चा, प्रियपञ्चानौ, प्रियपञ्चानः; Acc, प्रियपञ्चानम् ॥

Similar is the declension of सप्तन्, नवन् and दशन्. In the declension of अष्टन् the following rules apply.

३७१ । अष्टन आ विभक्तौ । ७ । २ । ८४ ॥

अष्टन आत्वं स्याद्धलादौ विभक्तौ ॥

371. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending beginning with a consonant.

३७२ । अष्टाभ्य औश् । ७ । १ । २१ ॥

कृताकारादष्टनः परयोर्जस्शसोरौश् स्यात् । अष्टभ्य इति वक्तव्ये कृतात्वनिर्देशो जस्शसोर्विषये आत्वं ज्ञापयति । वैकल्पिकं चेदमष्टन आत्वम् । अष्टनो दीर्घादिति सूत्रे दीर्घग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकात् । अष्टौ २ । परमाष्टौ । अष्टाभिः । अष्टाभ्यः २ । अष्टानाम् । अष्टासु । आत्वाभावे । अष्ट । अष्ट । इत्यादि पञ्चवत् । गौणत्वे त्वात्वाभावेराजवत् । शसि प्रियाष्ट्नः । इह पूर्वस्मादपि विधावल्लोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावान्न ह्रस्वम् । कार्यकालपक्षे वहिरङ्गस्त्वाल्लोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा । प्रियाष्ट्ना इत्यादि । जश्शसोरनुभीयमानमात्वं प्राधान्य एव न तु गौणतायाम् । तेन प्रियाष्ट्नो हलादावेव वैकल्पिकमात्वम् । प्रियाष्टाभ्याम् । प्रियाष्टाभिः । प्रियाष्टाभ्यः २ । प्रियाष्टासु ।

प्रियाष्ट्नो राजवत्सर्वे हाहावचापरं हलि ॥

भषभावः । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । भुत् । भुद् । बुधौ । बुधः । बुधा । भुद्भ्याम् । भुत्सु ॥

372. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् VII. 2. 84) औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट ? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sûtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of अष्टभ्यः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् takes place in Nom : and Acc. Plural ; and that it is also optional, which we infer from

the jnâpaka of VI. 1. 172, S. 3718. where the word दीर्घ indicates that there are two forms of अष्टन् ॥ This sûtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the sûtra VII. I. 22. S. 261. by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called षट् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, S. 650, is not, however, barred by this rule ; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः ॥

Note :—The use of दीर्घात् in sûtra VI. 1. 172. S. 3718 indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long आ taught in VII. 2. 84. S. 371. thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sûtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् *without long* आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

The regular declension is as follows :—

अष्टौ, अष्टौ, परमाष्टौ, अष्टाभिः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टासु ॥

When there is not the lengthening of अ of अष्टन्, that is when the base is not अष्टान् then we have अष्ट, अष्ट, *i. e.* अष्टन् is then declined like पञ्चन् ॥

When अष्टन् forms a secondary member in a compound, it is declined like राजन् ॥ Thus the Acc : Pl : is प्रियाष्ट्नः ॥ The न is not changed to ण because the elided अ is considered as sthânivat, because of I. 1. 57. S. 50 where the word पूर्वविधि is explained as पूर्वस्माद्विधि ॥ And as here, because of the prior (पूर्व) letter ट, the subsequent letter न requires to be changed to ण, the elided अ becomes sthânivat and prevents the change.

Moreover the form may be evolved by following the maxim of कार्यकालपक्ष then the elision of अ of अष्टन् being considered as a bahiranga for the purposes of the antaranga rule of ष्टुत्व (VII. 4. 41. S. 113) then also there will be no change.

Because the elision rule VI. 4. 134. applies to an operation brought about by an external cause like. शस् while the change of न् to ण is internal, therefore the latter is antaranga to the former, and does not perceive it.

So also Ins. S. प्रियाष्ट्ना &c.

The lengthening of अ in to आ which we have inferred in the case of अष्टन् before जस् and शस् (see above) is to take place then only when अष्टन् retains its primary sense and not when it is a secondary member in a Bahuvrîhi compound. As in the compound प्रियाष्टन् meaning "he who loves eight persons," the word अष्टन् is secondary, the principal word being the lover : there-

fore we do not get at all the lengthening of अ in प्रियाष्टन् before जस् and शस् ॥ While there will be *optional* lengthening before affixes beginning with consonants. As प्रियाष्टाभ्याम् or प्रियाष्टभ्यां ॥

Verse :—This word प्रियाष्टन् resembles राजन् in all the cases, except the cases beginning with a consonant where it resembles हाहा. Before consonantal cases, the base is प्रियाष्टा ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

———:o:———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ध्.

Now we take up the declension of बुध्. It is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to the root बुध्. The ब is changed to भ by VIII. 2. 37. S. 326 ; then ध is changed to द, optionally to त, by झलांजशोऽन्ते (VIII. 2. 39. S. 84). Thus N. S. is भुत् or भुद् Nom. D. बुधौ. N. P. बुधः Ins: S. बुधा. Ins: D. भुद्भ्याम्. Loc. Pl. भुत्सु.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ध्.

———:o:———

Declension of Masculine nouns ending in ञ् ॥

Now we take up the declension of युज्. It is formed irregularly by adding the affix क्विन् to the root युज् by the following Sûtra.

३७३ । ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्रग्दिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिक्रुञां च । ३ । २ । ५९ ॥

एभ्यः क्विन् स्यात् । अलाक्षणिकमपि किंचित्कार्यं निपातनाल्लभ्यते । निरुपपदाद्युजेः क्विन् । क्रनाविति ॥

373. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent' स्रक् 'a garland' दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्विन्; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and क्रुञ्च् 'to approach', the affix क्विन् is employed.

The affix क्विन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्चु, and क्रुञ्च ॥ Being read along with the above-mentioned five irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्विन् to these verbs.

The affix क्विन् comes after युजिर् and क्रुञ्च् when these are uncombined.

Note:—Otherwise in combination the affix would be क्विप् (III. 2. 61. S. 2975). The difference between क्विप् and क्विन् is that the latter gives us the Nom : S युङ् ; while the former will give us the N. S. युक् as in अश्वयुक् ॥

Of the affix क्विन् the क् and न् are indicatory (इत्); the affix is really व ॥ This is a कृत् affix or the affix from which a nominal stem is formed directly from the verb. कृत् is defined in the following sûtra.

३७४ । कृदतिङ् । ३ । १ । ९३ ॥

सनिहिते धात्वधिकारे तिङ्भिन्नः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञः स्यात् ॥

374. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत् ॥

The Krit affix वि is elided by the following sûtra.

३७५ । वेरपृक्तस्य । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपृक्तस्य वस्य लोपः स्यात् । कृत्तद्धितेति प्रातिपदिकत्वास्स्वादयः ॥

375. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

Note:—The affix वि includes क्विप्, क्विन्, ण्वि &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikta (I. 2. 41 S. 251), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, भ्रूणहा (III. 2. 87 S. 2998). Here the affix क्विप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58. S. 432). Here the affix क्विन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक्, पादभाक्, तुरीभाक् (III. 2. 62 S. 2976). Here the affix ण्वि is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprikta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe रविः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also आगूविः formed by क्विन्, see Uṇâdi Sûtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see 1. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhâtu to a Prâtipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by I. 1. 62, they leave their characterstic mark behind, namely, the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus ण्वि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

The word युज् being a कृदन्त word gets the designation of Prâtipadika by I. 2. 46 S. 179 and therefore we add to it the case affixes सु &c. Thus N. S. युज्+सु ॥ At this stage comes the following sûtra for application.

३७६ । युजेरसमासे । ७ । १ । ७१

युजेः सर्वनामस्थाने नुम् स्यादसमासे । सुलोपः । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥

376. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus युज्+न्+ज्+स्=युज्+न्+ज्+O (the स् being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.)=युज्+न्+O (the ज् being elided by VIII. 2 23. S. 54).

Thus we get युन् ॥ Now applies the following sûtra.

३७७ । क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः । ८ । २ । ६२ ॥

क्विन्प्रत्ययो यस्मात्तस्य कवर्गोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्पदान्ते । नस्य कुत्वेनानुनासिको ङकारः । युङ् । नश्चापदान्तस्येति नुमोऽनुस्वारः परसवर्णः । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चोः कुरिति कुत्वं न । युञ्जौ । युञ्जः । युञ्जम् । युञ्जौ । युजः । युजा । युग्भ्यामित्यादि । असमासे किम् ॥

377. A stem formed with the affix क्विन् under III. 2, 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

Note :—The word पदस्य is understood here. The word क्विन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrîhi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As घृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्त्रस्पृक् ॥

The न् being changed to guttural, we get ङ् Thus युन् becomes युङ् (Nominative Singular).

In forming N. Dual the न् is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and this anusvâra is changed to ञ् being the nasal letter belonging to च varga. But the anusvâra as ordained by the subsequent Tripâdi rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. is asiddha for the purposes of the application of VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 which required the anusvâra to be changed to guttural.

Thus युञ्जौ (N. D.). युञ्जः (N. Pl.) Acc : forms are युञ्जम, युञ्जौ, युजः ; Instr: forms are युजा, युग्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say असमासे in the sûtra VII. 1. 71. S. 376. Because in compounds like सुयुज्, there is no नुम् augment. In declining this word the following rule applies—

३७८ । चोः कुः । ८ । २ । ३० ॥

चवर्गस्य कवर्गः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । इति कुत्वम् । क्विन्प्रत्ययस्येति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सुयुक् । सुयुग् । सुयुजौ । सुयुजः । युजेरिति धातुपाठपठितेकारविशिष्टस्यानुकरणं न त्विका निर्देशः । तेनेह न । युज्यते समाधत्ते इति युक् । युज समाधौ दैवादिक आत्मनेपदी । संयोगान्तलोपः । खन् । खञ्जौ । खञ्जः । इत्यादि । व्रश्चेति षत्वम् । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । राट् । राड् । राजौ । राजः । राट्सु । राट्त्सु । एवं विभ्राट् । देवेट् । देवेजौ । देवेजः । विश्वसृट् । विश्वसृड् । विश्वसृजौ । विश्वसृजः । इह सृजियज्योः कुत्वं नेति क्लीबे वक्ष्यते । परिमृट् । षत्वविधौ राजिसाहचर्यात् टुभ्राजृ दीप्ताविति फणादिरेव गृह्यते । यस्तु एजृभ्रेजृभ्राजृदीप्ताविति तस्य कुत्वमेव । विभ्राक् । विभ्राग् । विभ्राग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ परौ व्रजेः षः पदान्ते * ॥ परावुपपदे व्रजेः क्विप् स्याद्दीर्घश्च पदान्तविषये षत्वं च । परित्यज्य सर्वं व्रजतीति परिव्राट् । परिव्राजौ । परिव्राजः ॥

378. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

This requires the change of ज् to a guttural *i. e.* of क class. The कुत्व ordained by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 is asiddha or not perceived by the present Sûtra, which is antecedent to VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 in the order of enunciation

by Pânini. In the case of विश्वसृज् and देवेज्, the ज् is not changed to a letter of the क् class even when we take words to be formed by the affix क्विन् under Sûtra VIII. 2. 62 S. 377. The reason for this we shall explain under Sûtra अहन् VIII. 2. 68. S. 443 in declining the Neuter noun.

Thus Nom: forms are सुयुक् or सुयुग्, सुयुजौ, सुयुजः ॥ In the Sûtra VII. I. 71, S. 376, the root is exhibited as युजेः showing that that root of the Dhâtû-pâtha should be taken which ends in इ, *viz.* the root युजि योगे, the 7th root of the रुधादि class. Therefore it does not apply to the root युज् समाधौ the 10th root of the दिवादि class and is Âtmanepadi. In the latter case, the form will be युक्.

Now we take up the declension of खञ्ज्. It is derived from खजि 'to move' and 'to feel done up' by adding the affix क्विप् ॥

The इ of खजि is elided because it is इत्, leaving behind खज् to which the augment नुम् is added by VII. 1 58. S. 2262. Thus we get ख+न्+ज्. Then ज् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54. Thus we get खन्. In the N. S. the affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. Thus the N. S. remains as खन्. The N. Dual and Pl. are खञ्जौ and खञ्जः &c.

Now we take up the declension of राज्. By VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. the ज् of राज् is changed to ष्. Then the ष् is changed to ड् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56. S. 206. Then ड् is changed to ट्. Thus we get N. S. राट् or राड्. The N. D. and Pl. are राजौ, राजः ॥ Loc. Pl. is राट्त्सु or राट्सु. Similarly is declined विभ्राज्. So also देवेज्. Its Nom. forms are देवेट्, देवेड्, देवेजः ॥ The Nom. forms of विश्वसृज् are विश्वसृट् or विश्वसृड्, विश्वसृजौ, विश्वसृजः ॥

With regard to सृज् and यज् there is not gutturalisation as will be further explained under Sûtra VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The N. S. of परिसृज् is परिसृट् ॥

The word विभ्राज् given above is formed from that root भ्राज् which belongs to फणादि subdivision of भ्वादि gana, *i.e.* the root ञिभ्राजृ 'to shine' भ्वादि 875. and not the root भ्राज् number 20 of the भ्वादि where it is exhibited भ्राजि दीप्तौ. This we do, because the root भ्राज् is read along with root राज् in the फणादि subdivision; and as the VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. mentions राज् and भ्राज् together, the भ्राज् here should be taken as the भ्राज् of the फणादि class, where also both are enunciated together and not the other भ्राज् which is shown along with एजृ, भ्रेजृ and भ्राजृ, (Dhâtupâtha भ्वादि 193, 194 and 195). In the case of this भ्राज् there will be ह्रस्व and not षत्व. Thus N. S. is विभ्राक् or विभ्राग्. Instr. D. विभ्राग्भ्यां &c.

Vârtika. When व्रज् is preceded by upapada परि there comes the affix क्विप् and the अ is lengthened and ज् is changed to ष् when it is final in a Pada. Thus N. S. of परिव्राज् is परिव्राट् which means one who has gone out leaving every thing. The N. Dual and Pl. are परिव्राजौ and परिव्राजः respectively.

Now, we take up the declension of विश्वराज्. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३७६ । विश्वस्य वसुराटोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वशब्दस्य दीर्घः स्याद्वसौ राट्शब्दे च परे । विश्वं वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । राडिति पदान्तोपलक्षणार्थम् । अस्वैमविवक्षितम् । विश्वाराट् । विश्वाराड् । विश्वराजौ । विश्वराजः । विश्वाराड्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of **विश्व** is lengthened before **वसु** and **राट्** (the form assumed by **राज्**)

Thus **विश्वावसुः**, *i. e.* one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the **राट्** form of **राज्** in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form : as **विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः** ॥

The **राट्** is taken in the Sûtra only as an illustration of its Padânta form. It does not mean that the form **विश्वाराड्** is not valid. Thus N. S. has both forms, *i. e*, **विश्वाराट्** and **विश्वाराड्**.

———:o:———

Now, we take up the declension of **भ्रस्ज्**. In its declension the following rule applies.

३८० । स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च । ८ । २ । २६ ॥

पदान्ते झलि च परे यः संयोगस्तदाद्योः सकारककारयोर्लोपः स्यात् । भृट् । भृड् । सस्य श्चुत्वेन शः । तस्य जश्त्वेन जः । भृज्जौ । भृज्जः । ऋत्विगित्यादिना ऋताबुपपदे यजेः क्विन् । क्विन्नन्तस्वात्कुत्वम् । ऋत्विक् । ऋत्विग् । ऋत्विजौ । ऋत्विजः । रात्सस्येति नियमान्न संयोगान्तलोपः । ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग् । ऊर्जौ । ऊर्जः । त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

380. The **स्** or **क्**, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root **भ्रस्ज्** we add the affix **क्विप्** and the **र्** is vocalised into **ऋ** by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412. and then the **स्** being elided by the present Sûtra, **ज्** is changed into **ष्** by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. which is again changed into **ट्** or **ड्** as in the case of **राट्** already shown above under VIII, 2. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is **भृट्** or **भृड्**.

In forming N. Dual, the **स्** is changed to **श्** by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This **श्** is again changed to **ज्** by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is **भृज्जौ**. N. Pl. is **भृज्जः**.

Now we take up the declension of **ऋत्विज्**. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix **क्विन्** to the root **यज्** with the upapada (subsidiary term) **ऋतु** in combination. (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The **क्विन्** formed word is finally changed to guttural by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is **ऋत्विक्** or **ऋत्विग्**. N. D. and Plural **ऋत्विजौ** and **ऋत्विजः** ॥

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज्. By Sûtra VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. no consonant after ऊ् is elided except स्. Therefore ज् is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after ऊ् by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after ऊ् shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after ऊ् will not be dropped. Thus ऊक् from ऊर्ज्+क्विप् (III. 2. 177S. 3157), here ज् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. and to क by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206 Thus N. S. is ऊर्क् or ऊर्ग्. N. D. and Pl. are ऊर्जौ and ऊर्जः ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ऊ्.

———:o:———

There are no Masculine nouns ending in ऋ्, ॠ् or ऌ्.

We take up now the declension of त्यद्. The द् of त्यद् is replaced by अ by VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. Thus we get the base त्य before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom. Sing. the following rule applies :—

३८१। तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः। ७। २। १०६॥

त्यदादीनां तकारदकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सः स्यात्सौ परे। स्यः। त्यौ। त्ये। त्यम्। त्यौ। त्यान्। सः। तौ। ते। परमसः। परमतौ। परमते। द्विपर्यन्तानामित्येव। नेह। स्वम्। नच तकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्यान्नेति वाच्यम्, अतिस्वमिति गौणे चरितार्थत्वात्॥ संज्ञायां गौणस्वे चात्वसत्वे न। त्यद्। त्यदौ। त्यदः। अतित्यद्। अतित्यदौ। अतित्यदः। यः। यौ। ये। एषः। एतौ। एते। अन्वादेशे तु, एनम्। एनौ। एनान्। एनेन। एनयोः २॥

381. For the non-final त् and द् of त्यद् &c. there is substituted स in the Nominative Singular.

As त्यद्+सु=त्य+अ+सु (VII. 2. 102) =स्य+अ+सु (VII. 2. 106) =स्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद्+सु=एत+अ+स् (VII. 2. 102)=एस+अ+स् (VII. 2. 106)=एषः (VI.1. 97). So असौ from अदस् by the sûtra. VII. 2. 107. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69. S. 193.

This rule only applies to त्यदादि words, which as we have already shown, begin with त्यद् and end with द्वि in the list of sarvanâmas. Therefore this will not apply to स्वम् which is not included in the त्यदादि class.

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the त् of त्वं, for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching त्व substitution in the place of युष्मद् by VII. 2. 94 S. 384. That sûtra could have been made as त्वाहौ सौ instead of त्वाहौसौ for it would have been better to say at once let त्वम् be

the N. S. of युष्मद्, instead of first making it त्वम् and then changing the form into त्वं" ॥ To this argument we reply, that the rule of त्वं substitution will find its unrestricted scope in words like अतित्वम्, where त्वम् is a secondary member only. In the case of त्वम् the present rule would have applied. When these words *i. e.* त्यद् &c. are used as proper nouns or sanjnâs (संज्ञा) or when used as secondary members of a compound, the rules of अत्व VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and सत्व VII. 2. 106 S. 381. will not apply because they are sarvanâmas, for see explanation under sûtra I. 1. 29. S. 222. Thus त्यद्, त्यदौ, त्यदः ; अतित्यद्, अतित्यदौ अतित्यदः &c.

The pronoun यद् is declined as यः, यौ, ये ॥ एतद् is declined as एषः, एतौ, एते ॥

In re-employment or अन्वादेश for which, see II. 4. 34. S. 351, we have Acc. forms एनम्, एनौ, एनान्, Instr: Sg. एनेन; Genitive and Loc : Dual एनयोः ॥

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of युष्मद् and अस्मद्. In its declension, the following rules apply :—

३८२ । ङे प्रथमयोरम् । ७ । १ । २८ ॥

युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्य ङे इत्येतस्य प्रथमाद्वितीययोरामादेशः स्यात् ॥

382. अम् is substituted for the Dative case-affix ङ and for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note :—The ङे the ending of the Dative is exibited anomalously in the sûtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, ङेः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद् + ङे = तुभ्यद् + ङे (VII. 2. 95) = तुभ्य + ङे (VII. 2. 90) = तुभ्य + अम् VII. 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VII. 1. 107 or 97) ; similarly मह्यम् ॥

Then the rule after the following applies, to understand which the following rule is necessary.

३८३ । मपर्यन्तस्य । ७ । २ । ९१ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

383. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII. 2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म्, *i. e.* the substitutes replace युष्म् and अस्म् ॥

This is an Adhikâra Sûtra and exerts governing influence on all the seven subsequent sûtras in the order of Ashṭâdhyâyî.

३८४ । त्वाहौ सौ । ७ । २ । ९४ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ स्तः सौ परे ॥

384. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म् and अह for अस्म् ॥

३८५ । शेषे लोपः । ७ । २ । ९० ॥

आत्वयत्वनिमित्तेतरविभक्तौ परतो युष्मदस्मदोरन्त्यस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ अतो गुणे ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ त्वम् । अहम् । ननु त्वं स्त्री अहं स्त्री इत्यत्र त्व अम् अह अम् इति स्थिते अमि पूर्वरूपे परमपि बाधित्वाऽन्तरङ्गत्वाद्टाप् प्राप्नोति । सत्यम् । अलिङ्गे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तेन स्त्रीत्वाभावान्न टाप् । यद्वा । शेष इति सप्तमी स्थानिनोऽविकरणत्वविवक्षया ॥ तेन मपर्यन्ताच्छेषस्य अद् इत्यस्य लोपः । स चैव परोऽप्यन्तरङ्गे अतो गुणे कृते प्रवर्तते । अदन्तत्वाभावान्न टाप् । परमत्वम् । परमाहम् । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् ॥

385. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted by VII. 2. 88. and 89. S. 387, 392.) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

Thus युष्मद् + सु = युष्मद् + अम् (VII. I. 28 S. 342) = त्वद् (VII. 2. 94. S. 384) + अम् = त्व + अम् (द् is elided by the present sûtra) = त्वम् (by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. and VI. 1. 107. S. 194). Similarly, the N. S. of अस्मद् is अहम् ॥

Why is not टाप् added in the feminine in 'त्वम् स्त्री' 'अहम् स्त्री' for त्व + अम् and अह + अम् the pûrvarûpa rule ordained by VI. 1. 97. S. 191 and VI. 1. 107. S. 194. though subsequent, is after all bahiranga, and would be set aside by the antaranga rule ordaining टाप् to be added to त्व and अह ?

True. But युष्मद् and अस्मद् have no genders and therefore they have no feminine forms and consequently would not give occasion to the addition of the affix टाप्.

Or, in order to avoid all this difficulty about टाप् some would elide the अद् (or द portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sûtra. They argue that by the previous sûtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383 the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that *remains* (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

According to their view, the word शेष does not refer to the vibhakti or case affix, but the force of Locative in शेषे is that of a genitive, meaning "of the शेष (remaining)" and to point out the particular *sthâni* which is to be replaced. Therefore in युष्मद् and अस्मद्, the युष्म् and अस्म् portions have been already operated upon by other rules, the शेष that remains is अद् portion. In this view, the Sûtra should be translated as "in the remaining cases (*i. e.* where आ is not substituted as by VII. 2. 88. S. 387, nor य as by VII. 2. 89 S. 392. there is elision of the remaining (अद्) portion (I. 1. 64. S. 79) of these two (युष्मद् and अस्मद्)"

In the feminine, there is one more point to be considered even in the light of the second explanation. In युष्मत् + अम् = त्व + अत् + अम् if we follow the ordinary rule of विप्रतिषेध then अत् should be elided first by शेषे लोपः then should apply the rule of अतो गुणे if at all. Then the form will be त्व + अम् ॥ Here त्व ends with अ, and so would require टाप् in the feminine, and the same difficulty

again recurs. To clear up this point, we state that the rule of elision (शेष लोपः) is bahiranga, because its efficient cause lies outside in the affix अम, while the अतो गुणे rule is antaranga, because the occasion for its application or the efficient cause is *within* the very form त्व+अत्. Therefore अतो गुणे will apply first, we get त्वत्+अम्. Then अम produces its effect *i. e.* अत् is elided, and we get त्व्+अम् ॥ As there is no अ in त्व्, it would not require टाप् ॥ Thus we get त्वम् in the feminine also.

So also परमत्वम्, परमाहम्, अतित्वम् and अत्यहम. In forming the N. Dual, the following rules apply.

३८६ । युवावौ द्विवचने । ७ । २ । ९२ ॥

द्वयोरुक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य युवावौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

386. **युव** is substituted for **युष्म्** and **आव** for **अस्म्**, when the bases themselves denote duality.

३८७ । प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् । ७ । २ । ८८ ॥

इह युष्मदस्मदोराकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात् । औङीत्येव सुवचम् । भाषायां किम । युवं वस्त्राणि । युवाम् । आवाम् । मपर्यन्तस्य किम् । साकच्कस्य मा भूत् । युवकाम् । आवकाम् । त्वया मयेत्यत्र त्या म्येति मा भूत् । युवकाभ्यामावकाभ्यामिति च न सिद्ध्येत् ॥

387. **आ** is substituted for the final of **युष्मद्** and **अस्मद्** before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the spoken language.

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ It would have been better had the Sûtra been enunciated as "औङि." only. Why in the "spoken language"? Observe युवं वस्त्राणि पीवसा वसाथे in the Veda, so also आवम् ॥

Why 'upto म्'? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 S. 389. teaches that त्व and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by the sûtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383. 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus त्वया, मया the अद् portion remains for which य is substituted by VII. 2. 89. S. 392. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of त्व and म would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89 S. 392), and given us undesired forms like त्य्या and म्य्या ॥ Similarly the forms युवकाभ्याम् and आवकाभ्याम would not have been evolved.

In forming the N. Pl. the following rule applies.

३८८ । यूयवयौ जसि । ७ । २ । ९३ ॥

स्पष्टम् । यूयम् । वयम् । परमयूयम् । परमवयम् । अतियूयम् । अतिवयम् । इह शेषे लोपोऽन्त्यलोप इति पक्षे:, जसः शीः प्राप्तः । अङ्गकार्ये कृते पुनर्ङ्गकार्यमिति न भवति । ङे प्रथमयोरित्यत्र मकारान्तं प्राश्लिष्य अम् मान्त एवावीशिष्यते नतु विक्रियत इति व्याख्यानाद्वा ॥

388. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for युष्म, and वय for अस्म ॥

Thus यूयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमवयम्, अतियूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥

Now some one may object that जस् (Nom. Pl) should be changed into शी (VII. 1. 17. S. 214); after त् in युष्मत् has been elided by शेषे लोपः in the first sense; for then the base is युष्म which ends in अ which is the efficient cause for the application of जसः शी rule. To this we reply, that the following maxim prevents this incongruity :—

Maxim :—If one sûtra of the Angâdhikâra (VI. 4. 1. to VII. 4. end) has once been applied, another sûtra of the same Adhikâra is not subsequently applicable.

Therefore जस् is not replaced by शी. Or we may say that in the sûtra ङे प्रथमयोरम् (*VII. 1. 28 S. 382*) one more म् is understood, *i. e.* the sûtra is ङे प्रथमयोरम्म्, which म् indicates that अम् will not be changed into any other form, but will remain always as अम् ending in म्.

३८६ । त्वमावेकवचने । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

एकस्योक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्वमौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

389. त्व is substituted for युष्म् and म for अस्म् when the bases themselves denote a singular expression.

३९० । द्वितीयायां च । ७ । २ । ८७ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरामकारः स्यात् । त्वाम् । माम् । युवाम् । आवाम् ॥

390. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम् ॥

३९१ । शसो न । ७ । १ । २६ ॥

नेत्यविभक्तिकम् । युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्य शसो नकारः स्यात् । अमोऽपवादः । आदेः परस्य । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । युष्मान् । अस्मान् ॥

391. न् is substituted for the अ of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

न् has been exhibited in the sûtra without any case affix. Thus युष्मत् + अस = युष्म + नस् = युष्मा + न् (thes् is elided by संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and अ is lengthened by VII. 2. 87 S. 390.) The substitute न् replaces the initial अ of अस् on the maxim आदेः परस्य I. 1. 54. S. 44. because the operation is ordained *after* युष्मद्. Thus युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This debars अम् (VII. 1. 28. S. 382.)

३९२ । योऽचि । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्यकारादेशः स्यादनादेशेऽजादौ परतः । त्वया । मया ॥

392. **य** is substituted for the final of **युष्मद्** and **अस्मद्** before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus त्वया, मया, त्वयि, मयि, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

३९३ । युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोराकारः स्यादनादेशे हलादौ विभक्तौ । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः ॥

393. **आ** is substituted for the final of **युष्मद्** and **अस्मद्** before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27—33. S. 399 &c. Thus युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युष्माभिः, अस्माभिः ॥

३९४ । तुभ्यमह्यौ ङयि । ७ । २ । ९५ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्यमह्यौ स्तो ङयि । अमादेशः । शेषे लोपः । तुभ्यम् । मह्यम् । परमतुभ्यम् । परममह्यम् । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

394. In the Dative Singular **तुभ्य** is substituted for **युष्म** and **मह्य** for **अस्म** ॥

The affix अम् is substituted for ङे by VII. 1. 28. S. 382. the द् is elided by VII 2. 90. S, 385.

Thus तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥

३९५ । भ्यसोऽभ्यम् । ७ । १ । ३० ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् अभ्यम् वा आदेशः स्यात् । आद्यः शेषे लोपस्यान्त्यलोपत्व एव । तत्राङ्गवृत्तपरिभाषया एत्वं न । अभ्यम् तु पक्षद्वयेऽपि साधुः । युष्मभ्यम् । अस्मभ्यम् ॥

395. **भ्यम्** or **अभ्यम्** is substituted for the Dative **भ्यस्** after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sûtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम्॥ It has been already shown in S. 385 that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases, Thus we have four cases,

as (1) yushma + bhyam, (2) yushm + bhyam, (3) yushma + abhyam, (4) yushm + abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मेभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103.S. 205. This ए substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निर्दिष्टितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angâdhikâra has taken place, and another operation of the angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udâtta अ of yushma being elided by the anudâtta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudâtta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 S. 3680 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We shall show in that sûtra, that the udâtta will fall on the आदि (*beginning*) of the anudâtta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

३९६ । एकवचनस्य च । ७ । १ । ३२ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्येकवचनस्य अत्स्यात् । त्वत् । मत् । ङसेरिति सुवचम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

396. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the Ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As त्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of त्व and म see VII. 2. 97 ; S. 389. and त्व and म + अत् = त्वत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

It would have been better to have enunciated the Sutra as 'ङसेश्च.'

Abl. Dual युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्.

३९७ । पञ्चम्या अत् । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्या भ्यसोऽत्स्यात् । युष्मत् । अस्मत् ॥

397. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The द् is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 before the case ending भ्यस् and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

३९८ । तवममौ ङसि । ७ । २ । ९९ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तवममौ स्तो ङसि ॥

398. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

३९९ । युष्मदस्मदोर्ङसोऽश् । ७ । १ । २७ ॥

स्पष्टम् । तव । मम । युवयोः । आवयोः ॥

399. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस् after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम ; युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

The indicatory श of अश् shows that by I. 1. 55, S. 45 the *whole* of the affix अस् is to be replaced: otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix; and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII. 2. 89 S. 392 would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII. 2. 96 S. 398 and तव + अ (अश्), and मम् + अ = तव and मम् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

४०० । साम आकम् । ७ । १ । ३३ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य साम आकं स्यात् । भाविनः सुटो निवृत्त्यर्थं ससुट्कानिर्देशः । युष्माकम् । अस्माकम् । त्वयि । मयि । युवयोः । आवयोः । युष्मासु । अस्मासु ॥

समस्थमाने द्वयेकत्ववाचिनी युष्मदस्मदी । समासार्थोऽन्यसंख्यश्चेत्तौ युवावौ त्वमावपि ॥ १
सुजस्ङेङस्सु परत आदेशाः स्युः सदैव ते । त्वाहौ यूयवयौ तुभ्यमह्यौ तवममावपि ॥ २ ॥
एते परत्वाद्बाधन्ते युवावौ विषये स्वके । त्वमावपि प्रबाधन्ते पूर्वविप्रतिषेधतः ॥ ३ ॥
द्वयेकसंख्यः समासार्थो बहूर्थे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तयोरद्वयेकतार्थत्वान्न युवावौ त्वमौ च न ॥ ४ ॥

त्वां मां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् । अतित्वाम् । अतिमाम् । अतियूयम् । अतिवयम् । अतित्वाम२ । अतिमाम२ । अतित्वान् । अतिमान् । अतित्वया । अतिमया । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वाभिः । अतिमाभिः । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वभ्यम् । अतिमभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतित्वत् २ । अतिमत् २ । भ्यामि प्राग्वत् । अतितव । अतिमम । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वाकम् । अतिमाकम् । अतित्वयि । अतिमयि । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वासु । अतिमासु ।

युवाम्, आवां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्सु प्राग्वत् । औभमौट्सु । अतियुवाम् । ३ अत्यावाम् ३ । अतियुवान् । अत्यावान् । अतियुवया । अत्यावया । अतियुवाभ्याम् ३ । अत्यावाभ्याम ३ । अतियुवाभिः । अत्यावाभिः । भ्यसि । अतियुवभ्यम् । अत्यावभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतियुवत् २ । अत्यावत् २ । ओसि । अतियुवयोः २ । अत्यावयोः २ । अतियुवाकम् । अत्यावाकम् । अतियुवयि । अत्यावयि । अतियुवासु । अत्यावासु ।

युष्मानस्मान्वेति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्सु प्राग्वत् । औभमौट्सु । अतियुष्माम् ३ । अत्यस्माम् ३ । अतियुष्मान् । अत्यस्मान् । अतियुष्मया । अत्यस्मया । अतियुष्माभ्याम् ३ । अत्यस्माभ्याम् ३ । अतियुष्माभिः । अत्यस्माभिः । भ्यसि । अतियुष्मभ्यम् । अत्यस्मभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतियुष्मत् । अत्यस्मत् । ओसि । अतियुष्मयोः २ । अत्यस्मयोः २ । अतियुष्माकम् । अत्यस्माकम् । अतियुष्मयि । अत्यस्मयि । अतियुष्मासु । अत्यस्मासु ॥

400. आकम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम् (VII. 1. 52 S. 217.), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus युष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not आम, when there is no स

at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment स्, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, S. 385 end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, S. 217 would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स; the present Sûtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening, but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. If you say 'the very fact that अकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rûpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of अकम् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3. 103S. 205).

Why has Pânini used the form सामः and not आम्? The objector may say there was no necessity of using सामः for the following reason :—युष्मत् + आम as the base युष्मत् ends in a consonant, the sûtra आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् (VII. 1. 52 S. 217) cannot apply here, as its efficient cause (i. e. an anga ending in a vowel) is absent. We reply to this, that after the elision of त् by शेषे लोपः, (VII. 2. 90. S. 385) the सुट् will come, because then the base ends in a vowel. To remove that स, Pânini has stated सामः आकम ॥

But when the sûtra शेषे लोपः is taken in the second sense, there is no necessity of inserting स in the Present sûtra, as in that case, the base will end in a consonant whereby the sûtra सर्वनाम्नः सुट् is prevented.

———:o:———

Verses :—When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denoting a unity or a duality in themselves are members of a compound, which may denote any number, then also त्व and युव will be substituted for युष्मद् and म and अव for अस्मद् ॥ (1)

But when they are followed by सु (Nom. S.) जस् (Nom. Pl.), ङे (Dat. S.), ङस् (Gen. S.), then युष्मद् will be replaced by त्व, यूय, तुभ्य and तव and अस्मद् by अह, वय, मह्य and मम ॥ (2)

Now these supersede युव, and अव by being taught subsequently to the rule teaching युव and अव substitutions. While त्व and म are superseded by the above, by the rule of पूर्व विप्रतिषेध ॥ (3)

When the compound denotes a singular or a dual number, and the component members युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote a plural number, then युव, अव, त्व and म will not be substituted for them, as the efficient cause (one-ness or duality) is wanting here. (4)

———:o:———

I. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् SINGULAR.

Now we take अतित्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ When these compounds are analysed, they stand thus : त्वां अतिक्रान्तः = अतित्वम्, मां अतिक्रान्तः = अत्यहम् ॥

Here the component parts युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote singular number, and the whole compound means a third person. The compound is thus formed अति + युष्मद् = अतियुष्मद् and so also अति-अस्मद् ॥ These are dvitiyâ Tatpurusha compounds : and consequently they get Prâtipadika samjñâ and सु in the Nom. S. Thus अतियुष्मद् + सु ॥ Here the component number युष्मद् denotes a singular, and the compound itself is followed by सु, and so the rule contained in the second verse applies : and we have अतित्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥

Now we take up अतियुष्मद् + औ (Nom. Dual.) = अतियुष्मद् + अम् (ङि प्रथमयोरम् VII. 1. 28 S. 382). Here the rule contained in the first verse applies, so we get अतित्व + अम् = अतित्वाम् So also अतिमाम् ॥

Then अतियुष्मद् + जस ॥ Here the second verse will apply, and we have अतियूय + अम् = अतियूयम् ॥ So also अतिवयम् ॥

Then in Acc. Sing and Dual we have अतित्वाम् and अतिमाम् by the first verse. In Acc. Pl. we have अतित्वान् and अतिमान् by the same.

The Ins. forms are derived by applying the first verse : as अतित्वया, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वाभिः &c. In the Dative Sing. the second verse will ppl , and thus we get अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम् ॥ In the remaining numbers of the Dative, the first rule will apply.

In the Ablative, the first verse will apply. as अतित्वत् (S), अतित्वत् (D.) अतित्वाभ्याम् (Pl.)

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply, and so we get अतितव and अतिमम ॥ In the remaining numbers the first verse will apply.

In the Locative Sing, Dual and Plural the first verse will apply.

II. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् IN THE DUAL.

When the compounds अतियुष्मद् and अत्यस्मद् are analysed as अतिक्रान्तः युवां and अतिक्रान्तः आवाम्, then :—

अतियुष्मद् + सु = अतित्व + अम् = अतित्वम् and so also अत्यहम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply. In the Nom. Dual the first verse will apply, and we get अतियुवाम् and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the Nom. Pl. the second verse will apply, and we have अतियूयं and अतिवयम् ॥

In all numbers of the Acc. the first verse will apply. as अतियुवाम्, and अतियुवाम्, and अत्यावाम् and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the plural we have अतियुवान् and अत्यावान् ॥

In the Ins. numbers the first verse will apply : and we have अतियुवया अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवाभिः ; and अत्यावया, अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावाभिः ॥

In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply and we have अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम्. The dual and plural are formed by the first verse ; as अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवभ्यम and अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Ablative, the first verse applies : as अतियुवत्, अतियुवत्, and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावत्, अत्यावत् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply and in the Dual and Plural the first : and we have ; अतितव, अतियुवयोः अतियुष्माकम् ॥ So also अतिमम, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावाकम् ॥

In the Loc. Sing. Dual and Pl. the first verse will apply and so we get :—अतियुवयि, अतियुवयोः, अतियुवासु ॥ So also अत्यावयि, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावासु ॥

III. युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Plural.

When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote plural : as अतिक्रान्तः युष्मान् or अस्मान् ॥ Here the fourth verse will apply, and अतियुष्मद् and अति-अस्मद् will be declined as follow :—

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतित्वम्	अतियुष्माम्	अतियुष्मया	अतितुभ्यम्	अतियुष्मत्	अतितव	अतियुष्मयि
	अत्यहम्	अत्यस्माम	अत्यस्मया	अतिमह्यम्	अत्यस्मत्	अतिमम	अत्यस्मयि
Dual	अतियुष्माम्	,,	अतियुष्माभ्याम्	,,	,,	अतियुष्मयोः	,,
	अत्यस्माम्	,,	अत्यस्माभ्याम्	,,	,,	अत्यस्मयोः	,,
Plural	अतियूयम्	अतियुष्मान्	अतियुष्माभिः	अतियुष्मभ्यम्	अतियुष्मत्	अतियुष्माकम्	अतियुष्मासु
	अतिवयम्	अत्यस्मान्	अत्यस्माभिः	अस्मभ्यम्	अत्यस्मत्	अस्माकम्	अत्यस्मासु

४०१ । पदस्य । ८ । १ । १६ ॥

401. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sûtra, the phrase "of a word," or "to the whole of a word."

Note :—This is an adhikâra sûtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55, in order of enunciation of Pânini's Ashtâdhyâyî.

४०२ । पदात् । ८ । १ । १७ ॥

402. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada."

४०३ । अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ । ८ । १ । १८ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

403. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

४०४ । युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वांनावौ । ८ । १ । २० ॥

पदात्परयोरपादादौ स्थितयोरनयोः षष्ठ्यादिविशिष्टयोर्वांनावित्यादेशौ स्तः । तौ चानुदात्तौ ॥

404. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted **वाम्** and **नौ** respectively, when a word precedes it and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudâtta.

All the three sûtras **पदस्य, पदात्** and **अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ** are applicable here.

Note:—These two **वाम्** and **नौ** come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sûtras.

४०५ । बहुवचनस्य वस्नसौ । ८ । १ । २१ ॥

उक्तविधयोः षष्ठ्यादिबहुवचनान्तयोर्वस्नसौ स्तः । वान्नावोरपवादः ॥

405. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted **वस्** and **नस्** respectively, (when a word precedes, and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudâtta).

This Sûtra debars the the substitutes **वाम्** and **नौ** taught in the previous Sûtra.

४०६ । तेमयावेकवचनस्य । ८ । १ । २२ ॥

उक्तविधयोरनयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थ्येकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्तः ॥

406. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) **ते** and **मे** respectively, (when a word precedes and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse and these are anudâtta).

४०७ । त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः । ८ । १ । २३ ॥

द्वितीयकवचनान्तयोस्त्वा मा एतौ स्तः ।

श्रीशस्त्वाऽवतु मापीह दत्तात्ते मेऽपि शर्म सः । स्वामी ते मेऽपि स हरिः पातु वामपि नौ विभुः ॥१॥

सुखं वां नौ दद्यात्सीतापतिर्वामपि नौ हरिः । सो ऽव्याद्वो नः शिवं वो नो दद्यात्सेव्योऽस्य वः स नः ॥ २ ॥

पदात्परयोः किम् । वाक्यादौ मा भूत् । त्वां पातु । मां पातु । अपादादौ किम् । वेदैरशेषैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ।

स्थग्रहणाच्छ्रूयमाणविभक्तिकयोरेव । नेह । इति युष्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति । इत्यस्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति ॥

समानवाक्ये निघातयुष्मदस्मदादेशा वक्तव्याः * ॥ एकतिङ् वाक्यम् । तेनेह न । ओदनं पच तव भविष्यति । इह तु स्योदन । शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामीति ॥

एते वांनावादय आदेशा अनन्वादेशे वा वक्तव्याः * ॥ अन्वादेशे तु नित्यं स्युः । धाता ते भक्तोऽस्ति । धाता तव भक्तोऽस्तीति वा । तस्य ते नम इत्येव ॥

407. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

Verses.—"May the Lord of *Srî* preserve thee (twâ) and me (mâ) also here—may He give to thee (te), and to me (me) also, felicity!

That Hari is thy (te) Lord and mine (me) also.

May the Omnipresent preserve you two (vâm) and also us two (nau).

May God give felicity to you two (vâm) and to us two (nau).

Hari is the Lord of you two (vâm) and also of us two (nau)

May He preserve you (vaḥ) and us (naḥ), may He give prosperity to you (vaḥ) and to us (naḥ)

He is the object of worship here of you (vaḥ) and of us (naḥ)."

Why do we say "पदात्" *i. e.* after a Pada? So that the substitutions may not take place when pronouns are in the beginning of a sentence. As त्वं पातु and not त्वा पातु. Similarly मां पातु also.

Why do we say "अपादादौ" *i. e.* when not at the beginning of a hemistich? Observe वैरेशपैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ॥ Here we have अस्मान् and not नवम् ॥

The word स्थ in the sûtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: इति युष्मत्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case, yet त्वः substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

Vârt:—The rules relating to nighâta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as VIII. 1. 19 and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighâta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. The word वाक्य or "sentence" means that which contains one finite verb. Therefore not here;—ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति। ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food it will be for me." That is, the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for yushmad and asmad. But the rule will apply here:—शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामि ॥. In the last example, the verb and the substitutes of yusmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the substitution takes place, in spite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

For शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with ओदनं i. e. शालीनां ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

Vârt:—It should be stated, that the substitutes वां, नौ &c. are *all* optional, when not employed in anvâdesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not; but when there is anvâdesa, then the substitution is *compulsory* and not optional. Thus धाता ने, भक्तोऽस्ति or धाता त्वभक्तोऽस्ते ॥ But in anvâdesa, we have only one form, as तस्मैते नमः ॥ Which means "Brahmâ is Thy (ते or त्व) worshipper." But in the sequel, "to Thee (ते) that art such, our reverence is due," the form ते alone is admissible.

४०८ । न चवाहाऽहैवयुक्ते । ८ । १ । २४ ॥

चादिपञ्चकयोगे नैते आदेशाः स्युः । हरिस्त्वां मां च रक्षतु । कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेदित्यादि । युक्तग्रहणात्साक्षात्संयोगेऽयं निषेधः । परंपरासंबन्धे तु आदेशः स्यादेव । हरो हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥

408. The above substitutions do not take place, when there is in connection with the pronouns, any of these five, viz :—**च**, 'and' **वा**, 'or' **ह**, 'oh! **अह** 'wonderful', or **एव** 'only'.

Thus हरिस्त्वां च मांच रक्षतु ॥ कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेत् &c.

The word युक्त is employed in the sûtra to indicate direct conjunction. Therefore, where the conjunction is not direct, but intermediate, the employment would be of the shorter forms. Thus हरो हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥ Here the word च connects हर and हरि and not the pronoun in the above word. Therefore the prohibition does not apply.

४०९ । पश्यार्थैश्चानालोचने । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

अचाक्षुषज्ञानार्थैर्धातुभिर्योगे एते आदेशा न स्युः । चेतसा त्वां समीक्षते । परम्परासंबन्धेऽप्ययं निषेधः । भक्तस्तव रूपं ध्यायति । आलोचने तु भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

409. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of "seeing" when physical seeing is not denoted, but "knowing" is meant.

Note:—The word पश्यार्थाः is equivalent to दर्शनार्थाः, and दर्शन means 'knowledge', i. e. verbs denoting 'to know', आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i. e. physical 'seeing' opposed to metaphorical "seeing" = "knowing". The substitutions of वां and नौ &c. for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting 'seeing' (metaphorically) but not 'looking' (physically).

Thus चेतसा त्वांसमीक्षते, भक्तस्तवरूपं ध्यायति ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

Ishṭi :— With regard to verbs of "Seeing" the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct : as. भक्तस्तव रूपं ध्यायति ॥

४१० । सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा । ८ । १ । २६ ॥

विद्यमानपूर्वात्प्रथमान्तात्परयोरनयोरन्वादेशेऽप्येते आदेशा वा स्युः । भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वां चायते स मां । त्वा मेति वा ॥

410. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally even in anvâdeśa.

Thus भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वां चायते समाम् ॥ Here the alternative forms त्वा and मा are admissible.

———:o:———

We have already said that युष्मद् and अस्मद् substitutions do not take place when they are in the beginning of a pâda. To this, however, there is an exception, when the first word is a Vocative, technically called आमन्त्रित which is defined in the next sûtra, then also though युष्मद् and अस्मद् may not really be in the beginning of a pâda, yet the substitutions will not take place by the sûtra after next.

४११ । सामन्त्रितम् । २ । ३ । ४८ ॥

संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

411. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or Vocative.

४१२ । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् । ८ । १ । ७२ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अंग्न तव । देवास्मान्पाहि । अग्ने नय । अग्न इन्द्र वरुण । इह युष्मदस्मदोरादेशास्तिङन्तनिघात आमन्त्रितनिघातश्च न । सर्वदा रक्ष देव न इत्यत्र तु देवेत्यस्याविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि ततः प्राचीनं रक्षेत्येतदाश्रित्यादेशः । एवम् इमं मे गंङ्ग यमुने इति मन्त्रे यमुन इत्यादिभ्यः प्राचीनामन्त्रिताविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि मेशब्दमेवाश्रित्य सर्वेषां निघातः ॥

412. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) ॥

Thus अग्ने! तव ॥ देव! अस्मान्पाहि ॥ अग्ने! नय ॥ अग्न! इन्द्र! वरुण! ॥ Here तव and अस्मान् cannot get the shorter form, though they are not at the beginning of a hemistich, because they are preceded by the आमन्त्रित words अग्न and देव ॥

Similarly in अग्न नय the verb नय does not become accentless as it would otherwise have become by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935.

In अग्न ! इन्द्र ! वरुण ! the rule VIII. 1.19 S. 3654 does not apply.

Note :—Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent ? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent Vocative. which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. S. 3654 As देवदत्त ! यज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. S. 3653 (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 S. 3935 is prevented : as, देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 S. 404 &c. is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) ग्रामः स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) ग्रामः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37. S. 3944 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb ; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb : as, यावद् देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, S. 3954 though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्व and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, S. 3956 as आहो देवदत्त पचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पचसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50. S. 3957

In ' सर्वदा रक्ष देव नः ' although the word देव is non existent, yet taking रक्ष as a preceding word नः is used.

In इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शतुद्रि the first Vocative गङ्गे is considered as non-existent with regard to यमुने, and, therefore, यमुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यमुने becomes anudâtta, not because of गङ्गे, but because of मे. In other words, the intervention of the Vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥ This nighâta or accentlessness is heard in Pada-Pâtha only, *i. e.* when the words are read separately, and not in Sanhitâ-reading. In Sanhitâ there will be eka-sruti of I. 2. 39 S. 3668.

४१३ । नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् । ८ । १ । ७३ ॥

विशेष्यं समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रिते परे नाविद्यमानवत्स्यात् । हरे दयालो नः पाहि । अग्ने तेजस्विन् ॥

413. A preceding Vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

Thus हरे दयालो नः पाहि "O Hari ! O Merciful ! protect us.' अग्ने तेजस्विन् "O Agni ! O powerful !" Here तेजस्विन् is all anudâtta by VIII. 1. 19 S. 3654, because it is preceded by a word, though that word is Vocative.

Note:—Why do we say समान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word' ? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus अदन्ये दे३वि सरस्वति ई३डे

कौण्डे विहव्ये एतानि ते अघ्न्य नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1, 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittariya Br. is :—इडे रन्तेऽ दिते सरस्वति प्रिय प्रेयसि महि विश्रुते, एतानि ते अदितिये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

This sûtra prevents the operation of the last sûtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus अग्ने गृहपते, मणवक जटिलकाध्यापक ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, the second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the *vocative* subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पचसि here the *verb* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition' or सामानाधिकरणे? Observe देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञदत्त, here the word पण्डित qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Then applies Sûtra VIII. 1. 74. S. 3655 which for the sake of convenience we repeat here.

४१३ (क) । विभाषितं विशेषवचने । ८ । १ । ७४ ॥

अत्र भाष्यम् । बहुवचनमिति वक्ष्यामीति । बहुवचनान्तं विशेष्यं समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रिते विशेषणे परे अविद्यमानवद्वा । यूयं प्रभवः । देवाः शरण्याः । युष्मान् भजे वो भजे इति वा । इहान्वादेशेऽपि वैकल्पिका आदेशाः । सुपात् । सुपाद् । सुपादौ । सुपादः । सुपादम् । सुपादौ ॥

413. A. When the preceding Vocative is *in the plural number*, it is optionally considred as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

Here the author of the Mahâbhâshya states :—"The word *bahuvachanam* should be added to the sûtra to complete the sense." That is the sûtra should run as विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ We have therefore translated the sûtra with this emendation of Patanjali.

Thus यूयं प्रभवः, देवाः शरण्याः । युष्मान् भजे or वो भजे ॥ Here even in anvâdeśa, there is optional substitution of वः for युष्मान् ॥

———o———

Now, we take up the declension of सुपाद्. In the strong, *i. e.* in the first five cases it is declined as :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom :	सुपात् or सुपाद्,	सुपादौ	सुपादः
Ac.	सुपादम्.	सुपादौ.	

In the formation of the Acc: Pl. and the rest, the ollowing rule applies,

४१४ । पादः पत् । ६ । ४ । १३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्तं यद्ङ्गं भे तदवयवस्य पाच्छब्दस्य पदादेशः स्यात् । सुपदः । सुपदा । सुपाद्भ्यामित्यादि । अग्निं मन्थतीत्यग्निमत् । अग्निमद् । अग्निमथौ । अग्निमथः । अग्निमद्भ्यामित्यादि । ऋत्विगित्यादिसूत्रेणाञ्चेः सुप्युपपदे क्विन् ।

414. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

Note:—The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥

Thus the Acc. Pl. is सुपदः ॥ Instr: Sing and Dual are सुपदा, सुपद्भ्याम् &c.

———o———

Now we take up the declension of अग्निमथ् meaning 'kindling fire.' It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	अग्निमत् or अग्निमद्	अग्निमथौ	अग्निमथः

Instr: Dual is अग्निमद्भ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in च्.

Now we take up the declension of प्राञ्च्.

According to Sûtra. III. 2. 59. S. 373, the affix क्विन् is employed after the verb अञ्च् to make it a Prâtipadika, before the case terminations.

Thus having got the noun प्राञ्च्, in its declension, the following rules apply.

४१५ । अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति । ६ । ४ । २४ ॥

हलन्तानामनिदितामङ्गानामुपधाया नस्य लोपः स्याल्क्ङिति ङिति च । उगिदचामिति नुम् । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । नुमो नकारस्य क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुरिति कुत्वेन ङ्कारः । प्राङ् । अनुस्वारपरसवर्णौ । प्राञ्चौ । प्राञ्चः । प्राञ्चम् । प्राञ्चौ ॥

415. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

By Sûtra VII. 1. 70. S. 361, the, stem अच् gets the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54, the last consonant is dropped. By VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. which says that 'a stem formed with the affix क्विन् substitutes at the end of a word, a guttural for the final Consonant' we get the N. S. as प्राङ् thus:—प्रांच् + सु = प्राच् (VI. 4. 24 S. 415) + सु = प्रा + न् (VII. 1. 70. S. 361). + च् + सु = प्रान् च् + O (सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). = प्रान् च् = प्रान् (च् being elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54) = प्राङ् (न् turned to ङ् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377).

The N. Dual &c. are formed by changing the न् into anuswâra, and then the anuswâra into म् by VIII. 4. 58. S. 124.

Thus प्रांचौ, प्रांचः; Acc. प्रांचम्, प्रांचौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. &c. the following rules apply.

४१६ । अचः । ६ । ४ । १३८ ॥

लुप्ननकारस्याञ्चतेर्भस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

416. the अ of अच् (when अञ्च् loses its nasal,) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: S 417.

४१७ । चौ । ६ । ३ । १३८ ॥

लुप्ताकारनकारेऽञ्चतौ परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः स्यात् । प्राचः । प्राचा । प्राग्भ्यामित्यादि । प्रत्यङ् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । प्रत्यञ्चः । प्रत्यञ्चम् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । अच इति लोपस्य विषयेऽन्तरङ्गोऽपि यण् न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । प्रतीचः । प्रतीचा । अदसमञ्चतीति विग्रहे । अदस् अङ्च् इति स्थिते ॥

417. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel अ ॥

Thus Acc: Pl: is प्राचः; Instr: Sing or Dual are प्राचा, प्राग्भ्याम् &c.

Now we take up the declension of प्रत्यञ्च् ॥ In strong cases, it is declined as प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः ॥ प्रत्यञ्चम्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, In weak cases, अ is elided by VI. 4. 138 S 416. and though this lopa is a bahiranga process, while the यण् or semivowel Sandhi is an antaranga process, yet this lopa is not considered asiddha for the purposes of this sandhi. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहाः &c. See under Sûtra I. 3. 11 S. 46. Thus Acc:- Pl: is प्रतीचः, Instr: Sing is प्रतीचा ॥ &c. प्रति + अंच् + शस् = प्रति + अच् + अस् ॥ Here two sûtras simultaneously appear for application, viz. इकोयणचि and अचः ॥ Now इकोयणचि is antaranga, because the efficient cause अ of अच is *inside* that of शस्; and the efficient cause शस् by which अ of अच् would be elided is outside; therefore यण् âdeśa should take place first, thus प्रति + अच् + शस् = प्रत्य् + अच् + शस् ॥ After this अ should be elided: as प्रत्य् + च् + शस् ॥ This however gives us no form, and so relying on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा

&c. the अन्तरङ्ग यण् substitution is set aside. Now, we take up the declension of अञ्च् as compounded with the pronoun अदस् meaning असुम् अञ्चति ॥ Thus we have अदस + अञ्च् + क्विन् ॥ Here applies the following sûtra.

४१८ । विष्वग्देवयोश्च टेरद्र्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये । ६ । ३ । ९२ ॥

अनयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च टेरद्र्यादेशः स्यादञ्चतौ परे । अदस्+अञ्च् इति स्थिते यण् ॥

418. In the room of the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च has no visible affix following it.

Thus अदस् + अञ्च् = अदद्रि + अञ्च् = अदद्र्यं + अंच. At this stage, applies the following sûtra.

४१९ अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः । ८ । २ । ८० ॥

अदसोऽसान्तस्य दात्परस्य उत्तौ स्तो दस्य च मः । उ इति ह्रस्वदीर्घयोः समाहारद्वन्द्वः । आन्तरतम्याद्ह्रस्वव्यञ्जनयोर्ह्रस्वो दीर्घस्य दीर्घः । अमुमुयङ् । अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुयञ्चः । अमुमुयञ्चम् । अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुईचः । अमुमुईचा । अमुमुयग्भ्यामित्यादि । मुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वान्न यण् । अन्त्यवा धेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति परिभाषामाश्रित्य परस्यैव मुत्वं वदतां मते अदद्र्यङ् । अः सेः सकारस्य स्थाने यस्य सः असिरिति व्याख्यानात् । त्यदाद्यत्वविषय एव मुत्वं नान्यत्रेति पक्षे अदद्र्यङ् । उक्तं च ॥

अदसोऽद्रेःपृथङ् मुत्वं केचिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ॥ केचिदन्त्यसदेशस्य नेत्यकेऽसेर्हि दृश्यत इति ॥

विष्वग्देवयोः किम् । अश्वाची । अंचतौ किम् । विष्वग्युक् । वप्रत्यये किम् । विष्वगंचनम् । वप्रत्ययग्रहणं ज्ञापयति, अन्यत्र धातुग्रहणे तदादिविधिरिति । तेनाऽयस्कारः । अतः कृकमीति सः । उदङ् । उदंचौ । उदंचः । शसादावचि ॥

419. When the pronoun अदस् does not end in स् then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for त् ॥

The short उ in the sûtra is a samâhâra dvanda compound including both the short उ and long ऊ. By the rule of antartama I. 1. 50 S. 39, the short vowel and the consonant following it will be replaced by the short उ; and the long vowel with the consonant following it will be replaced by the long ऊ. Thus अदद्र्यं + अंच् = अमुमुय् + अंच् *i. e.* the first द् and अ are changed to म् and उ and the second द् and र् are also changed to म and उ; so the declension is.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.
Sing.	अमुमुयङ्	अमुमुयंचम्	अमुमुईचा
Dual.	अमुमुयंचौ	अमुमुयंचौ	अमुमुयग्भ्याम् &c.
Pl.	अमुमुयंचः	अमुमुईचः	&c.

The मु being considered as asiddha, there is no sandhi in अमुमुईचः or

in अमुमुईच्चा, for the Sandhi rule इकोयणचि is contained in the Sixth Book of Paṇini, while this मु substitute is ordained in the Tripadi portion of Ashtadhyâyî. Hence the Sûtra VIII. 2. 1. S. 12 applies.

Some, by applying the following maxim, get the form अदमुयङ् ॥

Paribhâshâ :—"When a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make मु change only for द्र which stands in proximity to the final.

There is a third form, अदद्रङ् which is obtained by explaining the असेः in the Sûtra as अः सेर्यस्य सोयमसिः, यच्च सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word असिः in the sûtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sûtra is thus confined to the form अद derived by changing the स् into अ by VII. 2. 102. and not to any other अद ॥

Thus there are three views with regard to the application of the present sûtra :—

(1) the द of अद, and द्र of अद्रि are both changed to मु by the present sûtra ; (2), the first द is not changed, but only द्र ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अमुमुयङ् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अमुमुयंचौ, अमुमुयंचः ॥ (2) Secondly, अदमुयङ्, अदमुयंचौ, अदमुयंचः ॥ (3) Lastly अदद्रयङ्, अदद्रयंचौ, अदद्रयंचः ॥ The above verse summarises this :

Verse :—Some ordain that मु should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in चलीकल्यते see sûtra VIII. 2. 18 and VII. 4. 90 S. 2644) others would have मु only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for द्र); while a third class would have no where, because they explain असेः of the sûtra by confining it to: VII. 2. 102."

Note :—Thus विष्वगंचति = विष्वग्यङ्, This form is thus evolved. अंच + क्विन् = अंच् + O = अंच् + नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ञ्च्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the क्विन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वद्रि, gives the above form. देवद्र्यङ्, तद्र्यङ्, यद्र्यङ् ॥ अद्रि and सद्रि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (ni pâtana) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when द्र is changed into द्र् the following vowel becomes svarita (VII. 2. 4).

Note:—Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव ? Observe अश्वाची = अश्वमंचति, the feminine ङीप being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vârt.* The अ of अंच is elided by VI. 4. 138, and the final of अश्व is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अंच् follows' ? Observe विश्वग्युक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix व् follows' ? Observe विष्वंचनं ॥ The व् is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sûtra is अप्रत्यय (अंचावप्रत्यये) ॥ It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in

other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when anch followed, but when *anchana* ending in ल्युट् also followed. The maxim धातुग्रहणे तदादि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृत् and अयस्कारः ; for VIII. 3. 46. teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृत्वः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृत् which is followed merely by the verb कृ ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Now we take up the declension of उदंच्. It is declined in the Nominative as उदङ् (S), उदंचौ (Dual) उदंचः (Pl).

Before the weak cases the following rule applies :—

४२० । उद ईत् । ६ । ४ । १३९ ॥

उच्छब्दात्परस्य लुप्तनकारस्यांचतेर्भस्याकारस्य ईत्स्यात् । उदीचः । उदीचा । उदग्भ्यामित्यादि ।

420. Long ई is substituted for the अ of that (अञ्च) where the nasal is elided after the word उत्, when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उदग्भ्याम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of सम्यंच् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२१ । समः समि । ६ । ३ । ९३ ॥

अप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चतौ परे । सम्यङ् । सम्यञ्चौ । सम्यंचः । समीचः । समीचा ॥

421. समि is substituted for सम्, before this अञ्च when no visible affix follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यङ्, सम्यंचौ, सम्यंचः ॥

Ac : Pl : समीचः ; Instr : Sing समीचा ॥

Now we take up the declension of सह् + अंच् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२२ । सहस्य सध्रिः । ६ । ३ । ९५ ॥

अप्रत्ययान्तेंचतौ परे । सध्रयङ् ॥

422. सध्रि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च् followed by no visible affix.

Thus सध्र्यङ्, सध्र्यंचौ, सध्र्यंचः ; and सध्रीचः, सध्रीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

Now, we take up the declension of तिर्यंच् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२३। तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे । ६ । ३ । ९४ ॥

अलुप्ताकारेऽञ्चतौ अप्रत्ययान्ते परे तिरसस्तिर्यादेशः स्यात् । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यञ्चौ । तिर्यंचः । तिर्यंचम् । तिर्यंचौ । तिरश्चः । तिरश्चा । तिर्यग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

423. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च् when no visible affix follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च् is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यंचौ, तिर्यंचः ॥ Why do we say 'when there is no elision'? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sûtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) "where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision". The latter meaning should be taken however.

Now, we take up the declension of प्र+अंच् when अंच् means 'to honor'. There are two roots (अंचु), both belong, to the Bhvâdi class, one meaning 'to honor' and the other 'to move' The declension of 'अंचु' meaning 'to move' has already been exhibited above. But when it means 'to honor' its declension is governed by the following rule :—

४२४। नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् । ६ । ४ । ३० ॥

पूजार्थस्यांचनेरुपधाया नस्य लोपो न स्यात् । अलुप्तनकारत्वान्न नुम् । प्राङ् । प्राचौ । प्राचः । नलोपाभावादकारलोपो न । प्राचः । प्राचा । प्राङ्भ्याम् । प्राङ्क्षु । प्राङ्षु । एवं पूजार्थे प्रत्यङ्ङादयः । क्रुंच कौटिल्याल्पीभावयोः । अस्य ऋत्विग्दधृगादिना नलोपाभावोऽपि निपात्यते । क्रुङ् । क्रुंचौ । क्रुंचः । क्रुङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ चोः कुः ॥ पयोमुक् । पयोमुग् । पयोमुचौ । पयोमुचः । ब्रश्चेति षत्वम् । स्कोरिति सलोपः । जश्त्वचरत्वे । सुवृट् । सुवृड् । सुवृश्चौ । सुवृश्चः । सुवट्सु । सुवृद्त्सु ॥ वर्तमाने पृषद्बृहन्महज्जगच्छतृवच्च * ॥ एते निपात्यन्ते शतृवच्चैषां कार्यं स्यात् । उगित्त्वान्नुम् । सान्तमहत इति दीर्घः । महयते पूज्यते इति महान् । महान्तौ । महान्तः । हे महन् । महतः । महता । महद्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

424. The nasal of अञ्च is not elided when the meaning is 'to honor'.

And as the nasal is not elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415 there is no नुम् augment. Thus.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	प्राङ्	प्राचौ	प्राचः

As न् is not elided, so there is no elision of अ also by VI. 4. 138. S. 416. Thus the weak forms are Ac : Pl : प्राचः ॥ Inst : Sing and dual are प्राचा, प्राङ्भ्याम् ॥ Loc. Plural is प्राङ्क्षु or प्राङ्षु ॥

Similar is the declension of प्रत्यंच when 'अंच्' means 'to honor'. Thus Acc : Plu : is प्रत्यंचः and not प्रतीचः ॥ Similarly the Acc : Plural of अदङ्ंच् is अमुमुदंचः and not अमुमुदीचः ॥

Similarly the Acc : plural of उदंच is उदंचः and not उदीचः ॥

—o—

Now, we take up the declension of कुंच्. This word, as already mentioned in sûtra III. 2. 59 S. 373 is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्विन् to the root कुंच् meaning " to curve or make crooked " or " to be or become small ". Thus it is declined :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	कुङ्	कुंचौ	कुंचः

Instr: Dual is कुङ्भ्याम् &c.

———o———

Now, we take up the declension of पयोमुच्. In Nom: Sing. the च् is changed to the guttural, by Sûtra VIII. 2. 30 S. 378. It is declined as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	पयोमुक् or पयोमुग्	पयोमुचौ	पयोमुचः &c.

———o———

Now, we take up the declension of सुवृश्च्. It is thus formed :—सु + व्रश्च् + क्विप् in the sense of सुष्ठु वृश्चति meaning 'that which cuts well' The र् being vocalised by VI. 1. 16 S. 2412., it becomes सु + वृश्च् + O. By VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. the च् is changed to ष्. By VIII. 2. 29. S. 380, the initial श् is elided. * Thus we get सु + वृष्. The ष् is changed to ज् and finally to ट् by VIII. 2. 39 S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56 S. 206. Thus its declension is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom:	सुवट् or सुवृड्	सुवृश्चौ	सुवृश्चः

The Loc. Pl. is सुवृट्त्सु or सुवृड्सु.

* *Note*:—This would be true in the view that the original root was व्रस्च् with a dental स् which becomes श् by श्चुनाश्चु VIII. 4. 40 S. 111. This श् substitution is asiddha for VIII. 2, 29.

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in तृ.

Now, we take up the declension of महत्. This word is formed by the Uṇâdi affix अति (Uṇâdi sûtra II. 84) which means that the words पृषत्, बहत्, महत् and जगत् are irregularly formed with the affix अति with the force of the present tense and are operated upon as if they were followed by शतृ affix. Since महत् is to be treated as if it was formed by the शतृ affix, therefore, the rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 would cause the insertion of नुम् and the sutra VI. 4. 10, S. 317 would cause the lengthening of अ. Thus.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	महान्	महान्तौ	महान्तः
Voc.	हे महन्	,,	,,
Acc.	महान्तम्	,,	महतः
Instr.	महता	महद्भ्याम्	महद्भिः
	&c.	&c.	

———:o:———

Now we take up the declension of धीमत्. It is formed with the affix मतुप्.

In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२५ । अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः । ६ । ४ । १४ ॥

अस्वन्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्याद्धातुभिन्नासन्तस्य चासंबुद्धौ सौ परे । परं नित्यं च नुमं बाधित्वा वचनसामर्थ्यादादौ दीर्घः ततो नुम् । धीमान् । धीमन्तौ । धीमन्तः । हे धीमन् । शसादौ महद्वत् । धातोरित्यस्वन्तस्य दीर्घः । गोमन्तमिच्छति गोमानिवाचरतीति वा क्यजन्तादाचारक्विबन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्विप् । उगिदचामिति सर्वेऽञ्चयहणं नियमार्थम् । धातोश्चेदुगित्कार्यं तर्ह्यञ्चतेरेवेति । तेन सत् ध्वत् इत्यादौ न । अधातोरिति तु अधातुभूतपूर्वस्यापि नुमर्थम् । गोमान् । गोमन्तौ । गोमन्तः । इत्यादि । मातेर्डवतुः । भवान् । भवन्तौ । भवन्तः । शत्रन्तस्य स्वस्वन्तत्वाभावान्न दीर्घः । भवतीति भवन् ॥

425. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all. This is because of the force of this sûtra, which though precedent in the order of enunciation in Pânini's Ashṭâdhyâyi, and therefore ought to have been superseded by the subsequent and *nitya* sutra (VII. 1. 70 S. 361) ordaining नुम्, yet is not so. Thus its declension is

	Siugular	dual	Plural
Nominative	धीमान्	धीमन्तौ	धीमन्तः
Vocative	हे धीमन्		

Before the weak case terminations, it is declined like महत्.

Note :—अस् :—as सुपथाः, सुयशाः, सुश्रोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhâtu' ? Observe पिण्डमः where स् belongs to the root अस् (पिण्डं मसते), so also चर्मवः चर्म वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c. is also included here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I, 1. 72, something that ends with these, there

they represent these combination of letters, both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (अनिनस्मन् ग्रहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sûtra indicates whatever *ends* in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as डवतु, क्वतु &c. or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुप्, which in upadesa ends in अतुप्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपथः this rule not applying there.

Even in the case of *Denominative* roots, the lengthening will take place. The prohibition of अधातोः in this sûtra applies to *original* roots and not to derivative roots from nouns. Thus गोमन्तमिच्छति = गोमस्यति "He wishes to have cows." The affix क्यच् is added to गोमत् in forming the derivative root by III. 1. 8. or III. 1. 10. with the force of "wishing" or "behaving." The root is गोमस्य. It is a derivative root, and so it does not fall within the prohibition of this sûtra. Now गोमस्य + क्विप् = गोमत् (अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48, and य् by VI. 4. 50). "One wishing to have cows." Here गोमत् ends with अत् (which was part of the original affix मतुप् added to गो) and here we will have lengthening as well as नुम् ॥

The नुम् will be added for the following reason :—

In the sûtra उगितश्च VII. 1. 70. S. 361 the root अञ्चु is taken for the sake of *niyama* or restriction, that is, the operations dependent upon ugit, when applied to roots, will apply to the root añchu only, and not to any other root having an ugit. Thus in अत् and श्वत् there is no ugit operation. Therefore, we could have easily inferred that no other root except अञ्चु would take नुम् under that sûtra. The specific mention of अधातोः in that sûtra would have become redundant. But the fact, that Pâṇini has mentioned अधातोः in that sûtra, indicates that by धातोः is meant the *original* root and not a derivative root.

Thus we have गोमान् "One who wishes to be possessed of cows."

Now we take up the declension of भवत् not derived from भू, but from भा meaning 'to shine'. (see Uṇâdi sûtra I. 63) with the affix डवतु ॥ Thus भा + डवतु = भवत् (the आ is elided by VI. 4. 143 and I. 4. 18 because the affix has an indicatory ड). It is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural	
Nominative	भवान्	भवन्तौ	भवन्तः	&c.

But when it is derived from the root भू with the affix शतृ, as it does not then end with the affix अतु, the penultimate is not lengthened. Thus in this case, the Nominative Singular is भवन्.

Now, we take up the declension of ददत् formed from the root दा with the affix शतृ ॥ The root is reduplicated. The reduplication is technically

called अभ्यस्त as defined below, and because it is अभ्यस्त, it does not get the augment नुम्, for the sûtra after next prohibits it.

४२६ । उभे अभ्यस्तम् । ६ । १ । ५ ॥

षाष्ठद्वित्वप्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे समुदिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे स्तः ॥

426. Where reduplication is treated in the Sixth Book of Pânini's Ashṭâdhyâyî, the two which are directed, both are collectively called Abhyasta,

४२७ । नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः । ७ । १ । ७८ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परस्य शतुर्नुम् न स्यात् । ददत् । ददद् । ददतौ । ददतः ॥

427. The Participial-affix शतृ (अत्-अन्त), does not take the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus ददत्, ददतौ, ददतः ॥

Note :—This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to sarvanâmasthâna or strong cases. The नुम् is to be read into this sûtra from VII. 1. 70 ; for the negation of this sûtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sûtra, for ई is never ordained after śatri : therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet नुम् is to be read here.

Now, we take up the declension of जक्षत्, formed with the affix शतृ added to the root जक्ष. Its declension is governed by the following Sûtra :—

४२८ । जक्षित्यादयः षट् । ६ । १ । ६ ॥

षड् धातवोऽन्ये जक्षितिश्च सप्तम एतेऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञाः स्युः । जक्षत् । जक्षद् । जक्षतौ । जक्षतः । एवं जाग्रत् । दरिद्रत् । शासत् । चकासत् । दीधीवेव्योर्ङित्त्वेऽपि छान्दसत्वाद्व्यत्ययेन परस्मैपदम् । दीध्यत् । वेव्यत् । गुप् । गुब । गुपौ । गुपः । गुब्धामित्यादि ॥

428. So also the six roots, with jakshi itself as the seventh, are called abhyasta.

Note :—The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhâtupâṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, दरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, दीधी and वेवी ॥ (Pânini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six.) By getting the designation of Abhyasta, the participles derived from these verbs are declined like ददत् ॥

Thus जक्षत् or जक्षद् (N. S) जक्षतौ (N. Dual) ; जक्षतः (N. Plural). Similar is the declension of जाग्रत्, दरिद्रत्, शासत्, चकासत् ॥ दीधी and वेवी though exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as दीधीङ् and वेवीङ् with an indicatory ङ् and therefore, they ought to be आत्मनेपदी by I. 3. 12. S. 2158, yet they are परस्मैपदी because of the Vaidic irregularities. These form their Nominative Singulars as दीध्यत् and वेव्यत्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending त्.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ष्. Now we take up the declension of गुप् which is formed from the चुरादि root गुप् with the affix क्विप्. The आम् of the चुरादि class is optionaly elided by III. 1. 31. S. 2305. It is declined as

Nom : गुप् or गुब्, गुपौ, गुपः ; Instr : Dual गुब्भ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ष्.

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in श.

Now, we take up the declension of तादृश् formed according to the following Sûtra:—

४२९ । त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च । ३ । २ । ६० ॥

त्यदादिषूपपदेष्वज्ञानार्थाद् दृशेर्धातोः कञ् स्याच्चात् क्विन् ॥

429. The affix **कञ्** as well as **क्विन्** comes after the verb **दृश्** 'to see' when it is in combination with **त्यद्** &c. which precede it, and when it does not signify perception.

Note :—The force of 'च' is that the **क्विन्** also comes under similar circumstances. **त्यद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27., Thus **त्यादृश्** ॥

४३० । आ सर्वनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । ९१ ॥

सर्वनाम्न आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याद्दृक्दृशवतुषु । कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्दृग्भ्रमेति षः । तस्य जश्त्वेन डः । तस्य कुत्वेन गः । तस्य चर्त्वेन पक्षे कः । तादृक् । तादृग् । तादृशौ । तादृशः । षत्वापवादत्वात्कुत्वेन खकार इति कैयटः । हरदत्तादिमते तु चर्त्वाभावपक्षे ख एव श्रूयते नतु गः । जश्त्वं प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । दिगादिभ्यो यक्षिति निर्देशान्नासिद्धत्वमिति वा बोध्यम् । भ्रमेति षत्वम् । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । विट् । विड् । विशौ । विशः । विशम् ॥

430. **आ** is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (1. 1. 27) before these words **दृक्**, **दृश्** and the affix **अवतु** ॥

Thus तद् + दृश् + क्विन् = तत् (by the present sûtra) + दृश् + क्विन् = ता + दृक् (the श् is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377). This क् is not perceived (असिद्ध) for the purposes of ष् change by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. Thus we have तादृष् = तादृड् (VII. 2. 39. S. 84.) = तादृग् (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377). = तादृक्(optionally by VIII. 4. 56 S. 206).

Thus Nom. forms are तादृक् or तादृग्, तादृशौ, तादृशः—According to the opinion of Kaiyat and Haradatta &c. the form would be तादृख् but never तादृग्, in the alternative when it is not तादृक्. Because they apply the कुत्व rule as an *apavâda* to षत्व rule and by कुत्व they get ख in the place of श (See Padamanjari p. 953): and ख् will never become ग् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84 ; because ख obtained by क्विन् प्रत्ययस्य कुः VIII. 2. 62. is asiddha or not perceived by the जश्त्व rule

VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. Or we may say that ख is not asiddha for Pâṇini himself has changed ख into ग in the word दिग् (See IV. 4. 54. S. 1429).

Now, we take up the declension of विश्. This is formed by the affix क्विप् added to the root विश् 'to enter.' The श is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ड् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and optionally to ट् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.

Thus it is declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	विट् or विड्	विशौ	विशः
Acc.	विशम्	&c.	&c.

———:o:———

Now, we take up the declension of नश्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

४३१ । नशेर्वा । ८ । २ । ६३ ॥

नशेः कवर्गोऽन्तादेशो वा स्यात्पदान्ते । नक् । नग् । नट् । नड् । नशौ । नशः । नग्भ्याम् । नड्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

431. The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

Note :—Here the root नश् has taken क्विप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संपदादि class.

Thus there are four forms in the Nominative Singular namely : —नक् or नग् or नट् or नड् ॥

Nominative Dual and Plural are नशौ, नशः.

Instr : Dual is नग्भ्याम् and नड्भ्या &c.

Now, we take up the declension of घृतस्पृश्. Its declension is governed by the following rule :—

४३२ । स्पृशोऽनुदके क्विन् । ३ । २ । ५८ ॥

अनुदके सुप्युपपदे स्पृशेः क्विन् स्यात् । घृतस्पृक् । घृतस्पृग् । घृतस्पृशौ । घृतस्पृशः । क्विन् प्रत्ययो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीह्याश्रयणात् क्विप्यपि कृत्स्वम् । स्पृक् । षडगकाः प्राग्वत् । अधृषा प्रागल्भ्ये । अस्मादत्वि-गादिना क्विन् । द्वित्वमन्तोदात्तत्वं च निपात्यते । कुत्वात्पूर्वं जश्त्वेन डः गः । धृष्णोतीति दधृक् दधृग् । दधृषौ दधृषः । दधृग्भ्यामित्यादि । रत्नानि सुष्णातीति रत्नसुट् । रत्नसुड् । रत्नसुषौ । रत्नसुषः । षड्भ्यो लुक् । षट् । षड् । षड्भिः । षड्भ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्भ्यश्चेति नुट् । शनामिति पर्युदासान्न ह्रस्वनिषेधः । यरोऽनुनासिक इति विकल्पं बाधित्वा प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यमिति वचनान्नित्यमनुनासिकः । षण्णाम् । षट्सु । षट्सु । तदन्त-विधिः । परमषट् । परमषण्णाम् । गौणत्वे तु प्रियषषः । प्रियषषाम् । रुत्वं प्रति षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्सस्य षोरयिति रुत्वम् ॥

432. The affix क्विन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक 'water'.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश्, Nominative Singular घृतस्पृक् he who touches clarified butter.' स्पृश् + क्विन् + सु = स्पृश् + वि + o (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + O (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62).

Nominative Dual and Plural are घृतस्पृशौ, घृतस्पृशः respectively.

———:o:———

In the sûtra क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः, VIII. 2. 62, S. 377 if we take the compound क्विन्प्रत्यय as a Bahuvrihi, meaning a root to which the affix क्विन् can be added, then the gutturalization will take place, even when the affix क्विप् is added. Thus the root स्पृश् takes the affix क्विन् when in compound with another word. But when it is used alone it takes the affix क्विप्. This क्विप् will also produce the guttural change, because स्पृश् is a root which is *liable* to take the affix क्विप् Thus स्पृक् &c. Here the श् is changed to ष् then to ड्, then to ग् and then optionaly to क् as shown above.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ष्.

———:o:———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ष्.

Now, we take up the declension of दधृष्. It is formed from the root धृष् 'to be impudent'. Thus धृष् + क्विन् = दधृँक् ॥ Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. (III. 2. 59. S. 373). The ष् of दधृष् must be changed to ड् before gutturalisation. Then this ड् should be gutturalised to ग् and then ग् is optionally changed to क्. Thus दधृक् or दधृग्, दधृषौ, दधृषः ॥ &c.

Now, we take up the declension of रत्नमुष् meaning 'one who steals gems'. It is regularly declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	रत्नमुट् or रत्नमड्	रत्नमुषौ	रत्नमुषः

Now, we take up the declension of षष्. It is always plural. By Sûtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261, the Nom. and Acc. Pl. terminations are elided after it. Thus Nom. Acc. Pl. are षट् or षड् ॥ Instr. Pl. षड्भिः ॥ Dat. and Abl. Pl. षड्भ्यः ॥ In forming the Genitive Pl. the augment नुट् is added by VII. 1. 55. S. 338. to the case-termination आम्. Thus षष् + नाम् = षट् + नाम्. By the exception made in the Sûtra VIII. 4. 42. S 114 the न् of नाम् is changed to ण्. Thus षट् + नाम = षट् + णाम् ॥ The optional substitution of a nasal in the place of ट् required by VIII. 4. 45 S. 116 is superseded

by the Vârtika under the same sûtra, which requires the nasal substitution compulsorily in the Secular literature. Thus षट्+नाम्=षण्णाम्. The Loc. Pl. is षट्सु or षट्सु.

The declension of षष् is the same when it is the final member of a compound. Thus परमषट् (N. Pl.) परमषण्णाम् (G. Pl.) But when it is the secondary member of a compound, the Nom. and G. Pl. are प्रियषषः and प्रियषषाम् respectively.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ष्.

———:o:———

Declension of Masculines ending in स्.

We take up the declension of पिपठिस् (meaning 'wishing to read'). It is derived from the root पिपठिस् with the affix क्विप्. The अ of स is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The स् was changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 39. S. 153. But this is not perceived by the Sûtra requiring the substitution of स् into र् for it is precedent in the order of enumeration in Paṇini's Ashtâdhyâyi. (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162). Thus पिपठिष्+सु=पिपठिष्+O (by VI. 1. 68. S. 252). Now पिपठिष् gets the name of a pada though the affix सु is elided after it (I. 1. 6 2. S. 262). Therefore the ष् which is really स् becomes र्. Thus पिपठिष् becomes पिपठिर्. At this stage applies the following Sûtra.

४३३ । र्वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः स्यात्पदान्ते । पिपठीः । पिपठिषौः । पिपठिषः । पिपठीर्भ्याम् । वा शरीति वा विसर्जनीयः ॥

433. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final र् or व of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus पिपठिर् becomes पिपठीः.

The Nominative Dual and Plural are पिपठिषौ and पिपठिषः.

The Inst: Dual is पिपठीर्भ्याम्.

In forming the Locative Plural the sûtra VIII. 3. 36 S. 151 as well as the following comes into operation.

४३४ । नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ३ । ५८ ॥

एतैः प्रत्येकं व्यवधानेऽपि इण्कुभ्यां परस्य सस्यैर्मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । ष्टुत्वेन पूर्वस्य षत्वम् । पिपठीष्षु पिपठीःषु । प्रत्येकमिति व्याख्यानादनेकव्यवधाने षत्वं न । निस्त्व । निस्ते । नुम्ग्रहणं नुम्स्थानिकानुस्वारोपलक्षणार्थं व्याख्यानात् । तेनेह न । सुहिन्सु । पुंसु । अत एव न शर्ग्रहणेन गतार्थता । रात्सस्येति सलोपे विसर्गः । चिकीः । चिकीर्षौ । चिकीर्षः । रोः सुपीति नियमान्न विसर्गः । चिकीर्षु । इसेर्डोस् । डित्त्वसामर्थ्यादिलोपः । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्रुर् विसर्गौ । दोः । दोषौ । दोषः । पक्षन इति वा दोषन् । दोष्णः । दोष्णा । दोषे । दोषा । विश प्रवेशने । सन्नन्तात् क्विप् । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपः । ब्रश्चेति षः । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । विविट् । विविड् । विविक्षौ । विविक्षः । स्कोरिति क्लोपः । तट् । तड् । तक्षौ । तक्षः । गोरट् । गोरड् । गोरक्षौ ।

गोरक्षः। तक्षिरक्षिभ्यां ण्यन्ताभ्यां क्विपि तु स्कोरिति न प्रवर्तते। णिलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात्। पूर्वत्रासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति। तस्य शेषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणस्वेत्यिति निषेधात्। तस्मात्संयोगान्तलोप एव। तक्। तक्। गोरक्। गोरक्। स्कोरिति कलोपं प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् संयोगान्तलोपः। पिपक्। पिपक्। एवं विवक्। दिधक्। पिस गतौ। सुष्ठु पेसतीति सुपीः। सुपिसौ। सुपिसः। सुपिसा। सुपीर्भ्याम्। सुपीःषु। सुपिष्षु। एवं सुदूः। तुस खण्डने। विद्वान्। विद्वांसौ। विद्वांसः। हे विद्वन्। विद्वांसम्। विद्वांसौ॥

434. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when any one of these singly, namely, the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjanîya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स्.

Thus पिपठिस्+सुप्=पिपठीस् (the इ of ठि is lengthened by the last sûtra, because the base before this affix gets the designation of pada by I. 4. 17. S. 230)+षु=पिपठीष् (the स् being changed to ष् by the present sûtra)+षु=पिपठीष्षु or पिपठीःषु॥

The षत्वं takes place, when नुम् &c. intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here निंस्से, 'thou kissest', निंस्स्व 'kiss thou', from the root निंस 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स (III. 4. 91).

From the explanation in Mahâbhâshya in explaining हयवरट् we learn that the नुम् of this sûtra must be the anusvâra which replaces नुम् and not any other anusvâra. Therefore not in सुःहिन्सु or पुंसु. Here there is no ष change. Though anusvâra was included in the pratyâhara शर् by the Vârtika शर्षु जइभावषत्वे " the visarjanîyâ, anusvâra jihvâmulîya and upadhmânîya should be included in the शर् pratyâhâra for the sake of जश् vidhi and ष्टुत्व vidhi"; yet the separate mention of नुम् in this sûtra indicates that that anusvâra is to be taken which results from नुम्.

Now, we take up the declension of चिकीर्स्: This is formed from the Desiderative root चिकीर्स meaning 'wishing to make' with the affix क्विप्. This is thus formed :—कृ+सन्॥ Here the augment इट् is not added because of the sûtra VII. 2. 10. S. 2246 or VII. 2. 12. S. 2610; the affix सन् is कित् by I. 2. 9. S. 2612 and therefore there is no guṇa by I. 1. 5. S. 2217. Then there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 16. S. 2614. Then the ऋ is changed to इर् by VII. 1. 100. S. 299. Then the root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 9. S. 2395.

Thus we get किर् किर्॥ The first र is elided by VII. 4. 60. S. 2179 and first क changed to च् by VII. 4. 62. S. 2245. Thus we have चिकिर्॥ Now, चिकिर्+स=चिकिर्स॥ Then the अ of स is elided by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308. Thus चिकीर्स् To this is added the N. S. case termination सु॥ चिकिर्स्+सु॥ The affix सु is elided by VI. 1.68. S. 252.

Then we have चिकिर्स्॥ Now the final स् is elided by VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus we have चिकिर्॥ The इ of कि is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76 S. 433. Thus we have चिकीः॥

The lengthening in चिकीर्षा &c. is by अज्झन् VI. 4. 16. S. 2614 by which the इ is lengthened before सन् affix. We did not apply this sûtra, in Nominative S. because सन् was already dropped.

Thus the Nominative forms are चिकीः, चिकीर्षौ, चिकीर्षः ॥ The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76,77. S. 433. and 354.

The Loc: Plural is चिकीर्षु ॥ Here ष् is not changed to visarga, because it is not the ष् of ह but it is a portion of the word itself (see sûtra VIII. 3. 16. S. 339.)

Now, we take up the declension of दोस् : This is formed by the Uṇadi affix डोस् added to the root दम् (Uṇadi II. 69). The अम् of दम् is elided because the affix after it has an indicatory ड् see VI. 4. 143 S. 316, though the base is not भ. Thus दोस् ॥ Then स् is changed to ष्. But this change is asiddha for the purposes of ह and visarga change. Thus N. S. is दोः ॥ N. Dual and Plural are दोषौ, दोषः respectively. In the weak cases it has two forms, thus, दोष्णः or दोषः (Ac. Plural) ; दोष्णा or दोषा (Inst : singular), for in these cases दोष् is replaced by दोषन् by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Note:—the अम् portion of दम् is elided by VI. 4. 143. S. 316. and though the base before it is not भ strictly speaking Sûtra VI. 4. 143. could not apply here, for that sûtra is confined to भ bases only. But as the ड of the affix डोस् must produce some effect, it produces the elision of दि portion of दम् by the analogy of VI. 4. 143.

Now, we take up the declension of विविक्ष् : It is formed from the root विक्ष् with the Desiderative affix सन् ॥ Thus विक्ष्+सन् ॥ The augment इट् is not added because of the prohibition contained in VII. 2. 10. S. 2246. The सन् affix is कित् by I. 2. 12. S. 2368 and therefore there is no guṇa. Thus विक्ष्+सन्=विक्ष् विक्ष्+सन्=विविक्ष्+स ॥ To this we add the affix क्विप् by which the अ o. स is elided by VI. 4. 48. अतोलोपः and we get the form विविक्षस् ॥ Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. स् is elided and we get विविक्ष् ॥ This क्ष् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 which again is changed to ड् and then optionally to ट् । In other cases ष is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 41. S. 295.; and स changed to ष VIII. 3. 57 S. 211. Thus N. forms are विविट् or विविड्, विविक्षौ, विविक्षः ॥

Now to we take up the declension of तक्ष् formed from the root तक्ष् or तक्षु ' *to fashion.*, The क् is elided by VIII. 2. 29. S, 380. Thus the N. S. is तट् or तड् formed under the same rules as विविट् or विविड् .

Nominative Dual and Plural are तक्षौ, तक्षः .

Similar is the declension of गोरक्ष् meaning ' one who protects cows' Its N. forms are गोरट् or गोरड् , गारक्षौ गोरक्षः ॥

But if these words be derived from the Causative roots (ण्यन्त) तक्षि and रक्षि with the affix क्विप्, then VIII. 2. 29. S. 380 will not apply and so there will be no elision of क्. This is because the णि which was elided by णेरनिटि (VI. 4. 51. S. 2313) will be स्थानिवत् ॥ But will not the following *Vârtika* पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयेन स्थानिवत्; prevent the स्थानिवद्भाव ? "There is no stânivadbhâba in the last three chapters of Ashtâdhyâyi."

To this we reply 'No'. Because of the following exception. *Vârtika.* The above Vârtika is inapplicable in the following three cases (a) the rule ordaining the elision of the first or initial letter of a conjunct consonant VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. (b) the rule relating to ल change (c) the rule relating to ण् change. S. 235.

Therefore, we shall have संयोगान्तलोपः i. e. the elision of the final स् and not of the *initial* क्. Thus the N. S. will be तक् or तग्; गोरक् or गोरग्.

Now we take up the declension of पिपक्ष् meaning 'desirous of cooking'. It is formed from the root पच् with the Desiderative affix सन्. Thus we get पच+पच्+स=पपच्स=पपक्ष् ॥ The च of the initial प is changed to क् by VII. 4. 79. S 2317. Thus we have पिपक्ष् ॥

Its N. S. is पिपक् or पिपग् ॥ The क् of पिपक्ष is not elided, but the final स् is elided, for the reasons already given above.

Similar is the declension of विवक्ष् meaning 'desirous of speech' from the root वच् 'to speak' and of दिधक्ष, meaning '*desirous of burning*', from the root दह् to *burn.* The Nominative Singular being विवक् and दिधक् respectively.

Now, we take up the declension, of सुपिस्: It is derived from the root पिस्, 'to walk'; hence सुपिस् means 'one who walks well'. It is declined as follows.:—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सुपीः	सुपिसौ	सुपिसः
Instr.	सुपिसा	सुपीर्भ्याम्	
Loc.			सुपीष्षु or सुपीषुः ॥

Similar is the declension of सुतुस् 'well-cutting'. Its Nominative Sing. is सुतूः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वस् meaning 'a learned man'. In the strong case terminations, it is declined as :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	विद्वान्	विद्वांसौ	विद्वांसः
Voc.	हे विद्वन्		
Acc.	विद्वांसम्	विद्वांसौ	

In the weak-case terminations, the declension of this word is governed by the following rule :—

४३५ । वसोः संप्रसारणम् । ६ । ४ । १३१ ॥

वस्वन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं स्यात् । पूर्वरूपत्वं षत्वम् । विदुषः । विदुषा । वसुस्रंसिति दत्वम् । विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सेदिवान् । सेदिवांसौ । सेदिवांसः । सेदिवांसम् । अन्तरङ्गोऽपीडागमः संप्रसारणविषये न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । सेदुषः । सेदुषा । सेदिवद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तमहत इत्यत्र सान्तसंयोगोऽपि प्रातिपदिकस्यैव गृह्यते नतु धातोः महच्छब्दसाहचर्यात् । सुष्ठु हिनस्तीति सुहिन् । सुहिंसौ । सुहिंसः । सुहिन्भ्याम् । सुहिन्सु । ध्वत् । ध्वद् । ध्वसौ । ध्वसः । ध्वद्भ्याम । एवं सत् ॥

435. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विद्वंस्+शस्=विद् उ अंस्+शस् ॥ द and अ become उ by the पूर्वरूप rule (VI. 1. 108 S 330)=विदुंस्+अस् ॥ Then स् of विदुंस् is changed to ष् ॥ Thus विदुष्+अस्=विदुषस्=विदुषः (Acc: Pl:). The Ins. Sing: विदुषा is also similarly formed.

Before भ्याम्, the स् of विद्वंस् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. Thus विद्वद्भ्यास् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of सेदिवंस् ॥ It is formed by adding the affix क्वसु to the root सद् by III. 2. 108 S. 3097. The root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 8. S. 2177. Thus :—सद्+सद्+क्वसु=स+सद्+क्वसु ॥ The first द् being elided by हलादि शेषः ॥ VII. 4. 60. S. 2179. Then the first स is elided and the अ of the second स is changed into ए by अत एकहल्मध्ये VI. 4. 120. S. 2260. Thus we get सेद्+क्वसु=सेद्+वस् ॥ To this we apply the augment इट् by VII. 2. 67. S 3096. Thus सेद्+इट्+वस्=सेदिवंस् ॥ In strong cases there will be नुम् augment by VII. 1. 70. S. 361. and lengthening by VI. 4. 10 S. 317. Thus :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सेदिवान्	सेदिवांसौ	सेदिवांसः
Acc.	सेदिवांसम्	,,	

In the weak-case terminations or Bha bases, there is not the इट् augment of VII. 2. 67, S. 3096, though it was antaranga, because it would be useless to add इट् when we are going to vocalise the द् into उ for then the efficient cause व् of वस् would be absent. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा &c. See under Sûtra I. 3. 11. S. 46. Because इ is added to वस् only when it has the form of वस्. But when व is going to be changed to उ and the affix ultimately becomes उस् then there would be no वस् for the application of the sûtra VII. 2. 67. So we have the Acc: Pl: सेदुषः ॥ The Instr: Sing is सेदुषा ॥ The Instr: Dual is सेदिवद्भ्याम् &c.

In the sûtra VI. 4. 10 S. 317, the words ending in conjunct cosonant न्स् must be prâtipadikas, that is, the crude nouns and not a verbal base ending in न्स् ॥ This we infer because of the prâtipadika महत् being in

the company of सान्त, which means that words *sui generis* with महत् should be taken.

Therefore the word सुहिन्स् where the न्स् is a portion of the verb हिनस्ति and where, the noun सुहिन्स् means 'one who strikes well', the rule above given will not apply. Thus सुहिन्स् is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural
Nominative	सुहिन्	सुहिंसौ	सुहिंसः

In the Instru : Dual where सुहिन्स् gets the designation of pada, the स् is elided and we get सुहिन्भ्याम् ॥

The Loc : Plural is सुहिन्त्सु or सुहिन्सु ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ध्वस् formed from the root ध्वन्स् with the affix क्विप्. The न् of the root ध्वन्स् is elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415. Thus it is declined as

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	ध्वत् or ध्वद्	ध्वसौ	ध्वसः ॥
Instr :		ध्वद्भ्याम् ॥	

Similar is the declension of स्रस् from the root स्रन्स्.

Now we take up the declension of पुंस्: In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४३६ । पुंसोऽसुङ् । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने विवक्षितेऽसुङ् स्यात् । उकार उच्चारणार्थः । बहुपुंसी इत्यत्र उगितश्चेति ङीर्थं कृतेन पूर्वो डुमसुन्निति प्रत्ययस्योगित्त्वेनैव नुम्सिद्धेः । पुमान् । हे पुमन् । पुमांसौ । पुमांसः । पुंसः । पुंभ्याम् । पुंभिः । पुंसु । ऋदुशनेस्यनङ् । उशना । उशनसौ । उशनसः । अस्य संबुद्धौ वाऽनङ् नलोपश्च वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे उशनन् । हे उशन । हे उशनः । उशनोभ्यामित्यादि । अनेहा । अनेहसौ । अनेहसः । हे अनेहः । अनेहोभ्यामित्यादि । वेधाः । वेधसौ । वेधसः । हे वेधः । वेधोभ्यामित्यादि । अधातोरित्युक्तेर्न दीर्घः । सुष्ठु वस्ते सुवः । सुवसौ । सुवसः । पिण्डं ग्रसते पिण्डग्रभः । पिण्डग्लः । ग्रसु ग्लसु अदने ॥

436. अङ् (अस्) is substituted for the final of पुंस when the sarvanâmasthâna affixes are to be added.

The उ in असुङ् is for the sake of pronunciation and not to indicate that नुम् should be added under VII. 1. 70 S. 361 because the नुम् will be added in strong cases by the very fact that the word पुंस is formed from पा (to protect) + डुमसुन् (Un. IV. 178) and as the affix डुमसुन् is an उगित् affix, it will produce its effect under VII. 1. 70 by causing नुम्. *pari passu* as it does in causing ङीप् to be added to in the feminine, in forming बहुपुंसी, by the sûtra उगितश्च (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). Thus it is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	पुमान्	पुमांसौ	पुमांसः
Voc.	हे पुमन्		
Acc.			पुंसः
Inst.	पुंसा	पुंभ्याम्	पुभिः
Loc.			पुंसु

Kâsikâ :—The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect)+डुमसुन् (Un. IV. 178), the म् being changed to anusvâra. So when स of पुंस् is replaced by अस् we get the form पुमस्, the उ of असुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशिवद्भावः) : otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुस् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमाँन् ॥ The simple word पुमान्, of course, has accent on पु.

Now, we take up the declension of उशनस् ॥ By VII. 1. 94.S. 276, अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशनस् in the Nom. Sing : Thus Nom. forms are उशना, उशनसौ, उशनसः ॥ In forming the Voc : Sing : the following Vârtika will apply :—

Vârt :—अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशनस् in the Voc. S. also, as हे उशनन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे उशन ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular : as हे उशनस्, हे उशनन्, and हे उशन !

The Instr : Dual is उशनोभ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of अनेहस् meaning ' time '.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	अनेहा	अनेहसौ	अनेहसः
Voc.	हे अनेहः		
Instr.		अनेहोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of वेधस meaning ' the Creator '.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	वेधाः	वेधसौ	वेधसः
Voc.	हे वेधः		
Instr.		वेधोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of सुवस् meaning ' one who wears well '. Here वस् belongs to a root and so in the Nom : S. its vowel is not lengthened because of the prohibition of अधातोः in VI. 4. 14. S. 425.

Hence its Nom : forms are सुवः, सुवसौ, सुवसः ॥

Now we take up the declension of पिण्डघस् and पिण्डग्लस् ॥ The verbs घस् and ग्लस् mean ' to swallow ' the Nominative singular forms of these are पिण्डघः and पिण्डग्लः meaning ' a lump eater '.

Now, we take up the declension of अदस्. In its declension the following rules apply :—

४३७ । अदस औ सुलोपश्च । ७ । २ । १०७ ॥

अदस अकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे सुलोपश्च । तदोः सः सावितिदस्य सः । असौ ॥ ओत्वप्रति-षेधः साकच्कस्य वा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च * ॥ प्रतिषेधसन्नियोगशिष्टमुत्वं तदभावे न प्रवर्तते । असकौ । असुकः । त्यदाद्यत्वं परूपत्वम् । वृद्धिः । अदसोऽसेरिति मत्वोत्वे । अमू । जसः शी । भादृगुणः ॥

437. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nominative affix सु is elided.

As अदस्+सु = अद+औ+O (VII. 2. 107) = अस+औ (VII. 2. 106 S. 381) = असौ ॥

Vart:—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative उ is added after स्, as असुकः or असकौ ॥

The form असुकः is thus evolved :—अदकस्+सु, now औ substitution of the present sûtra is prohibited ; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes place, and the द is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकच् after स् is changed to उ.

In forming अमू we observe the following process :—

अदस+औ = अद+औ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and VI. 1. 97. S. 191) = अदौ ॥ Here द is replaced by म and औ by अ ; one might object that by the maxim (19) भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न *i. e.* "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it" औ ought to have been changed to short उ, but we answer that the maxim (20) भाव्यमानोऽप्युकारः सवर्णान्गृह्णाति *i. e.* The letter उ denotes, even when it is taught in a rule, also the letters homogeneous with it," makes an exception in the case of उ only.

The rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धं (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12) should be applied before the operations required by vibhakti take place, and then the उ and म of VIII. 2. 80. should be substituted : because with regard to त्यदादीनामः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) which is a rule of the 7th Adhyâya, the sûtra अदसो से (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) which is a rule of Tripâdi becomes asiddha. Therefore if the vibhakti operation ordained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 were not to take place first, then the base would remain अदस् ending with स्, and the rule VIII. 2. 80. S. 419. requiring उ for अ, and स् for द would find no scope at all.

But if in the sûtra पुवत्रासिद्धेष्, the operations of Tripâdi themselves were intended to become asiddha, then we could never get the forms अमू, अमुम् &c. For if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419. before the अ of स् of अदस् obtained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265. plus the अ of the द of अदस् become अ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; in other words, if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419 to the following nascent state of अद+अ, then we shall have this incongruity: अम् उ+अ. Here म् is asiddha for the purposes of VI. 1. 97. S. 191, and अ of अम् plus उ would become व, which is not desired.

In forming the N. Dual, the rule VII. 2. 102. S. 265 will cause the replacement of स् of अदस् by अ and this अ will coalesce with the final अ of द and become अ by VI. 1. 97 and thus the base will be अद. Thus अद+औ= अदौ. The द् will be replaced by म and औ by long ऊ and we get अमू (VI. 1 102. S. 164).

The N. Pl. is अमी. It is thus evolved:—

अदस्+शी (VII. 1. 17. S. 214)=अद+ई=अदे (VI. 1. 87. S. 69). Then applies the following Sûtra:—

४३८। एत ईद्बहुदचने। ८। २। ८१॥

अदसो दात्परस्यैत ईत्स्याद्दस्य च मो बहूर्थोक्तौ। अमी। पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति विभक्तिकार्यं प्राक् पश्चादुत्वमत्वे। अमुम्। अमू। अमून्। उत्वे कृते घिसंज्ञायां नाभावः॥

438. For the एत् coming after the द of अदस् there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus Nom. Pl. is. अमी.

In forming the Acc. Sing, we have अदस्+अम्. Now the sûtra त्यदादीनामः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) has superior force to sûtra अदसोऽसे (VIII. 2 80. S. 419) and it applies first. Thus we get अद+अम्=अदम् because vibhakti operations are applied first. Then applies the sûtra अदसोऽसे (VIII. 2. 80.) and we get अमुम्.

When अदम् is changed to अमु it gets the designation of घि (I. 4. 7 S. 232.) So in the Inst. Sing. the substitute ना offers itself from VII. 3 120. S. 244.

Thus अमु+ना. Here however the question might occur that the formation of मु being enunciated in VIII. 2. 80. S. 419 in the Tripâdi, whether VII. 3. 120. S. 244 does not regard the मु as asiddha.

Hence the following Sûtra:—

४३६ । न मु ने । ८ । २ । ३ ॥

नाभावे कर्तव्ये कृते च मुभावो नासिद्धः स्यात् । अमुना । अमूभ्याम् ३ । अमीभिः । अमुष्मै । अमीभ्यः २ । अमुष्मात् । अमुष्य । अमुयोः । अमीषाम् । अमुष्मिन् । अमुयोः । अमीषु ॥

439. The sûtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of मु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना.

Note :—The existence of मु is not considered uneffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus मु being considered as siddha, अमु gets the designation of घि by I. 4. 7. and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120. अमुना ॥ Had the मु been considered as noneffected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना *had been* added, then the मु being asiddha, अमु is considered to be as अद ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by सुपि च VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long आ the अ of अमु remains short. Or this sûtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sûtras (I) मु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) मु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sûtra is ने परतो यत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्त्तव्ये मुभावो नासिद्धः "the मु is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed". From this, it would follow by implication that मु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself. So मु being always siddha, ना is added: and there is no lengthening.

Thus the declension of अदस् in the Instr: and the succeeding cases is as follows:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Instr.	अमुना	अमूभ्याम्	अमीभिः
Dat.	अमुष्मै	,,	अमीभ्यः
Abl.	अमुष्मात्	,,	,,
Gen.	अमुष्य	अमुयोः	अमीषाम्
Loc.	अमुष्मिन्	,,	अमीषु

Here end the declensions of Masculines ending in consonants.

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अथ हलन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XII

DECLENSION OF FEMININES.

Now we take up the declension of Feminines ending in ह् such as उपानह् ॥ The following rule applies to it.

४४० । नहो धः । ८ । २ । ३४ ॥

नहो हस्य धः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । उपानत् । उपानद् । उपानद्भ्याम् । उपानत्सु । उत्पूर्वात् ण्विह प्रीतावित्यस्माद्दित्वगादिना क्विन् । निपातनात्तलोपषत्वे । क्विन्नन्तत्वात्कुत्वेन हस्य घः । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । उष्णिक् । उष्णिग् । उष्णिहौ । उष्णिहः । उष्णिग्भ्याम । उष्णिक्षु । द्यौः । दिवौ । दिवः । द्रुषु । गीः । गिरौ । गिरः । एवं पूः । चतुरश्रसत्रादिशः । चतसृभ्यः २ । चतसृणाम् । किमः कादेशे टाप् का । के । काः । सर्ववत् ॥

440. The ह् of नह् is changed to ध् before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

Note :—As नद्धा, नद्धुम्, नद्धव्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त् of the affixes तृ &c, is changed to ध् by VIII, 2. 40 ; and for the preceding ध् is substituted ह् by VIII. 4. 53 उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीणत् is formed by क्विप् as it belongs to सम्पदादि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ण-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह् been ordained in the sutra, instead of ध् ; but the ordaining of ध् is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध् ; for the participial त &c, in नद्धम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhâ त into न by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नध् + त = नद्ध् + ध (VIII. 2. 40) = नद्धम् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been ह्, we should have नद् + त = नन्न by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus उपानह् becomes उपानत् or उपानद् ॥

The Nom. S. affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 67. and VI. 1. 68, and ध् is changed to त् or द् by VIII. 2. 39. The Nom. D. is उपानहौ and the Plural उपानहः ॥ The Instrumental Dual उपानद्भ्याम् and the Loc. Plural उपानत्सु.

Now we take up the declension of the word उष्णिह्. This word is formed with the upasarga उत् and the affix क्विन् by III. 2. 59. added to the root स्निह् 'to love'. The word उष्णिह् is the name of a Vaidic metre. The त् of उत् is elided by निपातन the स् and न् are changed to ष् and ण. (VIII. 3. 59. and VIII. 4. 40). The ह् is changed to घ because it is a word formed with the affix क्विन् by sûtra VIII. 2. 62. The घ् becomes ग्, then क् by VIII. 2. 39. Thus we have Nom. S. उष्णिक् or उष्णिग् Nom. D. उष्णिहौ, Nom. Pl. उष्णिहः, Ins. D. उष्णिग्भ्याम् Loc. Pl. उष्णिक्षु.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in द् such as दिव्. Here the same rules will apply as in the case of the Masculine word दिव्. See Sûtra VII. 1. 84. S. 336 &c. Nom. S. द्यौः Nom. D. दिवौ. Nom. Pl. दिवः; Loc. Plu. द्युषु.

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in र् such as गिर्. It is declined as the masculine word. Thus Nom. S. गीः, D. गिरौ, Pl. गिरः. Similar is the declension of पुर्. The word चतुर् is changed to चतस्. It is always declined in the Plural. Thus Nom. and Acc. Pl. चतस्रः, Gen. Pl. चतसृणाम् ॥

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in म् such as किम्. क is substituted for किम् by VII. 2. 103. Then we add the feminine affix टाप्. Thus Nom. S. is का Nom. D. के Nom. Pl. काः. The declension of the rest is like the feminine form of सर्व (सर्वा).

———o———

Now, we take up the declension of इदम्. Its declension is governed by the following rule:—

४४१ । यः सौ । ७ । २ । १११० ॥

इदमो दस्य यः स्यात्सौ ॥ इदमो मः ॥ इयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वं टाप् । इयमिति मः । इमे । इमाः । इमाम् । इमे । इमाः । अनया ॥ हलि लोपः ॥ आभ्याम् ३ । आभिः । अस्यै । अस्याः । अनयोः २ । आसाम् । अस्याम् आसु । अन्वादेशे तु । एनाम् । एने । एनाः । एनया । एनयोः २ । ऋत्विगादिना सृजेः क्विन् अमागमश्च निपातितः । स्रक् स्रग् । स्रजौ । स्रजः । स्रग्भ्याम् । स्रक्षु । त्यदाद्यत्वं टाप् । स्या । त्ये । त्याः । एवं तद् यद् एतद् । वाक् । वाग् । वाचौ । वाचः । वाग्भ्याम् । वाक्षु । अप्शब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । अप्तृन्निति दीर्घः । आपः । अपः ॥

441. य् is substituted for the द् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular in the feminine.

The final म् of इदम् remains unchanged by VII. 2. 108. S. 343. Thus Nominative S. इयम् ॥ Then the feminine affix टाप् is added by the sûtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. द् is changed to म् by VII. 2. 109. S. 345. The Nominative Dual is इमे Nominative Plural इमाः ॥ Accusative S. is इमाम् ॥ Inst. S. is अनया ॥ इद् is changed to अन् by VII. 2. 112. By the rule VII. 2. 113. S. 347 there is elision of इद् so that we have in the Inst. Dat. and Abl. Dual आभ्याम्; Inst. Plural is आभिः We have Dat S. अस्यै by VII. 3. 114; Gen. S. अस्याः and Dual अनयोः by VII 3. 105 and Plural आसाम् by VII. 1. 52 and VII. 2. 113; Loc. S. अस्याम्, D. अनयोः, and Plural आसु ॥ But in re-employment (अन्वादेश) we have एनाम् in the Acc. S. एने in the Dual and एनाः in Plural. In Inst. S. एनया, and एनयोः in the Dual of both Genitive and Locative.

Now we take up the delension of words ending in ज् such as सज् :

The word सज् is formed by the sûtra III. 2. 59. with the augment अम् irregularly. Thus we have सक् or सग् in the Nominative S., सजौ in the Dual and सजः in the Plural ; सग्भ्याम् in the Inst. Dual, सक्षु in the Loc. Plural.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in द् such as त्यद् : By the rule VII. 2. 102 and with the feminine affix टाप् we have त्या in the Nominative S. ते in the Nom. D. and त्याः in the Nominative Plural. तद्, यद् and एतद् are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in च् e. g. वाच् : We have वाक् or वाग् in the Nominative S. वाचौ in D. and वाचः in the Nominative Plural. In the Instru D. we have वाग्भ्याम् and in the Loc. Plural वाक्षु ॥

Now we take up the declension of words ending in प् such as अप् : अप् is always used in the Plural. By VI. 4. 11. S. 277. the vowel अ is lengthened. Thus we have in the Nominative Plural आपः ; in the Acc. Plural अपः ॥

In forming the Inst. Plural the following rule applies :—

४४२ । अपो भि । ७ । ४ । ४८ ॥

अपस्तकारः स्याद्भादौ प्रत्यये परे । अद्भिः । अद्भ्यः २ । अपाम् । अप्सु । दिक् । दिग् । दिशौ । दिशः । दिग्भ्याम् । दिक्षु । त्यदादिष्विति दृशेः क्विन्विधानादन्यत्रापिक्कुत्वम् । दृक् । दृग् । दृशौ । दृशः । त्विट् । त्विड् । त्विषौ । त्विषः । त्विड्भ्याम् । त्विट्सु । त्विड्सु । सह जुषते इति सजूः । सजुषौ । सजुषः । सजूर्भ्याम् । सजूष्षु । सजूःषु । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्रुत्वम् । आशीः । आशिषौ । आशिषः । आशीर्भ्याम् । असौ । त्यदाद्यत्वं । टाङ् । औङः शी । उत्वमस्वे । अमू । अमूः । अमूम् । अमू अमूः । अमूम् । अमू । अमुया । अमूभ्याम् । अमूभिः । अमूष्यै । अमूभ्याम् २ । अमूभ्यः । अमुष्याः २ । अमुयोः । अमुयोः । अमूषाम् । अमुष्याम् । अमूषु ॥

442. त् is substituted for the final of the stem अप् before a case-ending beginning with भ् ॥

Thus we have अद्भिः and in the Dat. and Abl. Plural अद्भ्यः ; in the Gen. and Loc. Plural अपाम् and अप्सु respectively.

Now we come to the declension of words ending in श् such as दिश् ॥ Thus in the Nominative S. we have दिक् or दिग् by III. 2. 59. S. 373 and VIII. 2. 62 S. 377; in the Nominative Dual दिशौ and Plural दिशः; in the Inst. Dual दिग्भ्याम् and Loc. Plural दिक्षु ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word दृश् ॥ By the rule III. 2. 60, S. 429 दृश् takes the affix क्विन् when in combination with the pronoun त्यद् &c. But we infer from this that the root दृश् will take the affix क्विन् even when it is not in combination also. Thus in the Nominative S. we have दृक् or दृग्, Nominative D. दृशौ, Plural दृशः ॥

So also त्विष् : Its Nominative S. is त्विट् or त्विड् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. in the Nominative D. त्विषौ ॥ Nominative Plural त्विषः ॥ Inst. D. त्विड्भ्याम् and the Loc. Plural त्विट्सु or त्विट्त्सु with the optional augment ष by VIII. 3. 29. S. 131.

The word सजुष्, "a friend". By the rule VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. र् is substituted for its final and by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. there is the elision of सु; then by applying the rules VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. and VIII. 3. 15. S. 76. we have सजूः in the Nominative S. The Nominative D. सजुषौ and Plural सजुषः; similarly in the Inst. D. सजूर्भ्याम् and. Loc. Plural सजूष्षु or सजूः षु, the change of स to ष् caused by VIII. 4. 41. S. 113 being not perceived by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162. causing र ॥

In the same way the word आशिस् for आशिष् is declined. Thus we have the Nominative S., D. and Plural आशीः आशिषौ and आशिषः respectively; In Inst. D. we have आशीर्भ्याम and Plural आशीर्भिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the pronoun अदस् ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	असौ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265)	अमू (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419)	अमूः
Acc.	अमूम्	अमू	अमूः
Inst.	अमुया	अमूभ्याम्	अमूभिः
Dat.	अमुष्यै (VII. 3. 114. S. 291)	,,	अमूभ्यः
Abl.	अमुष्याः	,,	,,
Gen,	,,	अमुयोः	अमूषाम् (VII. 1. 52)
Loc.	अमुष्याम्	,,	अमूषु

Here end the declensions of Feminines ending in Consonants.

:o:

अथ हलन्तनपुंसकलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIII.

DECLENSION OF NEUTERS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

स्वमोर्लुक् । दत्वम् । स्वनड्वत् । स्वनड्वद् । स्वनड्वही । चतुरनडुहोरित्याम् । स्वनड्वांहि । पुनस्तद्वत् । दोषं पुंवत् ॥ दिव उत् ॥ अहर्विमलद्यु । अन्तरवर्तिनीं विभक्तिमाश्रित्य पूर्वपदस्येवोत्तरखण्डस्यापि पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायाम् ॥ उत्तरपदत्वे चापदादिविधौ प्रतिषेधः * । इति प्रत्ययलक्षण न । विमलदिवौ । विमलदिवि । अपदादिविधौ किम् । दधिसेचौ । इह षत्वनिषेधे कर्तव्ये पदस्यमस्त्येव । कुत्वे तु न । वाः । वारी । अझलन्तत्वान्न नुम् । वारि । चत्वारि । न लुमतेति कादेशो न । किम् । के । कानि । इदम् । इमे । इमानि ॥ अन्वादेशे नपुंसके एनद्वक्तव्यः * ॥ एनत् । एने । एनानि । एनेन । एनयोः २ । ब्रह्म । ब्रह्मणी । ब्रह्माणि । हे ब्रह्मन् । हे ब्रह्म । रोऽसुपि ॥ अहर्भाति । विभाषा ङिश्योः । अह्नी । अहनी । अहानि

We take up the declension of the word स्वनड्वह्. By the rule VII. 1. 23 S. 319 we have the elision of the case endings सु and अम्. In the case of स्वनड्वह्, by the application of the rule VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. द् is substituted for ह् Thus we get स्वनड्वत् or स्वनड्वद् in the Nominative Sing. स्वनड्वही in the Nominative Dual by the rule VII. 1. 19. S. 310. In the Nominative Plural, by the rule VII. 1. 98, S. 331. we have the augment आम् ॥ Thus we get स्वनड्वांहि The Accusative forms will be the same as the Nominative. The rest is declined like the Masculine.

Now we take up the declension of the words ending in द्यु such as विमलदिव् ॥ By the rule VI. 1. 131, S. 337, द is substituted for the final : thus we get विमलद्यु in the Nominative Singular which means " a clear day ".

In forming the Dual, there arises this consideration :—the word विमलदिव is a compound of two words विमल and दिव् ॥ When the compounds are formed, the case-affixes are elided, as राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः. But though the case-affix is elided, the first member retains the designation of Pada, and so the न् of राजन् is elided and the form is râja-purusha and not râjan-purusha. Similarly in वागीशः the क् is changed to ग् ॥ Now if this elided case-affix (antar vartinî vibhakti) is efficient in the case of the first member of a compound, analogically should not the *Second* member of the compound get the designation of *Pada*, for the affix is elided after the second member *also*, just as the *first* member gets ? This doubt is removed by the following vârtika.

Vârtika :—The rule of " Pratyaya-lope pratyaya lakshaṇam " does not hold good in the case of the second member of a compound, for the purposes of applying any rule other than that relating to the initial letter of a

Pada". Therefore, there is no pratyaya-lakshaṇa : and so the word दिव् in विमलादिव् does not get the designation of *pada* and so it gets the designation Bha ; and consequently we can apply to it the sûtra VII. 1. 19 S. 310, which applies to *Bha* bases only. विमल दिव् being a *Bha* base and not a *Pada*, the औ is changed to ौ ; and we get the Nominative Dual विमलदिवौ and not विमलादिवौ ॥ The Nominative Plural is विमलदिवि.

Why do we say in the above vârtika अपदादिविधौ " when any rule not relating to the beginning of a Pada is to be applied"? Observe दधिसेचौ = दध्नः सेचौ a Genitive Tatpurusha, compounded from दध्नः + सेचौ = दधि सेच् Here the second term सेच् does get the designation of Pada for the purposes of the application of the rule which prevents the *initial* स् being changed to ष् ॥ Had it not been a Pada then स would have been changed to ष after इ by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. But though सेच् is treated as a पद for the purposes of the appplication of the preventive rule relating to the *initial* letter, yet it is not to be treated as पद for the purposes of the application of the rule to the *final* letter च् which would become guttural क् if it were a Pada.

Note :—सेच् is derived from the root सिच् ' to sprinkle, ' with the affix विच् (III. 2. 75. S. 2980). The above is the illustration of Genitive Tatpurusha compound.

Obj :—But if we form the upapada compound with the root सिच् and the upapada दधि in the Accusative, as दधिम् सिंचतः, then since the compounding is ordained to take place *before* the addition of vibhaktis, the word सेच् has no pada designation, and so स does not *begin* a pada, and it should be changed to ष् Thus in upapada-samâsa, the ष change is inevitable.

Ans :—To this Kaiyata replies " अनाभिधानात् सोपपदात् विभावः, दधिसेचौ इति प्रयोगाभावात् " ॥ Or we may say that the word अपदादि means पदादिः the beginning of a subsequent (whether pada or not) preceded by a pada.

Now, we take up the declension of वार्. Its N. S. and Dual are वाः and वारी respectively. In forming the N. Pl. there will be no नुम् ordained by VII. 1. 72: S. 314. because the base does not end in झल् letters. Therefore the N. Pl : is वारि.

The Nominative and Acc. Pl. of चतुर् is चत्वारि ॥ The rest is like the. masculine.

Now we take up the declension of किम्. Thus किम् + सु = किम् + O by VII. 1. 23. S. 319. Now the affix is elided by using the word लुक् and so it leaves no trace behind, by I. 1. 63. S. 263, and therefore किम् is not changed to क as would otherwise be required by Sûtra VII. 2. 103. S. 342. Thus it is declined as :—

	Sing.	Dual	Pl.
Nom.	किम्.	के	कानि

Now we take up the declension of इदम्. Its Nom: forms are इदम्, इमे, इमानि ॥

Vârtika:—In the Neuter, where there is Anvâdesa or re-employment it should be stated that एनत् replaces इदम्.

Thus एनत्, एने, एनानि ; Ins. S. एनेन Gen. D. एनयोः &c.

Now, we take up the declension of ब्रह्मन् It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nomi.	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मणी	ब्रह्माणि
Voc.	हे ब्रह्मन् or हे ब्रह्म.		

Now we take up the declension of अहन्. By VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. र् is substituted for the final न् of अहन् and thus अहर्भाति in the Nominative Sg. Had there been रु, then the र् would have been changed to उ by हशिच VI. 1. 114 S. 166. The form would have been अहोभाति in the Nom: Sing. In the N. D. by VI. 4. 136. S. 237, the अ of अन् portion of अहन् is optionally elided and thus we get अह्नी or अहनी. N. Pl. is अहानि ॥

Before भ्याम् &c, where अहन् gets the designation of pada, the following rule applies.

४४३ । अहन् । ८ । २ । ६८ ॥

अहन्नित्यस्य रुः स्यात्पदान्ते । अहोभ्याम् । अहोभिः । इह अहः अहोभ्यामित्यादौ रत्वरुत्वयोरसिद्धत्वान्नलोपे प्राप्ते, अहन्नित्यवर्त्य नलोपाभावं निपात्य द्वितीयेन रुर्विधेयः । तदन्तस्यापि रुत्वरत्वे । दीर्घाण्यहानि यस्मिन् स दीर्घाहा निदाघः । इह हल्ङ्यादिलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणेनाऽसुपीति निषेधाद्रुत्वाभावे रुः । तस्यासिद्धत्वान्नान्तलक्षण उपधादीर्घः । संबुद्धौ तु हे दीर्घाहो निदाघ । दीर्घाहानौ । दीर्घाहानः ! दीर्घाह्ना । दीर्घाहोभ्याम् ।

दण्डि । दण्डिनी । दण्डीनि । खग्धि । खग्धिनी । खग्धीनि । वाग्मि । वाग्मिनी । वाग्मीनि बहुवृत्रहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बह्वर्यमाणि ।

असृजः पदान्ते क्रुत्वम् । सृजेः क्विनो विधानात् । विश्व सृडादौ तु न । सृजिदृशोरिति सूत्रे रज्जुसङ्ज्ञाभिति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । यद्वा ब्रह्मादिसूत्र सृजियजोः पदान्ते षत्वं कुत्वापवादः । स्रग्ऋत्विक्ऋग्भ्योस्तु निपातनादेव क्रुत्वम् । असृक्शब्दस्तु अस्यतेरौणादिके ऋज्रप्रत्यये बोध्यः । असृक् । असृग् । असृजौ । असृञ्जि । पक्षे असन् । असानि । असृजा । असृग्भ्याम् । असृग्भ्यामित्यादि ।

ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग् । ऊर्जि । ऊर्ञ्जि । नरजानां संयोगः ॥ बह्वर्ज नुम्प्रतिषेधः । * ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वो वा नुम् ॥ बह्वर्जि बह्वर्ञ्जि वा कुलानि ।

स्यत् । स्यद् । स्ये । स्यानि । तत् । तद् । ते । तानि । यत् । यद् । ये । यानि । एतत् । एतद् । एते । एतानि । अन्वादेशे तु । एनत् ।

बेभिद्यते क्विप् । बेभित् । बेभिद् । बेभिदौ । शावल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वादझलन्तत्वान्न नुम् । अजन्त लक्षणस्तु नुम् न । स्वविधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावात् । बेभिदि ब्राह्मणकुलानि । चेच्छिदि ॥

गवाक्शब्दस्य रूपाणि क्लिबेऽर्चागतिभेदतः । असंध्यवङ्पूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥ १ ॥

स्वम्सुप्सु नव षड् भावे षट्के स्युस्त्रीणि जश्शसोः । चत्वारि शेषे दशकेरूपाणीति विभावय ॥ २ ॥

तथाहि । गामंचतीति निपूर्वे ऋत्विगादिना क्विन् । गतौ नलोपः । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्येत्यवङ् । गवाक् । गवाग् । सर्वत्र विभाषेति प्रकृतिभावे । गोअक् । गोअग् । पूर्वरूपे । गोक् । गोग् । पूजायां नस्य कुत्वेन ङः । गवाङ् । गोअङ् । गाङ् । अभ्यपि एतान्येव नव । औङः, शी । भस्यादेच इत्यलोपः । गौची । पूजायां तु गवाञ्ची । गोअञ्ची । गौञ्ची जश्शसोः शिः । शेः सर्वनामस्थानत्वान्नुम् । गवाञ्चि । गोअंचि । गौञ्चि । गतिपूजनयोर्ग्रहणेन । गौचा । गवाञ्चा । गोअञ्चा । गौञ्चा । गवाग्भ्याम् । गोअग्भ्याम् । गौग्भ्याम् । गवाङ्भ्याम् । गोअङ्भ्याम् गौङ्भ्याम् । इत्यादि ॥ सुपि तु ङान्तानां पक्षे ङ्णोः कुगिति कुक् । गवाङ्क्षु । गोअङ्क्षु । गौङ्क्षु । गवाङ्षु । गोअङ्षु । गौङ्षु । गवाक्षु । गोअक्षु । गौक्षु । न चेह चयो द्वितीया । इति पक्षे ककारस्य खकारेण षण्णामाधिक्यं शङ्क्यम् । चर्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । कुकूपक्षे तु तस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जश्त्वाभावे पक्षे द्वितीयादेशाश्चीणि रूपाणि वर्धन्त एव ॥

ऊह्यमेषां द्विवचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् । रूपाण्यश्वत्तिभूतानि । ५२७ भवन्तीति मनीषिभिः ॥१॥

तिर्यक् । तिरश्ची । तिर्यञ्चि । पूजायां तु । तिर्यङ्क् । तिर्यङ्ची तिर्यञ्चि । अकृत । अकृती । अकृन्त । पङ्क्तिरिति वा अकन् । अकानि । अक्राः । अकृता । शकृत् । शकृती । शकृन्ति । शकानि । शक्रा । शकृता । दृदन् । दृदती ॥

443. रु is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sûtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निदाघः, हे दीर्घाहोऽत्रेति ॥ See Vârtika under VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sûtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vârt :—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्र, अहोरथन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2, 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र ; as अहोरम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

The र् and रु changes in अहर् (N. S.) and अहोभ्याम् (Ins. D.) ordained by VIII. 2. 69 S. 172. and VIII. 2. 68 S. 443. are asiddha *i. e.* not perceived by the preceding Sûtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. which requires the elision of न्. Therefore, arises the following difficulty that the र् (which is really न्) would be elided. But this difficulty is removed by holding that the word अहन् in VIII. 2, 68. S. 443. is in N. S. without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् । The one indicates the exact form, showing that the न् is not elided ; and by the second word, the रु is ordained for this final न् ॥

The words ending in अहन् will also change the final न् into रु and र् by VIII. 2. 68 and 69 S. 443. and 172. Thus we have the Bahuvrihi compound दीर्घाहन् meaning 'the season in which the days are long' as दीर्घाहा निदाघः ॥ This word is a Masculine and it is necessary to enter into a digression to show its

various declensions. The word दीर्घाहा is thus evolved :—दीर्घाहन् + सु = दीर्घाहन् + O (there is lopa elison of सु by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of a pratyaya by I. 1. 62 S. 262 and would cause the र् substitution for न् to the exclusion of र , because the र् would not come, as in the sûtra VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. असुपि is used. But this र् being asiddha i. e. not perceived by VI. 4. 8. S 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate अ ॥ Thus we have दीर्घाहार् in the N. S.

In the Voc : we have हे दीर्घाहा। निहाघ ॥

Note: —The word दीर्घाहन् is a Bahuvrîhi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI.1. 68), and the न् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to उ (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन् ! the न् is not elided by the option of the following Vartika under VIII. 2. 8. वा नपुंसकानाम् which means that in the Neuters न् is optionally not elided.

It is thus declined :—

	Singular.	Dual	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	दीर्घाहाः	दीर्घाहानौ	दीर्घाहानः
Instr.	दीर्घाह्ना	दीर्घाहोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of दण्डिन् &c. Nominative and Accusative of

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
दण्डिन्	दण्डि	दण्डिनी	दण्डीनि
खग्विन्	खग्वि	खग्विणी	खग्वीणि
वाग्मिन्	वाग्मि	वाग्मिनी	वाग्मीनि
बहुवृत्रहन्	बहुवृत्रह	बहुवृत्रघ्नी or बहुवृत्रहणी	बहुवृत्रहाणि
बहुपूषन्	बहुपूष	बहुपूष्णी or बहुपूषणी	बहुपूषाणि
बह्वर्यमन्	बह्वर्यम	बह्वर्यम्णी or बह्वर्यमणी	बह्वर्यमाणि

Now we take up the declension of असृज् which is a negative compound of अ + सृज् The ज् will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix क्विन् has been ordained after the root सृज् क्विन् प्रत्ययस्थकुः , but not so in other compounds than negative, as विश्वसृज् &c. The N. S. of विश्वसृज् is विश्वसृट्, because Patanjali in his Mahâbhâshya, in commenting on sûtra VI. I. 58 S.2405 employs the form रज्जुसृड्भ्याम् or because the षत्व taught in VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. for the final ज् of सृज् and यज् would debar the gutturalisation. While the gutturalisation in स्रक् and ऋत्विक् is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the sûtra III. 2. 59. S. 373. Or to remove all these objections we say that असृज् is not a negative compound of अ + सृज् but is a Unadi formed word derived from the root असृ " to throw " with the affix ऋज्, then the

form will be असृक् in the N. S. without any difficulty. Thus the declension of असृज will be.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	असृक् or असृग्	असृजौ	असृज्जि ॥
Acc	,,	,,	

But in the weak-case terminations there will be two forms, *viz*, one with असन् (VI. 1. 63. S. 228) and the other with असृज् ॥ Thus Acc : Pl : असृञ्जि or असानि ॥ Instr : Sing : Dual असृजा or असा ; असृग्भ्याम् or असभ्याम् &c.

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज् ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	ऊर्क् or ऊर्ग्	ऊर्जौ	ऊर्ज्जि ॥

In the last, the conjunct consonant is र् र and ज् ॥

Vârtik :—There is prohibition of the augment नुम् in the case of बहूर्ज्.

Vârtik :—Or, the नुम् may be added before the final consonant, i. e. inserted betwen र् and ज् ॥ Thus बहूर्ंजि or बहूर्ञ्जि कुलानि ॥

Note :—According to Mahâbhâsya the Nom. Pl. is ऊर्जि without any nasal. (See sûtra VII. 1. 72). His reason is that the word अचः in नपुंसकस्य झलचः should be construed in the Ablative, the sûtra meaning " the augment नुम् should be added to a Neuter stem which ends in झल् consonant, provided that such झल् is preceded by a vowel ". In ûrj, the letter that follows the vowel, i. e. र् is not a jhal, nor does the Neuter stem end in r. But the jhal ज् which is final, is not preceded by a *vowel* but by र् ॥ So there will be no nasal here.

Now, we take up the declension of त्यद् &c. Nominative and Accusative.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
त्यद्	त्यत् or त्यद्	त्यौ	त्यानि ॥
तद्	तत् or तद्	तौ	तानि ॥
यद्	यत् or यद्	यौ	यानि ॥
एतद्	एतत् or एतद्	एतौ	एतानि ॥

But in anvâdesha or remployment, the Nom : Sing. of एतद् is declined as एनत् ॥

The word बेभिद् is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to the verbal root बेभिद् (a Frequentative root) The अ and य are dropped (अतो लोपः) ॥

Its N. and Ac : S. and Dual are बेभित् or बेभिद् ; बेभिदौ ॥ In the Plural, i. e. before the affix शि, the augment नुम् required by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is not added, because the lopa elided अ of बेभिदच् is considered as sthânivat

and so the base does not end in a झल् consonant *. Nor will it take नुम् on account of its ending in a vowel, because there is no sthânivat-bhâva, with regard to the rule applying to its own self.

Thus the Plural is बभिदि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Similarly the plural of चच्छिद् is चच्छिदि ॥

The root अंचु has two meanings; (a) to go; (b) to worship (See भ्वादि 203). When the compound is formed from it with the upa-pada गो, we get गो + अच् + क्विन् ॥ Thus गां अंचति meaning 'he drives the cow'. The nasal will be elided by VI. 4. 24 S. 415. But when the meaning is 'he honors or worships the cow' the nasal will not be elided because of the prohibition of VI. 4. 30. S. 424.

Thus we get two forms (1) गवाच् (2) गवांच् ॥ Then the Sandhi of गो + अंच् itself gives rise to three forms, namely (1) where there is no Sandhi by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. (2) where अवङ् is substituted for ओ of गो by VI. 1. 123. S. 88.; (3) where ओ + अ of गो and अंच् become ओ by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. Thus (1) गोअंच् (2) गवांच् (3) गोऽच् ॥

Verse :—In the Neuter, the word गवाच् meaning (a) he who honors cows or (b) he who drives cows, has 109 forms, according as the bases are namely (1) गोअंच ; (2) गवांच (3) गोऽञ्च (4) गोअच् (5) गवाच् (6) गोऽच् ॥ The case terminations सु (N. S.), अम् (Ac. S.) सुप् (L. Pl.) give rise to nine forms each, the भ (i. e. Instr:, Dative and Ablative Dual and Pl) to six forms each; the जस and शस् (i. e. Nomi: and Acc: Pl) to three forms each; the remaining ten case-terminations four forms each.

Thus when we analyse गवाच् or गवांच् as गाम् अंचति, we add the affix क्विन् by III. 2. 59 S. 373. Then the nasal is elided, when the sense is 'to move'. Then there is the अवङ् substitution by VII. 1. 123. S. 88. In this case we have N. S. as गवाक् or गवाग् ; or when we apply the option of VI. 1. 122 S. 87, we have गोअक् or गोअग् ; when we apply the rule of पररूप, we have गोऽक् or गोऽग् ॥

When the sense is 'to honor', we have the ङुत्व or gutturalisation of the nasal in to ङ as N. S. गवाङ् or गोअङ् or गोङ् ॥ In the Acc: S. we shall also get these nine forms.

In the Nom: and Acc: dual, the termination is शी, before which the base gets the designation of bha (भ) and the अ of अच् is elided by VI. 4. 138 S. 416 and thus we get the form गोची ॥ But when the sense of the verb is 'to honor', we get the forms गवांचा, or गोअचा or गोची ॥

* The अ of बभिद् was elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The *Vârtika* झोर्लुप्तं न स्थानिवत् see sutra VI. 4. 85 S. 273 is not applied here; as that *Vartika* is not of universal application.

The N. and Ac : Pl. affix is शि which being a Sarvanâmasthâna, we have the augment नुम् and thus we have गवांचि or गोञ्चि or गोंचि whether the verb means ' to go ' or ' to honor '.

The Instr : Sing of गवाच is only गोचा, for the same reason as N. and Ac : Dual is गोची ; of गवांच् is गवांचा or गोंचा or गोञ्चा ॥

The Instr:, Dat and Abl : dual of गवाच् is गवाभ्याम् or गोभ्याम् or गोभ्याम्, of गवांच् is गवाङ्भ्याम् or गोञ्चभ्याम् or गोङ्भ्याम् &c.

In the Loc. Pl :, when the base is गवांच, we add the augment क् by VIII. 3. 28. Thus गवांक्षु or गोञ्चक्षु or गोङ्क्षु or गवाक्षु or गोञ्चक्षु or गोङ्क्षु ॥

But when the base is गवाच्, we get L. Pl : as गवाक्षु or गोक्षु or गोक्षु ॥

By applying the vârtika चर्योः द्वितीयाः, क may be changed to ख and we may get six other forms, but that *Vartika* is not applicable, since the चर्त्व rule is asiddha.

Now we take up the declension of तिरच् ॥

Its Nom : forms are तिर्यक्, तिरश्ची, तिर्यंचि ॥

But when अच means ' to honor ' and thus the nasal is not elided, the Nom : forms are तिर्यङ्, तिर्यंची, तिर्यंचि ॥

Now we take up the declension of यकृत् ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are यकृत्, यकृती, यकृन्ति ॥

But before weak case terminations यकन् is optionally substituted for यकृत् as ordained by VI. 1. 63. S. 228. Thus Ac : Pl : is either यकृन्ति or यकानि ॥ The Instr : Sing : is यक्ना or यकृना ॥

Now, we take up the declension of शकृत् ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are शकृत् शकृती, शकृन्ति ॥ According to VI. 1. 63. S. 228, शकन् is optionally substituted for शकृत् before the weak case terminations. So the Acc : Pl : is optionally शकानि ॥ Similarly, the Instr : Sig. is either शक्ना or शकृना ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ददत् ॥ Its Nom : Sing : and dual are ददत् । ददती ॥

The formation of the N. Pl : is governed by the following rule.

४४४ । वा नपुंसकस्य । ७ । १ । ७९ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परो यः शता तदन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुम् वा स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । ददन्ति । ददति । तुदत् ॥

444. The Participial-affix शतृ optionally takes the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns when

a sarvanâmasthâna I. 1. 42. S. 31). follows.

Thus Nominative Plural तुदन्ति or तुदति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of तुदत् ॥ Its N. S. is तुदत् ॥

In the formation of its N. Dual and Plural the following rule applies :—

४४५ । आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् । ७ । १ । ८० ॥

अवर्णान्ताद्धात्परो य शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य नुम् वा स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । तुदन्ती । तुदती तुदन्ति । भात् । भान्ती । भाती ॥ भान्ति । पचत् ॥

445. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी VII. 1. 19. S. 319. and before the feminine affix ई (that is Nadi I. 4. 3. S. 266).

Thus N. D. तुदन्ती or तुदती ; N. P. तुदन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of भात् 'shining'. Its Nominative forms are भान्, भान्ती or भाती, भान्ति ॥

Now we take up the declension of पचत् ॥ ('cooking'). Its N. S. is पचत् ॥ Its N. D. Pl. are governed by the following rule :—

४४६ । शपश्यनोर्नित्यम् । ७ । १ । ८१ ॥

शपश्यनोरात्परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्यं नुम् स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । पचन्ती । पचन्ति । दीव्यत् । दीव्यन्ती । दीव्यन्ति । स्वप् । स्वद् । स्वपी । नित्यात्परादपि नुमः प्राक् अप्तृन्निति दीर्घः । प्रतिपदोक्तत्वात् । नुम् । स्वाम्पि । निरवकाशत्वं प्रतिपदोक्तत्वमिति पक्षे तु प्रकृते तादिरहान्तुमेव । स्वम्पि । स्वपा ॥ अपोभि ॥ स्वद्भ्याम् । स्वद्भिः । अतिपिबतीत्यादिना धनेरुम् । रुत्वम् । धनुः । धनुषी । सान्तेति दीर्घः । नुम्विसर्जनांयेति षत्वम् । धनुषि । धनुषा । धनुर्भ्याम् । एव चक्षुर्हविराद्यः । पिपठिषेः क्विप् । वोरिति दीर्घः । पिपठीः । पिपठिषी । अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाल्झलन्तलक्षणो नुम् न । स्वादिषु स्थानिवत्त्वाभावादजन्तलक्षणोऽपि नुम् न । पिपठिषि । पिपठीर्भ्यामित्यादि । पयः । पयसी । पयांसि । पयसा । पयोभ्यामित्यादि । सुपुम् । सुपुंसी । सुपुमांसि अदः । विभक्तिकार्यम् । उत्वमत्व । अमू । अमूनि । शेषं पुंवत् ॥

446. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaranas शप् and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadî).

Thus N. D. पचन्ती, N. Pl. पचन्ति ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛitti of वा (VII. 1.79 S. 444).

Similarly, the Nominative forms of दीव्यत् are दीव्यत्, दीव्यन्ती, दीव्यन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of स्वप् meaning 'a tank containing good water,

Note :—In forming the compound सु+अप्, sûtra V. 4. 74. S. 940 required the addition of अ to the final as in the case of द्वि+अप्=द्वीप ; but here the अ is not added on account of the prohibition contained in V. 4. 69. S. 954. Nor is the अ changed to long ई required by VI. 3.97. S. 941 because the word अप् in that sûtra means that अप् which has taken the समासान्त affix अ ॥ Thus we get the base स्वप्

Its N. S. and Dual are स्वप् or स्वब् and स्वपी respectively. In the N. Plural the अ of स्वप् will be *first* lengthened by VI. 4. 11 S. 277. and then नुम् is to be added. This is because the word अप् is *specifically* mentioned in the sûtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277. Otherwise by the general rule, the augment नुम् taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is *nitya* and subsequent in order of Ashtâdhyâyi to the sûtra VI. 4. 11. and should have been added first. Thus the Nominative Plural is स्वाम्पि ॥

But if the view be taken that the *pratipadokta* rule supersedes a nitya and a subsquent rule, then only, when it has no scope otherwise ; then we should not have the lengthening ordained by VI. 4. 11. S. 277, for that lengthening finds its scope in cases like आप स्तिष्ठन्ति ; while in स्वप्+शि, the नुम् taught subsequently will supersede the lengthening rule which is precedent. Thus we have the Nominative Plural स्वम्पि ॥

Note :—This is the more valid form according to the opinion of Manorama.

The Instr : Sing is स्वपा ॥ The Instr : Dual is स्वद्भ्याम् ; the प् being changed to द् by VII. 4. 48. S. 442. The Instr : Plural is स्वद्भिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of धनुस् ॥ This word is formed by adding the Unâdi affix उस् to the root धन् (Unâdi II. 117). The स् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162) and then changed to Visarga ; thus Nominative Sing is धनुः ; Nominative Dual धनुषी ॥

In the Nominative Plural the उ of धनुस् is lengthened by VI. 4. 10. S. 317. The स् is changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. Thus Nominative Plural is धनूंषि ॥ The Instr : S. and Dual are धनुषा, धनुर्भ्याम् respectively Similar is the declension of चक्षुस् and हविस् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of पिपठिस् ॥ It is derived from the Desiderative root पिपठिष with the affix क्विप् before which the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308 and in the N. S. the penultimate vowel is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. Thus N. S. पिपठीः ; N. Dual पिपठिषौ ॥

In the Plural, i. e. before the affix शि, the augment नुम् required by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. is not added, because the lopa elided अ is considered as sthânivat and so the base does not end in a झल् consonant.

Nor will it take नुम् by considering it as ending in a vowel, for the elided अ can not be considered as sthânivat in applying the rule to its own self. (compare sûtra 443). Thus N. Pl. is पिपठिषि ॥ The

rest of the declensions, such as विपदीभ्यांम् &c. are similar to those of the Masculine.

Now, we take up the declension of पयस् &c.

Nom : and Acc :

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural. Instr : S. Dual.
पयस्	पयः	पयसी	पयांसि ॥ पयसा, पयोभ्यां
सुपुंस्	सुपुम्	सुपुंसी	सुपुमांसि ॥
अदस्	अदः		

In the Dual and Pl : all the operations required in the case affixes should be made first and then the उ and म substitution mentioned under VII. 2. 107. S. 437. and VIII. 2. 81. S. 438. should take place. Thus N. and Acc : D. and Pl. are अमू and अमूनि ॥

Note :—The N. D. of अदस् is thus formed :—

अदस् + ई (The स् is elided by VII. 2. 102 S. 265) = अद + ई ॥ This is the form obtained by applying all the rules of विभक्ति ॥ The vibhakti kârya being done, we now apply VIII. 2. 80. S. 491 : The द् is thus changed to म and the ए to ऊ ॥ Thus we get the form अमू ॥

Similarly by applying all the vibhakti rules to अदस्, we get the N. Pl : अदांनि, to which applying VIII. 2. 80. S. 491, we get अमूनि ॥

The rest of the declensions are like those of the Masculines.

Here end the declensions of Neuters ending in consonants.

———:o:———

अथाऽव्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INDECLINABLES.

४४७ । स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् । १ । १ । ३७ ॥

स्वरादयो निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञाः स्युः । स्वर्, अन्तर्, प्रातर्, पुनर्, सनुतर्, उच्चैस्, नीचैस्, शनैस्, ऋधक्, ऋते, युगपत्, आरात्, पृथक्, ह्यस्, श्वस्, दिवा, रात्रौ, सायम्, चिरम्, मनाक्, ईषत्, जोषम्, तूष्णीम्, बहिस्, अवस्, समया, निकषा, स्वयम्, वृथा, नक्तम्, नञ्, हेतौ, इद्धा, अद्धा, सामि, वत्, ब्राह्मणवत्, क्षत्रियवत्, सना, सनात्, सनात्, उपधा, तिरस्, अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, ज्योक्, कम्, शम्, सहसा, विना, नाना, स्वस्ति, स्वधा, अलम्, वषट्, श्रौषट्, वौषट्, अन्यत्, अस्ति, उपांशु, क्षमा, विहायसा, दोषा, मृषा, मिथ्या, मुधा, पुरा, मिथा, मिथस्, प्रायस्, मुहुस्, प्रबाहुकम्, प्रवाहिका, भूयिष्ठम्, अभीक्ष्णम्, साकम्, सार्धम्, नमस्, हिरुक्, धिक्, अथ अम्, आम्, प्रताम्, प्रशान्, प्रतान्, मा, माङ्। आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ च, वा, ह, अह, एव, एवम्, नूनम्, शश्वत्, युगपत्, भूयस्, कूपत्, सूपत्, कुवित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण्, कच्चित्, किंचित्, यत्र, नह, हन्त, माकिः, माकिम्, नाकिः, आकिम्, माङ्, नञ्, यावत्, तावत्, त्यं, ह्वे, न्वे, रे, श्रौषट्, वौषट्, स्वाहा, स्वधा, तुम्, तथाहि, खलु, किल, अथो, अथ, सुष्ठु, स्म, आदह, उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वरप्रतिरूपकाश्च । अवदत्तम्, अहंयु, अस्तिक्षीरा, अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए ऐ, ओ, औ, पशु, शुकम्, यथाकथाच, पाट्, प्याट्, अङ्ग, हे, हे भोः, अय, द्य, विषु, एकपदे, युत्, भात । चादिरव्याकृतिगणः ॥

447 The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. Their list is given below :—

स्वर् 'heaven,' अन्तर् 'midst.' प्रातर् 'in the morning,' पुनर् 'again,' सनुतर् 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक् 'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' ऋते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the sametime, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly'. पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little जोषम् gladly,' तूष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अवस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् negative particle, not,' हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत् 'enclitic like, as Brâhmanavat, Kshatriyavat warrior like, सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा अन्तरेण 'except, without' ज्योक् 'long,' कम् expletive particle,' शम् ease,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously.' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अलम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' श्रौषट्, वौषट् (interjection) [illegible]

butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise'. अस्ति 'being present,' पांउशु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' मृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' मुधा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मिथस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुहुस् 'again, repeatedly' प्रवाहकुम् or प्रवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहलम् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस् 'reverence,' हिरुक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' अम् "quickly" आम् "indeed" प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' मा, माङ् 'do not'.

So also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिल् (V. 3. 7 S 1953) and ending with पाशप् (V. 3. 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42 S 2109) and ending with समासांतः (V. 4. 68 S 676), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्स् आच् and धाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix क्वि, or by the affixes अम् or आम्; तसि or वति, न or नाम् are also indeclinables.

This class is known as 'avayaya' from its form, so that where words are found treated as indeclinables, they may be put as under this class.

The following are निपात or particles च 'and,' वा "or," ह an expletive, अह vocative particle एव 'only," एवम् 'thus,' नूनम् 'certainly' शश्वत् 'continually,' युगपत् 'at once' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' क्षपत् 'excellently, सूपत् 'excellently' कुवित् 'abundantly,' नेत् or चेत् "if," चण् 'if' कच्चित् "what if" यत्र 'where' नह 'no,' हन्त ah!' माकिम, माकिः, नकिः or नाकिम "do not," माङ् 'do not' नञ् 'not' यावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' खे, ह्वे, or न्वे perhaps, रे disrespectful interjection, ओषट्, वौषट or स्वाहा "oblation to the gods" वाषट् "oblation to the Gods" तुम् "thouing," तथाहि "thus". खलु certainly, किल 'indeed,' अथ now, सुष्ठु 'excellent' स (gives the idea of past when attached to the present forms of verbs), धाद्ध 'fie!'

To the list of Indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an उपसर्ग, (I. 4. 59 S. 22,) of a word with one of the terminations of case or person, and of the vowels. In the example अवत्तम् "given away," the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word would be अवत्तम् by VII. 4. 47. S. 3078 In the example अहंयुः 'egoistic' the ahan' is not identical with अहम् or 'I' terminating in a case affix, because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the Nominative case could not be the first member in such a compound.

In the example अस्तिक्षीरा, a cow or the like in which there is milk, the अस्ति must be regarded as different from the word अस्ति or "is" which ends with the affix of 3rd person Sing. अ, आ, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, (these express various emotions पशु 'well,' शुक्रम् 'quickly,' यथाकथाच "any how" पाट्, प्याट्, आट्, हे, हे, भोः (vocative particles) अये 'ah!' घ in the sense of injury, opposition and to fill up the metre of a verse, विट् "on all sides," एकपदे 'at the same moment' गुप् 'blame' अतः 'hence'.

This list also from च &c. is to be regarded as one each of which is to be recognised by its own form as before.

४४८। तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः। १। १। ३८॥

यस्मात्सर्वो विभक्तिर्नोत्पद्यते स तद्धितान्तोऽव्ययं स्यात्। परिगणनं कर्तव्यम्। तसिलादयः प्राक् पाशपः। शस्प्रभृतयः प्राक् समासान्तेभ्यः। अम्। आम्। कृत्वोर्थाः। तसिवती। नानाभावित्रि। तेनेह न। पचतिकल्पम्। पचतिरूपम्॥

448. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76. S 530) which are not declined in all the cases are also Indeclinables.

An enumeration of these affixes should be made. They are the affixes beginning with तसिल् (V. 3. 7. S 1953) and ending with पाश् (V. 3. 47. S 1993); by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42. S. 2109) and ending with समासान्तः (V. 4. 68 S 676) by the affixes अम्, आम्, where meaning कृत्वसुच्; by the affixes तसि and वति and न or नाञ्॥

Hence पचतिकल्पम् and पचतिरूपम् are not indeclinables.

Note :—Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Tadhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there'. Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तत्र, यत्र, सर्वत्र, यत्र, &c.

४४९। कृन्मेजन्तः। १। १। ३९॥

कृद्यो मान्त एजन्तश्च तदन्तमव्ययं स्यात्। स्मारंस्मारम्। जीवसे। पिबध्यै॥

449. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93 S 374) which end with म् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also Indeclinables.

Note :—All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called krit, the latter, taddhita.

Text :—Words formed by krit affixes which end in म or ए, मा, ऐ, or ओ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुम्

(technically तुमुन्) and अम् (technically णमुल्, III. 3. 10 S 3175) are affixes which end in म्॥ The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus स्मारम् स्मारम् 'having repeatedly remembered' जीवसे to live, पिबध्यै 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

४५० । क्त्वातोसुन्कसुनः । १ । १ । ४० ॥

एतदन्तमव्ययं स्यात् । कृत्वा । उदेतोः । विसृपः ॥

450. The words, ending with ktvâ (III. 4. 18. S. 3316) tosun (III. 4. 16. S. 3443) and kasun (III. 4. 9. S. 3436) are Indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread'.

४५१ । अव्ययीभावश्च । १ । १ । ४१ ॥

अधिहरि ॥

451. (The compound called) Avyayîbhâva (II. 1. 5. S. 651.) is also Indeclinable.

Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari or Vishnu'.

Note :—The Avyayibhâva or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter.

The word च in the sûtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sûtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhâva compounds avayayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables *viz.*, we can apply to them (I) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, *i. e.*, sûtra II. 4. 82. S 452 thus, in the following example, the words upâgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word salabhâh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), *i. e.*, sûtras VI. 2. 167. & 168. S 3901 and 3902, Thus, उपाग्नि मुखः, here, sûtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sûtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent : (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयः कारः, उपपयः कामः, as compared with अयस्कारः Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as avyaya, sûtra VIII. 3. 46, S 160. applies and prevents the change of : into स्॥

४५२ । अव्ययादाप्सुपः । २ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अव्ययाद्विहितस्यापः सुपश्च लुक् स्यात् । तत्र शालायाम् । विहितविशेषणान्नेह । अत्युच्चैसौ । अव्ययसंज्ञायां यद्यपि तदन्तविधिरस्ति तथापि न गौणे । आदुग्रहणं व्यर्थमलिङ्गत्वात् ॥

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु । वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

इति श्रुतिर्लिङ्गकारकसंख्याऽभावपरा ।

वष्टि भागुरिरल्लोपमवाप्योरुपसर्गयोः । आपं चैव हलन्तानां यथा वाचा निशा दिशा ॥

वगाहः । अवगाहः । पिधानम् । अपिधानम् ॥

452. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) ordained after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शालायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that'.

By using the word " ordained " in the sûtra we mean that the case-affixes must come after the Avyaya as such, and not after a pratipâdika compound, in which an Avyaya may be a secondary member. Thus in the compound अति + उच्चैस् though the word उच्चैः separately is an Avyaya, yet as the whole compound is a noun, the case-affixes will not be dropped after it. Thus Nominative Dual अत्युच्चैसौ ॥ Though tadanta vidhi applies to avyayas also, and so a compound word ending with an avyaya will also be an avyaya, yet when such an avyaya is a secondary member only and the whole compound refers to a third person, then the tadanta vidhi will not apply.

The word आप् (Feminine affix) has been read uselessly in the sûtra, because an Avyaya has no gender.

Verse :—" What changes not, remaining alike in the three genders, and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an indeclinable or avyaya ".

Thus according to Sruti, avyayas have neither genders, cases nor numbers.

" The grammarian Bhaguri wishes that there shall be elision of अ of अव and आपि and that आप् shall be the termination of all feminine words which would otherwise end in consonants, e. g. वाचा (instead of वाच्), निशा (instead of निश्), दिशा (instead of दिश्)".

This is of course optional, for it rests on the authority of a single grammarian. So either अवगाहः or वगाहः ॥ पिधानम् or अपिधानम् ॥

Here end the Indeclinables.

अथ स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XV.

FORMATION OF FEMININES.

४५३ । स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । समर्थानामिति यावत् ॥

453. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes taught hereinafter must be employed.

Note:—This is an adhikâra sûtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated,' must be read in all the following aphorisms upto IV. 1. 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prâtipadika' should be read into this sûra, from the sûtra, IV. 1. 1. S 182, not so, however the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङीःभाप्'; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and भाप् affixes.

४५४ । अजाद्यतष्टाप् । ४ । १ । ४ ॥

अजादीनामकारान्तस्य च वाच्यं यत् स्त्रीत्वं तत्र द्योत्ये टाप् स्यात् । अजाद्युक्तिर्ङीषो ङीपश्च बाधनाय । अजा । अतः, खट्वा । अजादिभिः स्त्रीत्वस्य विशेषणान्नेह । पञ्चाजी । 'द्विग्वोः' (४७९) इति ङीप् । अत्र हि समासार्थसमाहारनिष्ठं स्त्रीत्वम् । अजा । एडका । अश्वा । चटका । मूषिका । एषु जातिलक्षणो ङीष् प्राप्तः । बाला । वत्सा । होडा । मन्दा । विलाता । एषु वयसि प्रथम इति ङीप् प्राप्तः ॥ * संभस्राजिनशणपिण्डेभ्यः फलात् * सफला । भस्रफला । ङ्याप्पोरिति ह्रस्वः ॥ ° सक्तचकाण्डप्रान्तशतकैभ्यः पुष्पात् * ॥ सत्पुष्पा । प्राक्पुष्पा । प्राक्पुष्पा । * शूद्रा चामहत्पूर्वा जातिः * ॥ पुंयोगे तु शूद्री । अमहत्पूर्वा किम् । महाशूद्री । क्रुञ्चा । ब्राह्मणहा । देवविशा । ज्येष्ठा । कनिष्ठा । मध्यमेति पुंयोगेऽपि । कोकिला । जातावपि । * मूलान्नञः * । अमूला ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् ॥ कर्षी । वण्डिनी ॥

454. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the crude-forms 'aja' &c, and the crude-forms ending in short अ।

This debars ङीष् and ङीप्।

The words अज &c. are given below. Thus अज a 'he goat,' अजा 'a she goat.' The words ending in short अ are such as, खट्व whose feminine will be खट्वा।

Note:—The word खट्व is formed by adding the Uṇâdi affix क्वन् to the root खद् meaning "to desire." (Uṇâdi I. 151).

The feminines in grammar do not follow the natural physiological division of sexes, and even names of things which have no sex may have genders, *e. g.* तट,

तटी, तटम् ॥ Similarly beings whose sexes may be feminines may have names whose Genders will be masculines, such as दारम् ॥

The words अज &c. must denote, by themselves a feminine object in order to get the affix टाप्, therefore not in पञ्चाजी meaning "a collection of five goats." Here the feminine nature does not refer to the goats, but to the compound noun formed of पञ्च and अज। Therefore this feminine पञ्चाजी is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 21. S. 479).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class:

1. अज	अजा	2. एडक	एडका	(3. कोकिल	कोकिला)
4. चटक	चटका	5. अश्व	अश्वा	6. मूषिक	मूषिका

Note:—The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sûtra, the affix 'nish' (IV. 2, 63 S 518) in the feminine.

7. बाल	बाला	8. होड	होडा	(9. पाक	पाका)
10. वत्स	वत्सा	11. मन्द	मन्दा	12. विलात	विलाता

Note:—The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in the short अ in the masculine, but for the present sûtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1· 20. S. 478.) in the feminine.

13. पूर्वापहरण, पूर्वापहरणा; 14. अपरापहारण, अपरापहारणा;

Note:—These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being कित्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. I. 15 S 470) but for this Sûtra.

Vârtika:—The words सम्, भस्त्र, अजिन्, शण and पिण्ड when followed by फल form the feminines with टाप्।

15. संफल	संफला	16. भस्त्रफल,	भस्त्रफला;
17. अजिनफल,	अजिनफला;	18. शणफल,	शणफला;
19. पिण्डफल,	पिण्डफला;	(20. त्रिफल,	त्रिफला;)

In भस्त्रफला, the long आ of भस्त्रा is changed to short अ by the sûtra VI. 3. S. 1001.

Note:—The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix ṇish (IV. 1. 64 S 519) but for their enumeration in the 'ajâdi' class; 'त्रिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as त्रिफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is त्रिफली ॥

Vârtika:—The word पुष्प preceded by सत्, अच्, काण्ड, प्रान्त and शत takes the affix टाप् ॥

21. सत्पुष्प,	सत्पुष्पा;	22. प्राक्पुष्प,	प्राक्पुष्पा; So also प्रत्यक्पुष्पा
23. काण्डपुष्प,	काण्डपुष्पा;	24. प्रान्तपुष्प,	प्रान्तपुष्पा;
25. शतपुष्प,	शतपुष्पा;	26. एकपुष्प,	एकपुष्पा;

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken ṇish by IV. 1, 64. S 519.

Vârtik :—शूद्र forms its feminine शूद्रा when not preceded by महत् and when it denotes a caste.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

Note :—But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śûdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class.'

Note :—The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. 1. 72, S 26, but for the vârtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prâtipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself." Therefore, the word 'sûdra' which cannot be anything but a prâtipadika, does not denote 'mahâ-sûdra.' This objection is futile: the very fact of this vârtika indicates by implication (*jñâpaka*), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती ॥

28. क्रुच् क्रुचा 29. उष्णिह् उष्णिहा 30. देवविश् देवविशा

Note :—The above words end in cosonants and would not have taken टाप् but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

Note :—The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'nish by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

The word कोकिल takes टाप् even when denoting a class.

Vârtik :—When मूल is preceded by the negative particle न, it forms its feminine by टाप् ॥

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mûla' preceded by the negative particle nañ, would have otherwise taken 'ñish' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

४५४ A । ऋन्नेभ्योङीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥ (See S. 306.)

454 A. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Note:—Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीष् and ङीन्; and the प् is taken to distingnish them from those affixes; the real affix is ई ॥ Thus, कर्तृ ;—*f.* कर्त्री ; हर्तृ—*f.* हर्त्री ; दण्डिन्—*f.* दण्डिनी ;

४५५ । उगितश्च । ४ । १ । ६ ॥

उगिदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । पचन्ती । भवन्ती । दीव्यन्ती । शप्श्यनोरिति नुम् । उगितामिति सूत्रे उञ्छादिग्रहणेन धातोश्चुरादेर्गिरन्तस्य ग्रहणं तेनेह न । उखास्रत् । क्विप् । अनिदितामिति नलोपः । पर्णध्वत् । अञ्चतेस्तु स्यादेव । प्राची । प्रतीची ॥

455. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' the affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

Note:—The उक् is a pratyâhâra meaning उ, ऋ and ऌ॥ Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित्॥ That which ends with such a word is meant here. The prâtipadika pure and simple not formed by an affix may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanâmas; an affix may be उगित् as the affixes ऋवतु and शतृ and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित्, as तृ meaning त् in VI. 4. 127 S 364.; ("त् is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्वन् &c.")

Thus, भवत् 'honored sir,—*cf.* भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवत्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady.' Similarly पचत् (formed by adding शतृ III. 2. 124 S 3100), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the नुम् comes by VII. 1 82. S. 446. So also दीव्यत् and दीव्यन्ती॥

Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk.' Thus the roots स्रंसु 'to fall down' ध्वंसु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots the prâtipadikas like उखास्रत् and 'पर्णध्वत्, (III. 2. 76 S 2983). The उखास्रत् ब्राह्मणी, 'पर्णध्वत् ब्राह्मणी॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding ङीप्॥

The prâtipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix ङीप्॥ As, प्राची, प्रतीची,'

४५६। वनो र च। ४। १। ७॥

वन्नन्तात्तदन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात्। रदन्तादेशः। वन्निति ङ्वनिप्कनिप्वनिप सामान्यग्रहणम्। प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्। तेन प्रातिपदिकविशेषणात्तदन्तान्तमपि लभ्यते। सुध्वानमतिक्रान्ता अतिसुध्वरी। अतिधीवरी। शर्वरी। * वनो न हश्च इति वक्तव्यम् *॥ हशन्ताद्धातोर्विहितो यो वन् तदन्तात्तदन्तान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् ङीप् रश्च नित्यर्थः। 'आण् अपनयने' वनिप्, विड्वनोरित्यात्वम्। अवावा ब्राह्मणी। राजयुध्वा॥ * बहुव्रीहौ वा *॥ बहुधीवरी। बहुधीवा। पक्षे डाप् वक्ष्यते॥

456. The affix 'ङीप्' is added, in forming the feminine of the crude forms that end in the syllable वन्, and also of a compound that ends in a word so formed, and र् is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇâdi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; पीवन् f पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman,' शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शॄ + वनिप् III 2. 75 S 2980, lit. that which destroys light.)

अतिधीवरी (a woman who has surpassed a male artisan)

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ड्वनिप्, (III. 2. 103 S. 3091) क्वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74 S. 3418). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken ङीप् even by IV. 1. 5 S. 306; the necessity of the present sûtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Paribhâshâ:—"An affix denotes when ever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." Therefore by applying this rule and taking the affix वन् as qualifying the prâtipadika, we apply the affix ङीप् to the prâtipadika ending in वन् ॥ Thus अतिसुरुवरी meaning a woman who has surpassed the drinker of soma- juice, अतिधीवरी and शर्वरी ॥

Vârtika:—After a crude form that ends in वन् as well as after a compound which ends with such a word, the affix ङीप् is not added in forming the feminine nor is the न् changed to र्, provided that the affix वन् has been specifically ordained to come after a root that ends in soft consonants and nasals.

To the root ओण् meaning 'to remove' we add the affix वनिप् ॥ Thus ओण्+वन्=ओ आ (the long आ being substituted for ण् by VI. 4. 41. S 2982.)+वन्=अवावन् ॥ This word is both Masculine and Feminine. Thus the Feminine is अवावा ब्राह्मणी ॥ The Masculine is अवावाब्राह्मणः So also राजयुध्वा meaning राजानं योधितवती "she who has incited the king to fight." It is formed with the affix वनिप् under III. 2. 95. S. 3005.

Vârtika:—It is optionally so in the Bahuvrîhi compound. Thus बहुधीवरी or बहुधीवा नगरी "a city that contains many artisans."

In the third alternative, the affix ङाप् will be added, as will be mentioned further on in IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus there will be three forms in the Dual, as बहुधीवर्यौ, or बहुधीवानौ or बहुधीवे as the base is बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवन् or बहुधीवा ॥

४५७। पादोऽन्यतरस्याम्। ४। १। ८॥

पाच्छब्दः कृतसमासान्तस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीष्वा स्यात्। द्विपदी। द्विपात्॥

457. The affix 'ङीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pâda' when it assumes the samâsânta form पात् as well as after a compound word ending in पात् ॥

The word पाद् becomes पाद् when final in certain Bahuvrîhi compounds (V. 4. 140 S. 179). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (ङीप्) ॥ In the latter alternative, the

form will be द्विपदि, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI. 4. 130. S. 414 (as read with I. 4. 18 S. 231). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

४५८। दाबृचि। ४। १। ९॥

ऋचि वाच्यायां पादन्ताट्टाप् स्यात्। द्विपदा ऋक् । एकपदा ॥ न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यः ॥ पञ्च चतस्रः। पञ्चेत्यत्र नलोपे कृतेऽपि ष्णान्ता षडिति षट्संज्ञां प्रति नलोपः सुप्स्वरेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वान्न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्य इति न टाप् ॥

458. The affix टाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pâd', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-veda.

This debars ङीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter-verses'; similarly एकपदा or त्रिपदा ऋक्, or चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥

४५८। A. न षट् स्वस्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥

458 A. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24 S. 369), and 'स्वस्र' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus, पञ्चब्राह्मणः 'the five Brâhmanî ladies' चतस्रः ॥ So also सप्त, नव, दश &e are feminine as well as masculine.

Note:—In पञ्च, though the न् of पञ्चन् is elided, yet the elided न् is asiddha for the purposes of संज्ञा and the word पञ्च though not ending in न् will get the designation षट् by I. 1. 24 S. 369, because the elided न् is asiddha by VIII. 2. 2. S 353 and so there is no टाप् after पञ्च by the present Sûtra.

संज्ञाविधिः—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पंच and दश are still called shash, though they no longer end in न् (ष्णान्ता षट् 1. 1. 24). Being called षष्, they do not take टाप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10 S. 308).

According to the Vârtikakâra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sûtra VII. 2. 2. S. 2330 संज्ञा ग्रहणानर्थक्यं च निमित्तस्यालोपस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षट्) ॥ Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस् and शस्, without such elision there is no pada sanjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada-designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. S. 36 The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sûtra. The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in अ and require टाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sûtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sûtra? There are two views as regards definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, *prior* to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñâ, and Paribhâshâs remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjnâ sûtra is to be read with every particular operative sûtra, and the sanjñâ given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñâ sûtra becomes identified with a vidhi sûtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñâs and Paribhâsas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations" In the first view, the षट् sanjñâ will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस् and for prohibiting टाप्॥ Hence this sûtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sûtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñâ is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षट् sanjnâ which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sûtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

४५९। मनः। ४। १। ११॥

मन्नन्तान्न ङीप्। सीमा। सीमानौ॥

459. The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal stem ending in the syllable मन्॥

Thus सीमन् is both masculine and feminine, declined as सीमा, सीमानौ &c.

४६०। अनो बहुव्रीहेः। ४। १। १२॥

अन्नन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्न ङीप्। बहुयज्वा। बहुयज्वानौ॥

460. The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन्॥

This refers to those Bahuvrîhi compounds, in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrîhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. S. 462 Thus बहुयज्वन् is both gender and is declined as masculine, as N. s. बहुयज्वा, N. d. बहुयज्वानौ &c. The penultimate अ of वन् is not elided because of the prohibition of न संयोगात् &c. (VI. 4. 137 S. 355).

४६१। डावुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम्। ४। १। १३॥

सूत्र द्वयोपात्ताभ्यां डाब् वा स्यात्॥ सीमा। सीमे। सीमानौ। दामा। दामे। दामानौ। नपुंसिदाम इत्यमरः। बहुयज्वा॥ बहुयज्वे। बहुयज्वानौ॥

461. The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrîhi

compound ending in अन्, as mentioned in the preceding two Sûtras.

Of the affix ङाप्, the letter ङ् indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the टि (I. 1. 64 S. 79) of the base. Thus दामन् + ङाप् = दाम + आ = दामा ॥ This being an optional rule we have 1. *s* दामा *d.* दामे or दामनौ. *pl.* दामाः or दामानः; similarly with सीमा, as, सीमा, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in अन् ॥ As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥
बहुयज्वा	बहुयज्वे or बहुयज्वानौ	

Why do we say "optionally"? So that the option may apply to sûtra IV. 1. 7 S. 456 also; i. e. when a prâtipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the change of न into ङ् and the application of ङीप् are optional : we may apply the affix ङाप् instead. As :—बहुधीवा or बहुधीवरी; बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

By IV. 1. 5, S. 306 prâtipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix ङीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sûtra prohibits that. Thus दामन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :— 1. s दामा; d. दामानौ, pl. दामानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥ The word दामन् is never masculine according to Amarkosha.

४६२ । अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २८ ॥

अन्नन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनो वा ङीप् स्यात् । पक्षे ङाप् ङीष् निषेधौ । बहुराज्ञी । बहुराज्ञ्यौ । बहुराजे । बहुराजानौ ॥

462. The affix ङीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन्; in applying ñîp, it loses is penultimate by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. (अलोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many king'. In the alternative, when ñîp is not added, we may add the affix ङाप् by IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 S. 460 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥

Note :—When the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix ङीप् at all : in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा, सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only ; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 S. 355 prevents

the elision of the penultimate न्; संयोगाद्यमनन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in र् or म्) ॥

In forming the feminines of words ending in अक् the affix टाप् will be added after the change of अ to इ by the following Sûtra.

४६३ । प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुपः । ७ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्ककारात्पूर्वस्याऽकारस्येकारः स्यादापि परे स आप् सुपः परो न चेत् । सर्विका । कारिका । अतः किम् । नौका । प्रत्ययस्थात्किम् । शक्तीतीति शक्ता । असुपः किम् । बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी । कात्किम् । नन्दना । पूर्वस्य किम् । परस्य मा भूत् । कटुका । तपरः किम् । राका । आपि किम् । कारकः ॥ मामकनरकयोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ मामिका । नरान् कायतीति नरिका ॥ स्यकस्थयोश्च * ॥ दाक्षिणात्यिका इहत्यिका ॥

463. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i. e. when such a word in अक does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrîhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As सर्विका, कारिका, &c. Why do we say अतः? The क् must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here नौका Why do we say belongingto an affix? The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शक्ता from शक शक्नोति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distictness, there is no affix which is only क ॥ Why do we say असुपः, 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहवः परिव्राजका अस्यां नगर्याम्=बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी ॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of ज is not changed to इ ॥ The case affix is elided by II. 4. 71, S. 650 and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62 S. 272 Why do we say after क? The rule applies to क, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ Why do we say "which stands before"? The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as कटुका, मृदुका ॥ Why do we say short अ? Observe राका? Why do we say when आप् follows? see कारकः ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥

Vârt:—मामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as मामिका, नरिका ॥ Here ममक् is substituted for मम before the affix अण् (IV. 3. 3. S. 1372), to which is then added टाप् ॥ The word ममक takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30 S. 488): therefore though मामक ends in अण्, it does not take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but टाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), नरान् कायति=नरक formed with the affix क (अ III. 2. 3 S. 2915).

Vârt :—The rule applies to the words ending in त्यक् (IV. 2. 98 and त्यप्, (IV. 2. 104 S. 1324) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. S. 2915 As दाक्षिणात्यिका, इहत्यिका ॥

Note :—The word in the sûtra is कात् the fifth case of क ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अकच् (अक् with क् : the final अ in अकच is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धकि, छिन्धकि, रुन्धकि ॥ The word कात therefore, is construed to mean ending in the *consonant* क् ॥

४६४ । न यासयोः । ७ । ३ । ४५ ॥

यत्तदोरस्येत्र स्यात् । यका । सका । यकाम् । तकाम् । त्यकनश्च निषेधः * ॥ अधित्यका । उपत्यका । आशिषि वुनश्च न * ॥ जीवका । भवका ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे न * ॥ देवदत्तिका देवका ॥ क्षिपका दीनां च * ॥ क्षिपकाः । ध्रुवका । कन्यका । चटका ॥ तारका ज्योतिषि * ॥ अन्यत्र तारिका ॥ वर्णका तान्तवे * ॥ अन्यत्र वार्णिका ॥ वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचाम् * ॥ उशीरां तु वर्तिका ॥ अष्टका पितृदेवत्ये * ॥ अष्टिकान्या ॥ सूतकापुत्रिकावृन्दारकाणां वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ इह वा अ इति च्छेदः । कात्पूर्वस्याकारादेशो वेत्यर्थः । तेन पुत्रिकाशब्दे ङीन ईवर्णस्य पक्षेऽकारः । अन्यत्रेत्वबाधनार्थमकारस्यैव पक्षेऽकारः । सूतका सूतिकेत्यादि ॥

464. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका, सका, यकाम्, तकाम् ॥

Note :—The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यत् तदोः would have been a better sûtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीयते, तकां पचामहे ॥ Or यकांयकामधीमहे (i. e. ऋचां गाथां च), and तकां तकाम्पचामहे (i. e. ओषधीं शाकिनीं वा) ॥

Vârt :—Prohibition with regard to the affix त्यकन् (V. 3. 34 S. 1983) should be stated also :—As अधित्यका, उपत्यका ॥

Vârt :—So also in the affix वुन् used in benediction : as जीवतात् जीवका and भवतात् भवका See III. 1. 150. S. 2912.

Note :—The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, यासु अ लोमकाः ऋक्षकाः &c. But पाविकाः, अलोमिकाः in secular literature.

Vârt :—So also when the second member is elided in a compound : as देवका, यज्ञका, the second member दत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देवदत्तिका, यज्ञदत्तिका (अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः) See V. 3. 83 Vârt. S. 2035.

Vârt :—क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition : as क्षिपका ध्रुवका, ध्रुत्रका, चटका, कन्यका ॥

Vârt:—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vârt:—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhâgurî is a comemntary of Lokâyata'

Vârt:—वतका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्त्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vârt:—अष्टका when meaning a पितृदैवत्य ceremony, but अष्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitridaivatya, the affix is यत् ॥ The former is derived from the root अश् with affix तकन् (अश्नन्ति ब्राह्मणा ओदनमस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V. 1. 22 S. 1687).

Vârt:—Optionally सूतका, पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥ *

* The word वेति of this vârtika should be analysed as वा अ इति and not वा इति; and it means that अ is optionally substituted for the vowel that precedes क ॥ Therefore in पुत्रिका the short इ which is not the इ of this sûtra, but इ of ङीन् of पुत्री shortened to इ, this इ is replaced by अ ॥ In other examples अ is replaced by अ ॥

४६५ । उदीचामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यकपूर्वस्य स्त्रीप्रत्ययाकारस्य स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य कात्पूर्वस्येत्वं स्यादापि परे केऽण इति ह्रस्वः । आर्यका आर्यिका चटकका चटकिका ॥ आतः किम् ॥ सांकाश्ये भवा सांकाश्यिका ॥ यकोति किम् । अश्विका ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययेति किम् ॥ शुभं यातीति शुभंयाः ॥ अज्ञाता शुभंयाः ॥ शुभंयिका ॥ धास्वन्तयकोस्तु नित्यम् * ॥ सुनयिका ; सुपाकिका ॥

465. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the long आ of the feminine (under VII. 4. 13 S. 834 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As आर्यका or अर्यिका, चटकका or चटकिका ॥ Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांकाश्ये भवा=सांकाश्यिका ॥ The word संकाश्य is formed from संकाश by the affix ण्य (संकाशे निर्वृत्तं) ॥ Then is added the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 121 S. 1345). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वक-अश्विका only (from अश्वा) ॥ Why do we say the आ of the Feminine affix? The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here

शुभायिका from शुभंया (शुभं याति) ॥ So also भद्रंयिका from भद्रया, where आ is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74 S. 3418).

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated of the य and क् being finals of a root. When the य or क् preceding this आ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sûtra, does not apply : as सुनयिका, सुपाकिका ॥

४६६ भस्यैषाजाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि । ७ । ३ । ४७ ॥

स्वेत्यन्तं लुप्तषष्ठीकं पदम्, एषामत इद्वा स्यात् ॥ तदन्तविधिनैव सिद्धे नञ्पूर्वाणामपीति स्पष्टार्थम् ॥ भस्याग्रहणमुपसर्जनार्थम् अन्यस्य तूत्तरसूत्रेण सिद्धम् ॥ एषा द्वा एतयोस्तु सपूर्वयोर्नैत्त्वम् । अन्तर्वर्तिनी विभक्तिमाश्रित्याऽसुप इति प्रतिषेधात् ॥ अनेषका परमेषका अद्वके परमद्वके ॥ स्वशब्दग्रहणं संज्ञोपसर्जनार्थम् ॥ इह हि आतः स्थाने इदनुवृत्तं स्वशब्दस्यासौ विशेषणम् नतु द्वयोरसंभवात् । माट्यन्येषामप्यभिचारात् ॥ स्वशब्दस्त्वनुपसर्जनमात्मीयवाची अकजर्हः ॥ अर्थान्तरे तु न स्त्री ॥ संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतस्तु कप्रत्ययान्तत्वाङ्गवत्युदाहरणम् ॥ एवं चात्मीयायां स्विका ॥ परमस्विकेति नित्यमेवत्वम् ॥ निर्भस्त्रका निर्भस्त्रिका ॥ एषका एषिका ॥ कृतघत्वानिर्देशान्नेह विकल्पः ॥ एतिके एतिकाः अजका अजिका । द्वका द्विका ॥ द्वके द्विके ॥ निःस्वका निःस्विका ॥

466. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क by VII. 4. 13 S. 834), of **भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, द्वा, द्वा** (VII. 2. 102 S. 265), and **स्वा** ; even not then, when the negative particle precedes them.

The word **भस्यैषाजाद्वास्वा** of the Sûtra has no case affix, but we must interpret it as having the genitive case affix elided after it; the word **नञ्पूर्वाणामपि** is used in the Sûtra merely for the sake of clearness, for even without these words, the rule would have applied, when the negative particle preceded ; because as we have already shown, the rule of *tadanta vidhi* applies here. The word **भस्त्रा** is mentioned in the Sûtra to indicate that the rule would apply to it even then when it is an upasarjana. When it is not an upasarjana, the form would be evolved by the next Sûtra.

Note:—**भस्त्रा** is a word which has no corresponding masculine form and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here : as **अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा यस्या = अभस्त्रा**, the Diminutive of which is **अभस्त्रका** or **अभस्त्रिका** ॥ Here first the **भस्त्रा** is shortened, as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrîhi is made, the feminine affix **टाप्** is added to this **भाषितपुंस्क** word, then this **आ** is shortened before **क** by VII. 4. 13. This short **अ** (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the **आ** which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

But of the two words **एषा** and **द्वा**, the addition of इ would be prohibited, when they are preceded by another word ; because in a compound the elided case affix is considered to be present, and therefore the prohibition of **असुपः** of

Sûtra VII. 3. 44 S. 463 would have applied to these. Thus अनेषका, परमेषका, अद्वेके, परमद्वेके ।

Note :—The mention of these two words in the Sûtra from this point of view, would be rather redundant, while in the case of the other four words, भस्त्रा, अजा ह्रा, and स्वा, there would be ह्रस्व, by the option allowed by this Sûtra, even when they are the last members in a compound and in spite of the prohibition of असुपः ॥

By this process of elimination, we come to the conclusion stated above, that the words आतः स्थाने qualify स्व only. For this word alone is ambiguous. For when स्वा is a Sarvanama meaning one's own, *i. e.*, when it is not an upasarjana, then it is capable of taking अकच् by V. 3. 71. S. 2026. Thus स्वा + अकच् = स्व् अक् + आ = स्वका ॥ Here the अ before क is not an आ in the room of a long आ ; and so the present sûtra will not apply to this स्वका ॥ All the same the अ of स्व will be changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 ante, and it will be स्विका *always*. So also परमास्विका.

But when स्व means agnate, soul, or property, then it is never in the feminine originally. Therefore, it must be either a sainjñâ (Name) or an upasarjana (secondary member of a compound) in order to give scope to this sûtra. For then it can become feminine in long आ, which can take the affix क. Thus when स्वा is a Proper Name, the feminine will be स्वा and so with क, it will be स्विका or स्वका by the present sûtra.

So also निर्भस्त्रिका or निर्भस्त्रका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, ह्रका or ह्रिका, द्वेके or द्विके, निःस्वंका or निःस्विका ॥

The word एषा is read in the sûtra with a ष and it shows that the option of this sûtra does not apply when the त is not changed to ष, as एतिके and एतिकाः, for in the dual and plural there is not ष substitution.

Note :—Of एषा and द्वि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with the नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it is only when this अ is substituted that the feminine टाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and टाप्, comes after सुप्, and therefore by the prohibition of असुपः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अद्वेके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle अनेषका may mean अज्ञाता एषा or एषका or न एषका or अज्ञाता अनेषा ॥

The word स्व is taken in the Sûtra not as a Sarvanâma but in the sense of agnates and property, for the sake of implying that the rule will apply to it when it is a संज्ञा, (i. e. when it means agnates or property and not self) and when it is an upasarjana.

Note:—compare I. 1. 27. S. 213 for the Sarvanâma स्व ॥

The anuvṛitti of "आतः स्थाने," which we read in to this aphorism from the last sûtra, qualifies the long आ of स्वा only and not of the sarvanamans द्वा and एषा ॥ Because the sarvanamans take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71. where other words would have taken कप् or अज्ञात क or कुत्सित क &c.

Thus द्वा + अकच् = द्व + अक् + आ (because this अकच् comes always before the टि portion of a word). = द्वका ॥ Here the अ of द्व before क is not a *substitute* in the place of long आ of द्वा, but it is a portion of the affix अकच् ॥ Therefore the words आतः स्थाने can not qualify it.

As regards the other words भस्त्रा, भजा and ज्ञा there is no necessity of qualifying them by आतः स्थाने because they being invariably feminine, will *always* shorten their आ before क ॥

४६७ । अभाषितपुंस्काच्च । ७ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतस्मादिहितस्यातः स्थानेऽत इद्वा स्यात् ॥ गङ्गका गङ्गिका ॥ बहुव्रीहेर्भाषितपुंस्कत्वात्ततो विहितस्य नित्यम् ॥ अज्ञाता अखट्वा अखट्विका ॥ वैषिके कापि तु विकल्प एव ॥

467. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

अभाषित पुंस्क means a noun which is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. When a short अ *is ordained* to replace the long आ of such a feminine, there may be optionally इ in place of such a short अ in forming a secondary feminine. Thus गङ्गा is such a word. It has no corresponding masculine form. When we form a derivative noun from such a word, by the affix क before which आ is shortened by VII. 4. 13, such as, गङ्गक, then the feminine of this word may be either गङ्गका or गाङ्गिका ॥ But the addition of इ is not optional, but compulsory, after a Bahuvrîhi compound, though such a compound may have as its member an अभाषित पुंस्क word. The reason of this is, that a Bahuvrîhi compound is always a भाषित पुंस्क i. e. it has always a corresponding masculine form. Therefore, where a short अ is ordained to come in the place of a long आ of a word which though अभाषित पुंस्क singly is a member of a Bahuvrîhi compound, the इ substitution in the place of such अ is compulsory and not optional. Thus the word खट्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. We can form a Bahuvrihi compound from it such as अखट्व meaning 'a man who has no bedstead'. The feminine of this will be अखट्वा 'a woman who has no bedstead.' This need not take the Samâsânta affix कप् as V. 4. 154. S. 891. is optional. Now, this

word अखट्वा may take the affix क by V. 3. 73. S. 2028 when the sense is want of knowledge, such as अज्ञाता ऽखट्वा will be अखट्वा+क ॥ Before this क the long आ will be shortened to अ by VII. 4. 13 S. 834 Here the option of the present sûtra will not apply. Thus we shall have only one form. अखट्विका by VII. 3. 44. S. 463. meaning 'who is this women without a bedstead?' or 'is it really so that this woman has no bedstead.' But when the samâsânta affix कप् of sûtra V. 4. 154 S. 891 is added then the option of the present sûtra will apply. For when कप् is added, we have the Bahuvrîhi compounds as अखट्वाकः or अखट्वकः (VII. 4. 15 S. 892) 'a man who has no bedstead.' The Feminine of the second form अखट्वकः will be अखट्वाका or अखट्विका ॥

४६८ । आदाचार्याणाम् । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रविषये आद्या स्यात् गङ्गाका ॥ उक्तपुंस्कात्तु शुभ्रिका ॥

468. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ, which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form.

Thus गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But if a word has a corresponding masculine form, then there is no option, as शुभ्रिका ॥

४६९ । अनुपसर्जनात् । ४ । १ । १४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं यूनस्तिरित्यभिव्याप्य ॥ अयमेव स्त्रीप्रत्ययेषु तदन्तविधिं ज्ञापयति ॥

469. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem, which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikâra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77 : S. 531 and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas.' That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2 43 S. 653).

Note :—As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72 S. 26) does not apply to compounds; but the present sûtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds, for the purposes of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sûtra; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it, when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasajana), or principal (pradhâna). But the present sûtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

४७०। टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रच्तयप्ठक्ठञ्कञ्क्वरपः । ४ । १ । १५ ॥

अनुपसर्जने अदित्यादि तदन्तं अदन्तं प्रातिपदिकं ततः स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ॥ कुरुचरी ॥ उपसर्जनत्वान्नेह बहुकुरुचरा ॥ नदृद्, नदी ॥ वक्ष्यमाणेत्यत्र दित्त्वादुगित्त्वाच्च ङीप् प्राप्तः ॥ वासुटो ङित्त्वेन लाघवमनुबन्धकार्यं नादेशानामिति ज्ञापनान्न भवति ॥ इनः शानचः शित्त्वेन क्वचिदनुबन्धकार्येऽप्यनल्विधाविति निषेधज्ञापनाद्वा ॥ सौपर्णेयी । ऐन्द्री । औत्सी । ऊरुद्वयसी । ऊरुघ्नी । ऊरुमात्री । पञ्चतयी । आश्विकी । लाक्षणिकी । आदृशी । ईदृशी ॥ *ताच्छीलिके णेऽपि* ॥ चौरी नञ्स्नञ्क्रिकृच्छ्युस्तरुणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ स्त्रैणी । पौंस्नी । शाक्तीकी । आढ्यनाढ्वरणी । तरुणी । तलुनी ॥

470. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट्, or if the affix be ट्र or अण्, or अञ् or द्वयसच्, or दघ्नच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ्, or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvritti from IV. 1. 4 S. 454 and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टाप् of IV. 1. 4 S. 454. We shall give example of each *seriatim*. (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f, मद्रचरी (चर+ई = चर्+ई; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट (III. 2. 16 S. 2930), of which ट् is indicatory.

But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrîhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2,35 S. 898); therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा ॥ So also the word नदृद् is read with an indicatory द् in the पचादि class of Ganapâṭha under sûtra III. 1. 134 S. 2896, it forms its feminine as नदी, because it has an indicatory द् ॥

The word वक्ष्यमाण is formed with the affix शानच् (III. 3. 14. S. 3107), where the affix is the substitute of लृट् ॥ Therefore, this affix has an indicatory द् as well as an indicatory ण् and, therefore, its feminine ought to be formed by the present sûtra, and so the Feminine ought to be वक्ष्यमाणी ॥ This is, however, not the case, because of the following Paribhâshâ.

Paribhâsha :—"The substitutes of ल do not produce the effect which depends on the indicatory letters of ल ॥" This paribhâshâ is derived from the ज्ञापक of sûtra III. 4. 103 S. 2209 where the वासुट् the substitute of लिट् is made expressly ङित् ॥ Or, we may infer this from the prohibition अनल्विधौ of sûtra I. 1. 56. S. 49 So though in some places, the substitute शः शानचः may produce the operations required by anubandhas, because they have an indicatory श, yet it will not be so always.

(2) Of words ending in ट we have, m. सौपर्णेय f, सौपर्णेयी so also f.

वैनतेयी ॥ The ढ stands for the affix ढक्; and it is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Thus सुपर्णा + ढक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) = सुपर्णा + एय = सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118S. 1076).

Note:—There is no affix which is merely ढ without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix as said above is ढक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here:—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it," and we cannot say that the ढ of this sûtra refers to the anubandha-less ढ of V. 3. 102 S. 2057 which is always Neuter.

(3) So also इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्र ॥ Here अण् may have the force of साऽस्य देवता (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226) or तस्येदं (IV. 3. 120. S, 1500). Its feminine will be ऐन्द्री ॥

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औदपान, f. औदपानी, (IV. 1. 86 S. 1078).

Note:—Though by IV. I. 73 S. 527 the affix ङीन् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re-employment of this affix, in the present sûtra, is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix ङीष् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63 S. 518 that is, even when 'jâti' is indicated, 'nish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes द्वयसच्, दघ्नच्, and मात्रच् are added by V. 2. 37 S. 1838 as, ऊरुद्वयसी, ऊरुदघ्नी, ऊरुमात्री 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जानुद्वयसी, जानुदघ्नी, जानुमात्री ॥

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V. 2. 42 S. 1843). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five,' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in ठक् (IV. 4. 1. S. 1548) as, आक्षिकी 'a female dicer'. शालाक्किकी ॥ The ठ is replaced by इक (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170).

(8) Similarly with words ending in ञ्य (V. 1. 18 S. 1680): as, लावणिकी 'elegant'.

Note:—The affixes ठक् and ञ्य are separately enumerated in this sûtra, in order to exclude the affix ठन् &c. For had the word ठ merely been used, then it would have meant all the *three* affixes ठक्, ठन् and ञ्य, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III. 2. 60 S. 429) as, यादृशी, तादृशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरप् (III. 2. 163 S. 3143) as, द्रुत्वरी 'swift', नत्वरी ॥

Vârtika:—The words formed by the addition of the affix ण having the force of "whose habit is this," are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612),

Vart:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ and सञ् (IV. 1. 87 S. 1079) and ईकक् (IV. 4. 59 S. 1609) and वुन् (III. 2. 56 S. 2973) and of the words तरुण and तलुन

'a youth'. Thus स्त्रैणी 'a female', पौंस्नी 'a male', शाक्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', आब्यंकरणी 'enriching,; तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'.

४७१ । यञश्च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

यञन्तात्स्त्रियां ङीप्स्यात् अकारलोपे कृते ॥

471. The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्.' (IV. 1. 105 S.1107).

Note:—The separation of this sûtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvritti of यञ only runs and not of others.

Thus गार्ग्य-ा-ङीप् = गार्ग्-ा-ई (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) by which य is elided.

At this stage, applies the following Sûtra:—

४७२ । हलतद्धितस्य । ६ । ४ । १५० ॥

हल उत्तरस्य तद्धितयकारस्योपधाभूतस्य लोपः स्यादीति परे ॥ गार्गी ॥ अनपत्याधिकारस्थान्न ङीप् ॥ द्वीपे भवा द्वैप्या ॥ अधिकारग्रहणान्नेह देवस्यापत्यं दैव्या देवाद्यञ्प्राविति हि यञ प्राग्दीव्यतीयो न त्वपत्याधिकारपठितः ॥

472. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

Thus गार्ग्य् + ई = गार्ग् + ई = गार्गी.

Vart:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वैप्य of द्वीप-ा-यञ् (IV. 3. 10 S. 1380). Its feminine will be द्वैप्या 'living on or relating to an island.'

The यञ् must be the patronymic affix taught in the sub-division of patronymics, that is, in the Apatyâdhikâra. Therefore, the य ordained after दैव by the *Vârtika* under IV. 1. 85 S. 1077 will not form its feminine by this rule. Thus दैव्या the feminine of दैव्य, where यञ् is prâgdîvyatîya affix, pure and simple. and not an affix read in the apatyâdhikâra.

In the evolution of the feminine form गार्ग्यायणी, the following rules apply.

४७३ । प्राचां ष्फः तद्धितः । ४ । १ । १७ ॥

यञन्तात्ष्फोवा स्यात् स्त्रियां स च तद्धितः ॥

473. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix यञ्, and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

४७४ । षः प्रत्ययस्य । १ । ३ । ६॥

प्रत्ययस्यादिः ष इत्स्यात् ॥

474. The initial ष् of an affix is indicatory.

४७५ । आयनेयीनीयियः फढखछघां प्रत्ययादीनां । ७ । १ । २ ॥

प्रत्ययादिभूतानां फादीनां क्रमादायन्नादय आदेशाः स्युः । तद्धितान्तत्वात्प्रातिपदिकत्वम् । षित्त्वसामर्थ्यात् ष्फेणोक्तेऽपि स्त्रीत्वे षिद्गौरादिति वक्ष्यमाणो ङीष् ॥ गार्ग्यायणी ॥

475. आयन्, for फ् एय् for ढ्, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ्, and ईय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

गार्गायण, being a word formed with a Taddhita affix, it will be a prâtipadika, and therefore will take the feminine affixes.

Of this affix ष्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6 S. 474), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'ñish' (IV. 1. 41. S. 498). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, *viz.*, by 'shpha' and 'ñish.' The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prâtipadika (I. 2 46 S. 179). The affix फ is replaced by the substitute आयन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + ष्फ + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

Note :—The word सर्वत्र "every where" of the sûtra IV. 1. 18 S. 476 is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the application of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 S. 529 says :—'the affix ष्याङ् comes after आवट्य' ॥ Here आवट्य ends in यञ् and by IV. 1. 16, S. 471 the word आवट्य would have taken the affix ñîp : IV. 1. 75 S. 529 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added Thus आवट्यायनी ॥

४७६ । सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः । ४ । १ । १८ ॥

लोहितादिभ्यः कतशब्दान्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यो नित्यं ष्फः स्यात् । लौहित्यायनी । कात्यायनी ॥

476. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata,' when they take the affix यञ् ॥

Thus लौहित्यायनी and कात्यायनी ॥

Note :—The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105).

The present sûtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the IV. 1. 17. S. 473.

४७७। कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च। ४। १। १६॥

आभ्यां ष्फः स्यात्। टाप्डीपोरपवादः। कुर्वादिभ्योण्यः। कौरव्यायणी। ढक् च मण्डूकादित्यण्। माण्डूकायनी॥ * आसुरेरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ आसुरायणी॥

477. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक।

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by टाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), but for the present sûtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, S. 1122 the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of mâṇḍûka would heve been formed by ṅîp (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणी, माण्डूकायनी॥

Vart:—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and mâṇḍûkya. Thus आसुरायणी॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इञ् added to the word असुर; the word 'âsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333).

४७८। वयसि प्रथमे। ४। १। २०॥

प्रथमवयोवाचिनोऽदन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात्। कुमारी॥ * वयस्यचरम इति वाच्यम् * ॥ वधूटी। चिरण्टी। वधूटचिरण्टशब्दौ यौवनवाचिनौ। अतः किम्। शिशुः। कन्याया न। कन्याथाः कनीन चेति निर्देशात्॥

478. The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expresive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl', वर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vârt:—The sûtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वधूटी 'a young woman', चिरण्टी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pâṇini himself uses the word 'kanyâ' showing that it is a valid form; as in sûtra IV. 1. 116. S. 1119.

४७९। द्विगोः। ४। १। २१॥

अदन्ताद्द्विगोर्ङीप् स्यात्। त्रिलोकी। अजादित्वाट्टिलोप। त्र्यनीका सेना॥

479. The affix 'ङीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus त्रिलोकी॥ But we find त्रिफला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). Also त्र्यनीका सेना॥

४८० । अपरिमाणबिस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि । ४ । १ । २२ ॥

अपरिमाणान्ताद्बिस्ताद्यन्ताच्च द्विगोर्ङीप् न स्यात्तद्धितलुकि सति। पञ्चभिरश्वैः क्रीता पञ्चाश्वा॥ आर्हविष्टक् । अध्यर्धेति लुक् । द्वौ बिस्तौ पचति द्विबिस्ता। द्व्याचिता । द्विकम्बल्या। परिमाणान्तात्तु द्व्याढकी। तद्धितलुकि किम्। समाहारे पञ्चाश्वी॥

480. The affix ङीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure; or in 'bista', 'âchita', and 'kambalya'.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ठक् (V. 1. 37 S., 1702) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimâṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by ङीप् but by टाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वा 'a female purchased for five horses'. So also with the words बिस्त & c. As द्विबिस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिबिस्ता, द्व्याचिता, त्र्याचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimâṇa or a 'measure'? Observe द्व्याढकी, त्र्याढकी "a female purchased for two or three âḍhakas'. Here âḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb 11 oz avoir.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samâhâra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ñîp' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses' so also दशाश्वी॥

Note:—This debars 'nip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sûtra. The words बिस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas' आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolahs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

४८१ । काण्डान्तात्क्षेत्रे । ४ । १ । २३ ॥

क्षेत्रे यः काण्डान्तो द्विगुस्ततो न ङीप्। तद्धितलुकि। द्वे काण्डे प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विकाण्डा

क्षेत्रभक्तिः । प्रमाणे द्वयसजादिति विहितस्य मात्रचः प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यमिति लुक् । क्षेत्रे किम् । द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः ॥

481. The affix ङीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Divigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes द्वयसच् &c. denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vârtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' "The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure". The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'ṅîp' but by ṭâp; so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when the compound refers to superficial land measure? Observe द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'.

४८२ । पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २४ ॥

प्रमाणे यः पुरुषस्तदन्तादुद्विगोर्ङीप् वा स्यात्तद्धितलुकि । द्वौ पुरुषौ प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विपुरुषी द्विपुरुषा वा परिखा ॥

482. The affix 'ङीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sûtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal.

४८३ । ऊधसोऽनङ् । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

ऊधोऽन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । इत्यनङि कृते ङाप्ङीप्निषेधेषु प्राप्तेषु ॥

483. The syllable anaṅ is the substitute of the final of ऊधस् in a Bahuvrîhi.

Note:—As कुण्डमिव ऊधोऽस्याः = कुण्डोध्नी, घटोध्नी ॥ The feminine is formed by adding ङीप् ॥ (IV. 1. 25); and these words are always used in this form for the feminine only; no substitution takes place in the masculine, as महोधाः पर्जन्यः; घटोधो धेनुकम् ॥ ऊधस + अन् = ऊधन् (VI. 4 148 S. 311). ऊधन् + ङीप् = ऊधन् + ई (अ being elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234) = ऊध्नी ॥

When अनङ् is substituted, there arises the prohibition of ङाप् and ङीप्, when the following sûtra comes up.

४८४ । बहुव्रीहेरूधसो ङीष् । ४ । १ । २५ ॥

ऊधोऽन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्ङीष् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । कुण्डोध्नी । स्त्रियां किम् । कुण्डोधो धेनुकम् । इहाऽनङपि न । तद्विधौ स्त्रियामित्युपसंख्यानात् ॥

484. The affix 'ङीष' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in the word ûdhas 'an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrîhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोधस; then the final of ûdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131 S. 483); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. S. 460 & 461 *ante*; the present sûtra enjoins ङीष् instead. Thus कुण्डोध्नी (V. 4. 134 S. 872) 'a woman with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrîhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्राप्तोधाः (II. 2. 4 S. 715) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Why do we say in the feminine? The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have कुण्डोधो धेनुकम् ॥ Here there is no अनङ् even, for that is ordained after the feminines only.

४८५ संख्याऽव्ययादेर्ङीप् । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

ङीषोऽपवादः । द्व्यूध्नी । अत्यूध्नी । बहुव्रीहेरित्येव । ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता अत्यूधाः ॥

485. The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sûtra ordains 'nîp', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'nîsh'. Thus द्वी + ऊधस् + अनङ् + ङीप् (V. 4. 131 S. 483) = द्व्यूध्नी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूध्नी, 'having three udders' The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्यूध्नी 'many-uddered'; निरूध्नी 'having no udders'. The word "Bahuvrihi" is to be supplied here from the last. When the compound is not Bahuvrîhi we have अत्यूधा = ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता ॥

४८६ । दामहायनान्ताच्च । ४ । १ । २७ ॥

संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहेर्दामान्ताद्धायनान्ताच्च ङीप् स्यात् । दामान्ते ङाप्प्रतिषेधयोः प्राप्तयोर्हायनान्ते तापि प्राप्ते वचनम् । द्विदाम्नी । अव्ययग्रहणाऽननुवृत्तेरुहामा वडवेत्यत्र ङान्निषेधावपि पक्षे स्तः । द्विहायनी बाला ॥ * त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हायनस्य णत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ वयोवाचकस्यैव हायनस्य ङीप् णत्वं चेष्यते * ॥ त्रिहायणी । चतुर्हायणी । वयसोऽन्यत्र त्रिहायना ॥ चतुर्हायना शाला ॥

486. The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending

with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be be operated upon by two rules, *viz* by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining ङीप् and by IV. 1. 11 S. 459 prohibiting totally the affixing of ङीप् ; while हायन् would have taken long आ by IV. 1, 4, S. 454 ; the present sûtra ordains ñîp to the exclusion of all those As द्विदाम्नी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिदाम्नी ॥ We do not read the anuvritti of अव्यय from the last sûtra into this. Therefore when an Indeclinable such as उत् precedes दामन्, then the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 13 S. 46 and the prohibition of IV. 1. 11 S. 459 will apply, as उद्दामा वड़वा ॥ द्विहायनी बाला 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt :—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra. Therefore we have no ñîp here :—द्विहायना शाला 'a hall of two years existence.'

Ishṭi :—After त्रि and चतुर the न of हायन is changed into ण ; when हायन denotes 'age', and not otherwise. त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना when referring to a hall.

४८७ । नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

अन्नन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनो ङीप् स्यात् संज्ञाछन्दसोः । सुराज्ञी नाम नगरी । अन्यत्र पूर्वेण विकल्प एव । वेदे तु शतमूर्ध्नी ॥

487. The affix ङीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas, and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrîhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to IV. 1. 28 S. 462 ; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix ङीप ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surâjñî' ; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirâjñî'. When not a name, the option of IV, 1. 28 S. 462 will hold good. Similarly in the Chhandas we have शतमूर्ध्नी ॥

४८८ केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्यकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाच्च । ४ । १ । ३० ॥

एभ्यो नवभ्यो नित्यं ङीप् स्यात्संज्ञाछन्दसोः । अथोतइन्द्रः केवलीर्विशः । मामकी । भागधेयी । पापी । अपरं समानी । आर्यकृती । सुमङ्गली । भेषजी । अन्यत्र केवला इत्यादि । मामकग्रहणं नियमार्थम् । अण्णन्तत्वादेव सिद्धेः । तेन लोकेऽसंज्ञायां मामिका ॥

488. The affix ङीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्यकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sûtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामकी तनू in the Vedas and मामिका in the secular literature. भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी in the Vedas and भागधेया in Bhâshâ, तन्वः सन्तु पापी in the Vedas and पापा in Bhâshâ; अपरी as उताऽपरीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) otherwise अपरा; समानी व आकूतिः (Rigved,) otherwise समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; शिवारुद्रस्य भेषजी otherwise भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes ङीष् also by IV. I. 41. S. 498 as belonging to Gaurâdi class No. 86. The word मामक is read in the sûtra in order to make a restrictive rule with regard to it; for it would have taken ङीप् by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 even, because it is a word formed by अण् affix (IV. 3. 3 S. 1372). In the secular literature or otherwise it would be मामिका always (see VII. 3. 44. S. 463)

४८६ । अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् । ४ । १ । ३२ ॥

एतयोः स्त्रियां नुक् स्यात् ॥ ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् ॥ गर्भिण्यां जीवद्भर्तृकायां च प्रकृतिभागौ निपात्येते । तच्चान्तरस्थस्यां गर्भ इति विग्रहे अन्तःशब्दस्याधिकरणशक्तिप्रधानतयाऽस्तिसामानाधिकरण्याभावात्प्राप्तो मतुप् निपात्यते । पतिवत्नीत्यत्र तु वस्वं निपात्यते । अन्तर्वत्नी । पतिवत्नी । प्रत्युदाहरणं तु । अन्तरस्थस्यां शालायां घटः । पतिमती पृथिवी ॥

489. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the feminine affix ङीप् follows.

This sûtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end, by sûtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत्न् and पतिवत्न्; and these words must take ñîp by virtue of IV. 1. 5, S. 306 if not by this sûtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वत्नी and पतिवत्नी ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore, we have not the above forms in the following:—प्रथत त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वत्नी; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मतुप्) ॥ Because मतुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, S. 1894 while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. S. 1894. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मतुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sûtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 2 S. 1897 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas:—as सान्तर्वत्नी or सान्तर्वती देवानुपेत् ॥ पतिवत्नी or पतिवती तरुणवत्सा ॥

४९० । पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे । ४ । १ । ३३ ॥

पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्याद्यज्ञेन संबन्धे । वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी । तत्कर्तृकयज्ञस्य फलभोक्त्रीत्यर्थः । दम्पत्योः सहाधिकारात् ॥

490. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix ङीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी, meaning one who participates in the fruits of sacrifices performed by Vasishtha. Because sacrifices must be performed jointly by the husband and wife.

४९१ । विभाषा सपूर्वस्य । ४ । १ । ३४

पतिशब्दान्तस्य सपूर्वस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य नो वा स्यात् । गृहस्य पतिः गृहपतिः । गृहपत्नी । अनुपसर्जनस्येतीहोत्तरार्थमनुवृत्तमपि न पत्युर्विशेषणं किंतु तदन्तस्य । तेन बहुव्रीहावपि । दृढपत्नी दृढपतिः । वृषलपत्नी । वृषलपतिः । अथ वृषलस्य पत्नीति व्यस्ते कथमिति चेत् । पत्नीव पत्नीत्युपचारात् । यद्वा । आचारक्विबन्तात्कर्तरि क्विप् । अस्मिंश्च पक्षे पत्नियौ, पत्नियः, इतीयङ्विषये विशेषः सपूर्वस्य किम् । गवां पतिः स्त्री ॥

491. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति stands at the end of a compound. गृहपतिः or गृहपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprâpta-vibhâshâ. Because it is free from the limitations of "yajña-sanyoga' of the last sûtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe गवांपतिः स्त्री 'this lady is the mistress of cows'. Here the feminine is पत्नि and not पत्नी although preceded by गवां but with which it is not compounded.

The anuvritti of the word अनुपसर्जनस्य (though its anuvritti is necessary for the next sûtra,) does not qualify पति but the compound ending with पति in this sûtra. Therefore the rule will apply to पति even when it is an upasarjana, as being the last member of a Bahuvrihi compound; as दृढपत्नी or दृढपतिः "whose husband is strong". So also वृषलपत्नी or वृषलपतिः ॥

How then do you justify the phrase like वृषलस्य पत्नी "the Patni of a Sûdra", for a Sûdra cannot perform sacrifice, and so he cannot have a पत्नी in the proper sense of the word? Such usage is however allowed by analogy, for the wife of a Sûdra is analogous to the wife of a Brâhmaṇa. Or we may explain it by saying that the word here is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to पत्नी with the force of पत्नी इव आचरति "she who behaves like a Patni". If पत्नी be taken to have been so

formed, then it will take इयङ् in Plural and Dual by VI. 4. 77 S. 271 as पत्नियौ 'two wives of a Sûdra" and पत्नियः "many wives of a Sûdra" and not पत्न्यौ and पत्न्यः as is the general case. As a matter of fact, in ancient times Sûdras were allowed to perform sacrifices.

४९२ । नित्यं सपत्न्यादिषु । ४ । १ । ३५ ॥

पूर्वविकल्पापवादः । समानस्य भावोऽपि निपात्यते । समानः पतिर्यस्याः सा सपत्नी । एकपत्नी वीरपत्नी ॥

492. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix ङीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी Here समान is replaced by स by this sûtra.

४९३ । पूतक्रतोरै च । ४ । १ । ३६ ॥

अस्य स्त्रियामै आदेशो ङीप् च । इयं त्रिसूत्री पुंयोग एवेष्यते ॥ पूतक्रतोः स्त्री पूतक्रतायी । यथा तु क्रतवः पूताः स्यात्पूतक्रतुरेवसा ॥

493. In forming the feminine, the leter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रतु, when the affix ङीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायी 'this wife of Pûtakratu'. *Ishti*:—According to Patanjali this and the two succeeding sûtras, are valid then only, when the sense of the feminine words is that of "wife of so and so' otherwise these sûtras will not apply. see IV. 1. 48 S. 504 Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning "she by whom sacrifices (क्रतवः) are sanctified (पूताः)."

४९४ । वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः । ४ । १ । ३७ ॥

एषामुदात्त ऐ आदेशः स्यात् ङीप् च । वृषाकपेः स्त्री वृषाकपायी । हरिर्विष्णु वृषाकपी इत्यमरः, वृषाकपायी श्रीगौर्योरिति च । अग्नायी । कुसितायी । कुसिदायी । कुसिदशब्दो ह्रस्वमध्यो नतु दीर्घमध्यः ॥

494. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the letter ऐ having udâtta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसिद ॥

Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishâkapi' or Hara or Vishnu's wife (Amar III 3. 129 and 155) namely Lakshmî or Gaurî अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of Agni', कुसितायी the wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी

'the wife of Kusida'. In the above the udâtta falls on the syllables पौ, ग्रा, तौ and दौ respectively. The last word is कुसिद and not कुसीद as in some texts.

४६५ । मनोरौ वा । ४ । १ । ३८ ॥

मनुशब्दस्यौकारादेशः स्यादुदात्त ऐकारश्च वा । ताभ्यां संनियोगशिष्टो ङीप् च । मनोः स्त्री मनायी । मनावी । मनुः ॥

495. औ is the substitute of the final of मनु, or the udâtta ऐ optionally, and to the remaining base so formed, is added ङीप् in the feminine.

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'.

४६६ । वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तो नः । ४ । १ । ३९ ॥

वर्णवाची योऽनुदात्तान्तस्तोपधस्तदन्तादनुपसर्जनात्प्रातिपदिकाद्धा ङीप् स्यात्तकारस्य नकारादेशश्च । एनी । एता । रोहिणी । रोहिता । वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानामिति फिट्सूत्रेणाद्युदात्तः । त्र्येण्या च शालल्येति गृह्यसूत्रम् । त्रीण्येतानि यस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । अनुदात्तात्किम् । श्वेता । घृतादीनां चेत्यन्तोदात्तः । अत इत्येव । शितिः स्त्री ।* पिशङ्गादुपसङ्ख्यानम् *॥ पिशङ्गी । पिशङ्गा ॥ किंतु* असितपलितयोर्न * असिता । पलिता ॥* छन्दसि क्लमेकै * ॥ असिक्नी । पलिक्नी ॥ अवदातशब्दस्तु न वर्णवाची । विशुद्धवाची तेन अवदाता इत्येव ॥

496. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त as its penultimate letter : and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated.' रोहिणी or रोहिता, so श्येता or श्येनी 'black,' हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udâtta accent, on the first vowel, by the Phit sûtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानाम् 'of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or नि or त, the udâtta accent falls on the first vowel") as they are formed by तन् &c. (Un III. 36). Thus त्र्येण्या च शालल्या (Gṛihya Sûtra). The word tryenyâ is a Bahuvrîhi, meaning "she who has three variegated".

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color,' yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by the rule of Phit sutra I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words ghṛita &c., have udâtta on the final").

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter त in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिः स्त्री 'a black woman.' Here शिति : is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त,

has anudâtta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्विन्; but as it does not end in अ, its feminine is not formed with ṅîp.

Vârt:—The affix ṅîp comes also after the word पिशङ्ग; as, पिशङ्गी or पिशङ्गा 'of tawny color.'

Vârt:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पालत; as असिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey.'

Vârt:—According to some, the substitute क्रम् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्नी (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्नी R. Veda V. 2. 4. The word अवदातः does not denote 'color,' but "purity" hence its feminine is अवदाता ॥ Amarkosha is wrong when it says "अवदातः means white clear,"

४६७ । अन्यतो ङीष् । ४ । १ । ४० ॥

तोपधभिन्नाद्वर्णवाचिनोऽनुदात्तान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् । कल्माषी । सारङ्गी । लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बह्वचो गुरुरिति मध्योदात्तावेतौ । अनुदात्तान्तात्किम् । कृष्णा । कपिला ॥

497. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudâtta accent, and which has no त as penultimate.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sûtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism *i. e.* after words which have *not* त् as penultimate. The difference between ṅîp and ṅîsh affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्माषी ॥ Both these words have acute on the middle by Phiṭ Sûtra II. 19 (A word whose final syllable is light, or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable wherever that may be).

Why do we say "ending with a syllable which is gravely accented"? Because when the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

४६८ । षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४१ ॥

षिद्भ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च ङीष् स्यात् । नर्तकी । गौरी । अनड्वही । अनड्वाही ॥ पिप्पल्यादिभ्यश्च * ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

498. The affix ङीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicatory ष् and after the words गार and the rest.

Thus by Sûtra III. 1. 145 S. 2907 the affix ष्वुन् is added to a

root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take ङीष्. As, नर्तकी 'an actress.' So also the words गौर &c; as गौरी, अनड्वही अनड्वाही ॥

In the Gaurâdi class is to be included the Pippalâdi words also (see Gaṇapâtha at the end.) This is an Âkritigana, no complete list being given any where.

४६९ । सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः । ६ । ४ । १४९ ॥

अङ्गस्योपधाया यस्य लोपः स्यात्स्त्र चेद्यः सूर्याद्यवयवः ॥ *मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम् * ॥ *सूर्यागस्त्ययोश्छे च ङ्यां च * ॥ °तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि यलोप इति वाच्यम् * ॥ मत्स्री । मातरि षिच्चेति षित्त्वादेव सिद्धे गौरादिषु मातामहीशब्दपाठादनित्यः षितां ङीष् । दंद्रा ॥

499. Of the bha stems **सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य** and **मत्स्य** (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate **य्** is also elided before the long **ई** and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणैकाहिक् = सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV. 3. 112 S. 1492 = सौर्य, then ई of ङीष् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यापत्यं स्त्री = आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117). आगस्तीयः; So also मत्स्य—मत्स्री with ङीष् as it belongs to the Gaurâdi class (IV. 1. 41 S. 498).

Vârt:—The य of मत्स्य is elided before the feminine ई only: therefore not here मत्स्यस्येदं मांसं = मात्स्यम् ॥

Vârt:—Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes छ, and ई (of the feminine): as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेत्, आगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114)

Vârt:—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः = तैषः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3 S. 1204).

By the *vartika* मातरि षिच्च given under IV. 2. 36, S. 1242 the affix आमह in मातामह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word मातामह will take ङीष् because it is षित्; its inclusion in the list of Gaurâdi indicates that the rule of ङीष् application, because a word is षित्, is not universal (अनित्यः षिल्लक्षणो ङीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like दंद्रा &c.

५०० । जानपदकुण्डगोणस्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककवरादूवृत्त्यमत्रावपनाकृत्रिमाश्राणास्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनायोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु । ४ । १ । ४२ ॥

एभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः क्रमादूवृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु ङीष्स्यात् । जानपदी वृत्तिश्चेत् । अन्या तु जानपदी । उत्साद्यित्वादभन्तत्वेन द्विर्ढेति ङीप्यादुदात्तः । कुण्डी अमत्रं चेत् । कुण्डान्या । कुण्डि दाहे । गुणश्च हल इति अप्रत्ययः । यस्तु अमरेण जारजः कुण्ड इति मनुष्यजातिवचनस्ततो जातिलक्षणो ङीष् भवत्येव । अमत्रे हि स्त्रीविषयत्वाभावादप्राप्तो ङीष् विधीयते नतु नियम्यते । गोणी आवपनं चेत् । गोण्यान्या ।

स्थली अकृत्रिमा चेत् । स्थलाऽन्या । भाजी भ्राणा चेत् । भाजाऽन्या । नागी स्थूला चेत् । नागाऽन्या । गजवाची नागशब्दः स्थौल्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्त उदाहरणम् । सर्पवाची तु दैर्घ्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्तः प्रत्युदाहरणम् । काली वर्णश्चेत् । कालाऽन्या । नीली अनाच्छादनं चेत् । नीलाऽन्या । नील्या रक्ता शाटीत्यर्थः । नील्या अन्वक्तव्य इत्यत् । अनाच्छादनेपि न सर्वत्र किंतु ॥ *नीलादौषधौ *॥ नीली ॥* प्राणिनि च* ॥ नीली गोः ॥ संज्ञायां वा * ॥ नीली । नीला । कुशी अयोविकारश्चेत् । कुशाऽन्या । कामुकी मैथुनेच्छा चेत् । कामुकाऽन्या । कबरी केशानां संनिवेशश्चेत् । कबराऽन्या चित्रेत्यर्थः ॥

500. The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words jânapada &c, in the sense of profession &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल, 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9 कुश, 10 कामुक, and 11 कबर; the affix ङीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female' 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair'; respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix अञ् to janapada, by sûtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsâdi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix ङीष् will be added in this latter case by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'an adulteress'. To the root 'कुडि दाहे' the affix अ is added by III. 3. 103. S. 3280. The nasal being added, because the Verb is read with an indicatory ङ् in the Dhâtupâtha. The कुण्डः when meaning the son of a woman by a man other than her husband, while the husband is alive, is a word denoting caste or class and will therefore take ङीष् in the feminine by IV. 1. 63, S. 518. and therefore the feminine will be कुण्डी and कुण्डा ॥

In denoting a vessel in the feminine, there would have been no ङीष् in the feminine by any rule, so this rule ordains ङीष् and it does not make a niyama rule with regard to कुण्ड ॥ For, had it been a niyama rule, we could not have obtained the form कुण्डी meaning 'a female bastard'.

(3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोण, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थला as स्थलयोर्वर्कं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागी 'a stout elephantess', otherwise नागा "a long she-serpent". When नाग denotes

'an elephant' and the quality of stoutness is applied to it, then only its feminine will be नागी under the present sûtra. But when नाग denotes a serpent, and the length is only indicated, there the counter-example is नागा ॥

(7) काली 'a-black female', otherwise काला 'a name of a female where the name itself has no particular meaning.

(8) When cloth is not denoted, we have नीली ॥ But when cloth is meant, the feminine will be नीला which means 'a blue colored cloth.' This word is formed by adding the affix अन् denoting 'colored' by the *Vârtika* under sûtra IV. 2. 2. S. 1203 and thus the base is नीलम् to which आप् is added in forming the feminine.

The word अनाच्छादन in the sûtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses indicated below i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'.

Vârtika:—ङीष् is added in forming the feminine of नील when a medicinal plant is meant, as नीली 'an indigo plant'.

Vârtika:—So also when an animal is meant as नीलीगौः The Nilgâi.

Vârtika:—Optionally so, when it is a proper name, as नीली or नीला ॥

(9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth', (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कबरा 'mixed, variegated'.

५०१ । शोणात्प्राचाम् । ४ । १ । ४३ ॥

शोणी । शोणा ॥

501. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'.

५०२ । वोतो गुणवचनात् । ४ । १ । ४४ ॥

उदन्ताद्गुणवाचिनो वा ङीष् स्यात् ॥ मृद्वी । मृदुः । उतः किम्ः ॥ शुचिः । गुणेति किम् । आखुः ॥ * खरुसंयोगोपधान्न * ॥ खरुः पतिंवरा कन्या । पाण्डुः ॥

502. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word expressive of a quality and ending in short उ ॥

Thus मृदुः or मृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'?. Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say

"expressive of a quality?" Observe आखुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and femenine).

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated after the word स्वर, and after words ending in short इ, which have a conjunct consonant as penultimate. As स्वरिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmaṇî who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is common gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरियं ब्राह्मणी ॥

५०३। बह्वादिभ्यश्च। ४। १। ४५॥

एभ्यो वाङीष् स्यात्। बह्वी बहुः॥ * कृत्रिकारादक्तिनः * ॥ रात्रिः। रात्री॥ सर्वतोऽक्तिन्नर्था दित्येके॥ शाकादिः। शाकादी। अक्तिन्नर्थात्किम्। अजननिः। क्तिन्नन्तस्यादप्राप्ते विध्यर्थं पद्धतिशब्दो गणे पठ्यते। हिमकाषिहतिषु च पद्धतिः। पद्धतिः पद्धती॥

503. And the affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी॥

Vârtika:—So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रिः or रात्री॥

Vârtika:—Some: say that the feminine affix *nîsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन्॥ As शाकादिः or शाकादी॥

Why do we say 'not क्तिन्'? Observe अजननिः॥

The word पद्धति is read in the Gaṇapâṭha, to make it a *vidhi*, although it is formed with the affix क्तिन्॥ This word is formed in accordance with the rule laid down in VI. 3. 54. S. 992. Thus:—पाद+हति+क्तिन्=पद्धति॥ Its Feminine is either पद्धतिः or पद्धती॥

५०४। पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्। ४। १। ४८

या पुमाख्या पुंयोगात् स्त्रियां वर्तते ततो ङीष् स्यात्। गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी॥ * पालकान्तान्न * ॥ गोपालिका। अश्वपालिका॥ * सूर्यादेवतायां चाप् वाच्यः * ॥ सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या। देवतायां किम्। सूरी कुन्ती। मानुषीयम्॥

504. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Thus the wife of Gopa is गोपी.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words ending in पालक॥ Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'; also अश्वपालिका॥

Vârt:—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sûrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sûrya.' Why do we say 'a celestial being'? Observe सूरी denoting the human wife of Sûrya, such as, Kunti.

५०५ इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् । ४।१।४९॥

एषामानुगागमः स्यात् ङीष् च । इन्द्रादीनां षण्णां मातुलाचार्ययोश्च पुंयोग एवेष्यते । तत्र ङीषि सिद्धे आनुगागमनार्थं विधीयते । इतरेषां चतुर्णामुभयम् ॥ इन्द्राणी ॥ * हिमारण्ययोर्महत्त्वे *॥ महद्धिम हिमानी । महदरण्यम् अरण्यानी ॥ * यवाद्दोषे * ॥ दुष्टो यवो यवानी । * यवनाल्लिप्याम् । यवनानां लिपिर्यवनानी ॥ * मातुलोपाध्यायोरानुग्वा * ॥ मातुलानी । मातुली । उपाध्यायानी ॥ उपाध्यायी ॥ * या तु स्वयमेवाध्यापिका तत्र वा ङीष् वाच्यः * ॥ उपाध्यायी । उपाध्याया ॥ आचार्यादणत्वं च * ॥ आचार्यस्य स्त्री आचार्यानी । पुंयोग इत्येव । आचार्या स्वयं व्याख्यात्री ॥ आर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यां वा स्वार्थे ° ॥ अर्यानी । अर्या । स्वामिनी वैश्या वेत्यर्थः । क्षत्रियानी । क्षत्रिया । पुंयोगे तु । अर्यी । क्षत्रियी । कथं ब्रह्मणीति । ब्रह्माणमानयति जीवयतीति कर्मण्यण् ॥

505. The augment **आनुक्** is added to the Proper Nouns **इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र,** and **मृड,** and to the words **हिम** 'snow,' **अरण्य** 'a forest,' **यव** 'barley,' **यवन** 'a Yavana,' **मातुल** 'a maternal uncle,' and **आचार्य** 'a preceptor,' before the feminine affix **ङीष्॥**

The present sûtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment **आनुक्** (**आन्**) and secondly the feminine affix **ङीष॥** Out of the above words, in the case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, *i. e.* the Proper Nouns upto **मृड**, the present sûtra teaches only the addition of the augment **आनुक्**, for in their case, the affix **ङीष्** would follow by force of the preceding Sûtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus **इन्द्राणी** 'the wife of Indra.'

Vârt:—Of the words **हिम** and **अरण्य**, there is the augment **आनुक्** in the sense of greatness. Thus **हिमानी** 'a glacier, much snow,' **अरण्यानी** 'a great forest.' Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vârt:—After the word **यव** 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley while not being a barley. In fact, the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus **यवानी** "a kind of grain, oat."

Vârt:—After the word **यवन**, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus **यवनानी** 'the written character of the Yavanas.'

Vârt:—Of the words **मातुल** 'a maternal uncle,' and **उपाध्याय** 'a preceptor,' when the feminine affix comes to express the wife there of, the augment **आनुक्** is optional. Thus **मातुलानी** or **मातुली** 'the wife of a maternal uncle' **उपाध्यायानी** or **उपाध्यायी** 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vârtika:—But when the female herself is a teacher (not necessarily the wife of a teacher) then the addition of ङीष् is optional. Thus उपाध्यायी or उपाध्याया.

Vârt:—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2 S. 197), after the word आचार्य। Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vârt:—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally: when the matrimonial relation is not intended, but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class,' क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.' When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only ङीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya,' क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya.'

How do you explain the form ब्रह्माणी? It is derived from the derivative word ब्रह्माण by adding ङीष्. The word ब्रह्माण is formed by adding the affix अण to the root अन् "to breathe" in the sense of object by III. 2. 1. S. 2913, ब्रह्म + अन् + अण् = ब्रह्माण : f ब्रह्माणी.

५०६। क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात्। ४। १। ५०॥

क्रीतान्तादन्तात्करणादेः स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात्। वस्त्रक्रीती। क्वाचिन्न। धनक्रीता॥

506. The affix ङीष is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means where with the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण of 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth.' The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

५०७। क्तादल्पाख्यायाम्। ४। १। ५१॥

करणादेः क्तान्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यादल्पत्वे द्योत्ये। अभ्रलिप्ती द्यौः॥ अल्पाख्यायाम् किम् चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गना॥

507. The affix ङीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting "the means where with," is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

Thus अभ्रविलिप्ती द्यौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds',

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गना "a lady covered with sandal essence?"

Note:—The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting 'the means where with', of the last Sûtra governs this also. The participle in क्त must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection there with. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sûtra qualifies the whole word.

५०८। बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात्। ४। १। ५२॥

बहुव्रीहेः क्तान्तादन्तोदात्तात्परस्मात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात्॥ * जातिपूर्वादिति वक्तव्यम्*॥ तेन बहुनम्सुकालसुखादिपूर्वान्न। ऊरुभिन्नी। नेह। बहुकृता॥ * जातान्तान्न *॥ दन्तजाता। * पाणिगृहीती भार्यायाम् *॥ पाणिगृहीतान्या॥

508. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

Note:—The word क्तात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sûtra applies to those Bahuvrîhi compounds in which the first member is a *svânga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svânga* word, then the application of the rule is optional.

Vârt:—It should be stated that the rule applies to those compounds only which have a word denoting jâti (class-name) as first member. As ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh' but not in 'बहुकृता' on account of the following *Vârtika*:—

Vârt:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नञ्, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, &c,

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born,' which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus दन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'.

Vârt—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निसाक्षिकं यस्या पाणिर्गृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Note:—Bahuvrîhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

५०९। अस्वाङ्गपूर्वपदाद्वा। ४। १। ५४॥

पूर्वेण नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पोऽयम्। सुरापीती। सुरापीता। अन्तोदात्तात्किम्। वस्त्रच्छन्ना। अनाच्छादनादित्युदात्तनिषेधः। अत एव पूर्वेणापि न ङीष्॥

509. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the

feminine after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in क, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तादात्तात् and क्तान्तात् govern this sûtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus सुरापीनी or सुरापीता ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svânga* word'? Observe शंखभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

Why do we say when the final is acutely accented? Observe वस्त्रच्छन्ना which is not acutely accented on the final (see VI. 2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170, and therefore it will not take ङीष् even by the preceding sûtra.

५१०। स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

असंयोगोपधमुपसर्जनं यस्त्वाङ्गं तदन्तादक्तान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वा ङीष् । केशाननिक्रान्ता अतिकेशी । अतिकेशा । चन्द्रमुखी । चन्द्रमुखा । संयोगोपधास्तु सुगुल्का । उपसर्जनात्किम् । शिखा । स्वाङ्गं त्रिधा ।

अद्रव्यं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् * ॥

सुस्वेदा इववत्वात् । सुज्ञाना अमूर्तत्वात् । सुमुखा शाला अप्राणिस्थत्वात् । सुशोफा विकारजत्वात् ॥

अतस्थं तत्र दृष्टं च * ॥

सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या । अप्राणिस्थस्यापि प्राणिनि दृष्टत्वात् ॥

तेन चेत्तत्तया युतम् * ॥

सुस्तनी सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा प्राणिवत्प्राणिसदृशे स्थितत्वात् ॥

510. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (*i. e.* the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant.)

Thus अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा; चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान्, and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Note:—The *anuvritti* of the words बहुव्रीहेः, क्तान्तादन्तोदात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the anuvritti of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sutra.

Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशीखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why

do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुपार्श्वा ॥

The स्वाङ्ग which is of three sorts, has a technical meaning, as given in the following verse :—

अद्रव्यं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।
अतत्स्थं तत्तदृष्टं च तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which (1) not-being-a-fluid (अद्रव्यं) is capable of being perceived by the senses, because of its having-a-form (मूर्तिमत्) is svâṅga; it must exist-in-a-living-being, (प्राणिस्थ), but not produced by a change from the natural state (अविकारज) (2) Or though found elsewhere actually (अतत्स्थ lit. not actually there in the body) had previously been known as existing in only a living being (तत्तदृष्ट lit. was seen in the body); (3) Or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it *is in*, as a similar thing has to a living being तेन चेत् तत् तथा युतम् ॥

Thus of the first kind of Svâṅga, the counter-examples are सुस्वेदा "she who has good sweat:" here "sweat" is "*liquid*" and so it is not a svâṅga; सुज्ञाना "who has good knowledge"; here "knowledge" has no *form*, and so it is not a svâṅga, सुमुखा शाला "a hall having a good front," here मुख though lit. "face," is applied to an inanimate object, and so is not svâṅga; so that the following is wrong फलमुखी कारणमुखी चानवस्था; similarly सुशोफा "she who has a good deal of swelling or tumours." Here "swelling" or "tumours" are not natural members of body but excrecences; and hence it is not a svâṅga.

Of the second kind of svâṅga words, the example is सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथा "A chariot well-cushioned with hair." Though chariot is a non-living being yet hair is always found in a living being.

Of the third kind of svâṅga, we have सुस्तनी or सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा "a statue having good breasts." Here the breasts have the same relation to the statue as they have in an animate being.

५११ । नासिकोदौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाच्च । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

एभ्यो वा ङीष् स्यात् । आकारार्थेऽङ्गलक्षणो निषेधो बाध्यते । पुरस्तादपवादन्यायात् । ओष्ठाङ्गीनां पङ्गानां तु असंयोगोपधात्वात् पर्युदासे प्राप्ते वचनम् । मैथ्येऽपवादन्यायात् । सहनञ्लक्षणस्तु प्रतिषेधः परत्वादस्य बाधकः । तुङ्गनासिका । तुङ्गनासिका इत्यादि । नेह । रूढनासिका । अनासिका । अत्र वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गगात्रकण्ठेभ्यो वक्तव्यः * ॥ स्वङ्गी स्वङ्गेत्यादि । एतच्चानुक्तसमुच्चयार्थेन चकारेण संगृह्यमिति केचित् ॥ भाष्याद्यनुक्तत्वादप्रमाणमिति प्राचामणिकाः । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥ पुच्छाच्च * ॥ सुपुच्छी । सुपुच्छा ॥ कबरमणिविषशरेभ्यो नित्यम् * ॥ कबरं चित्रं पुच्छं यस्याः सा कबरपुच्छी मयूरी इत्यादि ॥ उपमानात्पक्षा पुच्छाच्च * ॥ नित्यमित्येव । उलूकपक्षी शाला । उलूकपुच्छी सेना ॥

511. And the feminine ङीष् comes optionally after

compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip,' जङ्घा 'leg,' दन्त 'a tooth,' कर्ण 'ear,' and शृङ्ग 'horn'"

The first two words नासिका and उदर are words of more than two syllables, and so would have been governed by the following sûtra. This sûtra debars the application of IV. 1. 56, which follows it on the maxim पुरस्त "Apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the Apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules."

While the five words ओष्ठ &c., were excluded from the operation of the preceding sûtra by the incidental negation (paryudâsa) of असंयोगोपधात् ॥ This present sûtra makes an exception to that exception with regard to these five words. This is on the maxim: मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavâdas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that PRECEDE, not those that follow them." Therefore though the sûtras IV. 1. 54 and 56, are superseded by the present sûtra, not so the sûtra IV. 1. 57, which supersedes this because of its being *subsequent* but one.

Thus तुङ्गनासिकी or तुङ्गनासिका; &c; but we have only one form as सहनासिका, अनासिका by the operation of IV. 1. 57 S. 513.

In the opinion of Kâtyâyana, the affix ङीष् optionally comes after अङ्ग, गात्र, कण्ड &c. Thus स्वङ्गी or स्वङ्गा &c.

According to others, all this as well as that which is not mentioned here may be taken as read into the sûtra by the force of the connecting particle च ॥ While on the other hand those who are very particular about authority, say that we cannot do so, because these are not mentioned in the *Bhâsya*. Hence the following *Vartikas*:—

Vârt:—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail.' As सुपुच्छा or सुपुच्छी ॥

Vârt:—The affix *ñish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर meaning variegated, picturesque मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen' मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vârt:—So also the feminine affix *ñish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

४१२ । न क्रोडादिबहुचः । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

क्रोडादिबहुचश्च स्वाङ्गान्न ङीष् । कल्याणक्रोडा । अश्वानामुरः क्रोडा । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । सुजघना ॥

512. The feminine affix ङीष् does not come after

a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

क्राडा means 'the breast of a horse.' The krodâdi class is âkritigana. So is also सुजघना which is a word of more than two syllables.

Note:—According to Ganaratnamahodadhi the word क्रोड without any gender is read in the Ganapâtha: implying that examples can be given with all the three genders. Mâdhava derives it from krud with घञ्; krodâ meaning the breast of a horse and according to him क्राडा is read in Ganapâtha: and it forms Bahuvrîhi when it has the sense above given. Otherwise as a general svânga word we have ङीष् as कल्याणक्रोडी मयूरी ॥

Note:—The class क्रोड &c. is akriti-gana, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोणा, कल्याणखुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याण वाला, कल्याण शफा, कल्याण घाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पथुजघना, महालेलादा ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrîhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pungvad-bhâva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

५१३। सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च। ४। १। ५७ ॥

सहेत्यादित्रिकपूर्वान्न ङीष्। सकेशा। अकेशा। विद्यमाननासिका ॥

513. The affix ङीष् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सकेशा, अकेशा, विद्यमाननासिका ॥

Note:—The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 *ante*: as well as IV. 1. 54.

५१४। नख मुखात्संज्ञायाम्। ४। १। ५८ ॥

ङीष् न स्यात्। शूर्पणखा। गौरमुखा। सञ्ज्ञायां किम्। ताम्रमुखी कन्या ॥

514. The feminine affix ङीष् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा = शूर्पणखा, 'Sûrpaṇakhâ the sister of Râvaṇa'. The न् is changed to ण् by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also गौरमुखा, Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel'.

५१५ । दिक् पूर्वपदात् ङीप् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदशब्दात्प्रातिपदिकात्परस्य ङीषो ङीबादेशः स्यात् । प्राङ्मुखी । आद्युदात्तं पदम् ॥

515. The feminine affix ङिप् replaces ङीष् after a Nominal stem denoting a part of the body which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

Thus प्राँङ्मुखी ॥ The accent here falls on the first syllable.

Note:—This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sûtras 510 to 514. Whereever by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent; the affix ङीप् being anudâtta (III.1. 4. S. 3709). Thus प्राँङ्मुखी ॥

५१६ । वाहः । ४ । १ । ६१ ॥

वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीष स्यात् । ङीषेवानुवर्तते न ङीप् ॥ दित्यवाट् च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

516. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह् ॥

The anuvṛitti of ङीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीप, though the latter was nearer. Thus दित्यवाट् च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

Note:—The word वह is formed from the root वह with the affix ण्व (III. 2, 64). The word वाह् is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vâh." Thus दित्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—दित्य + वाह् + ङीष् = दित्य + ऊठ् + आह् + ङीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊठ्, Uth is the samprasârana of vâh, when this is a *bha*) = दित्य + ऊह् + ङीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasârana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute'), = दित्यौही (VI. I. 89 S. 73 एत्येधत्यूठ्सु vriddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or ûth follow'). Similarly प्रष्टौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

५१७ । सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

इतिशब्दः प्रकारे भाषायामित्यस्यानन्तरं द्रष्टव्यः । छन्दस्यपि क्वचित् । सखी । अशिश्वी । आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः ॥

517. The form सखी 'a female companion" and अशिश्वी "a childless woman," are irregular forms ending in ङीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to Vaidic) Sanskrit.

The word इति in the sûtra has the force of प्रकार "thus" its syntacti-

cal position is after भाषायाम् ॥ Therefore we find sometime such use in the vaidic literature also.

Note :—Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्याः शिश्नरस्तीति = अशिश्वी ॥ Why do we say in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखासप्तपदी भव and अशिश्नमत्र मामयं शिश्नरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

५१८। जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोपधात् । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

जातिवाचि यत्र च स्त्रियां नियतमयोपधं ततः स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ।

आकृतिग्रहणा जातिः * ॥

अनुगतसंस्थानव्यङ्ग्येत्यर्थः । तटी ॥

लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ॥

सकृदाख्यातनिर्ग्राह्या * ॥

असर्वलिङ्गत्वे सत्येकस्यां व्यक्तौ कथनाद्व्यक्त्यन्तरे कथनं विनापि सुग्रहा जातिरिति लक्षणान्तरम् । वृषली । सत्यन्तं किम् । शुक्ला । सकृदित्यादि किम् । देवदत्ता ॥

गोत्रं च चरणैः सह * ॥

अपत्यप्रत्ययान्तः शाखाध्येतृवाची च शब्दो जातिकार्यं लभत इत्यर्थः । औपगवी । कठी । बह्वृची । ब्राह्मणीत्यत्र तु शार्ङ्गरवादिपाठात् ङीनो ङीष बाध्यते । जातेः किम् । मुण्डा । अस्त्रीविषयात्किम् । बलाका । अयोपधात्किम् । क्षात्रिया ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे हयगवयमुकयमनुष्यमत्स्यानामप्रतिषेधः * ॥ हयी । गवयी । मुकयी । हलस्तद्धितस्येति यलोपः । मानुषी । मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम् ० ॥ मत्स्यी ।

518. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jâti or species, when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति is thus defined :—

आकृति ग्रहणा जातिर्लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ।
सकृदाख्यात निर्ग्राह्या गोत्रं च चरणै : सह ॥

(This verse is split up into three parts by Bhattoji and thus explained): आकृतिग्रहणाजातिः whatever is distinguishable from another (*species*) on account of its possessing certain form or figure (common to individuals of that class) is a jâti. Or a jâti noun is that which expresses a distinguishing feature. Thus तटी 'a bank, a place near the river.' But :—(2) लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् "Provided that it is not a word used in all genders" (for then it will be a genus and not *species*), सकृदाख्यात निर्ग्राह्या, but though not used in all genders, yet while employed to denote a single individual and therefore in singular number, it will apply to other individuals of the class without their being

specially mentioned. Such a word would also be jâti. Thus वृषली "a low caste woman," which implies her sons, brothers &c. Why do we say not having all genders? Observe शुक्ला॥ Why do we say "singly used implying others"? Observe देवदत्ता (3) गोत्रं च चरणैः सह "A word denoting Gotra descendant denoted by a grammatical affix and charan (or school) is also a jâti word." That is to say, a word formed with a Patronymic affix, and expressive of a person belonging to a particular branch of Vedic school, who studies a particular portion of the Vedas. As औपगवी, कठी बह्वृची॥ In ब्राह्मणी the ङीष् is debarred by ङीन् as it is read in sarṅgaravâdi class. (IV. 1. 73)

Why do we say "expressive of jâti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jâti but a quality.) Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness बलाका 'a mistress, a beloved woman.' Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.'

Vârt:—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words (which have a penultimate य्) *viz.*, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans,' हय 'horse,' मुकय 'a sort of animal' मत्स्य 'a fish,' and मनुष्य 'a man.' Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 S. 472 इलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी॥ The य् of *Matsya* is elided by the vârtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम्'॥ See also VI. 4. 149. S. 499 All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41 S. 498) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vârtika.

Note:—The Loukika Gotra should not be confounded with the Grammatical Gotra. Charana is one who studies a particular shâkhâ of a Veda. Some explain however, that the word Gotra here means the Laukika Gotra of Clans. The above examples of कठी meaning "a woman who reads the Veda as belonging to the Katha Shakhâ" and बह्वृची "a woman who must read Rik verses," show that women were not debarred from the study of *Vedas* even in Pânini's time. The present day prohibition is of recent origin, not more than a thousand years or so. For we read:—

पुरा कल्पेषु नारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते।
अध्यापन च वेदानां सावित्रीवचनं तथा॥

"In ancient times women were invested with the sacred thread and girdle of a Brahmacharin and they were taught the Vedas and the Gayatri."

५१९। पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलबालोत्तरपदाच्च। ४। १। ६४॥

पाकाद्युत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः स्त्रीविषयादपि ङीष् स्यात्। ओदनपाकी। शङ्कुकर्णी॥ शालपर्णी। खड्गपुष्पी। दासीफला। दर्भमुली। गोवाली। ओषधिविशेषे रूढा एते॥

519. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jâti, followed by the following पाक 'cooked,' कर्ण 'ear,' पर्ण 'leaf,' पुष्प 'flower,' फल 'fruit,' मूल 'root,' and वाल 'youth.'

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females, and, therefore, were not provided by the last sûtra. Thus शोभनपाकी शंकुकर्णी, शालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, दासीफली, दर्भमूली, and गोवाली all these are rûdhî words expressing medicinal herbs.

When, however, the affix ङीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajâdi class (IV. 1. 4 S. 454 ; such as संफला, भद्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c.

५२० । इतो मनुष्यजातेः । ४ । १ । ६५ ।

ङीष् स्यात् । दाक्षी । योपधादपि । उदमेयस्यापत्यं औदमेयी । मनुष्येति किम । तैत्तिरिः ॥

520. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti,' कुन्ती 'women of Kunti,' दाक्षी 'Dâkshî.' Thus अवन्ति + ञ्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) 'आवन्त्यः men of Avanti.' In the feminine this affix by iV. 1. 176 S. 1195 is elided. दाक्षी "the female descendant of Daksha." Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness वैश्य 'Vaishya,' दरत् 'Darat.' Why do we say "of men"? Witness तैत्तिरिः 'partridge.'

Though the anuvritti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1. 63, S. 518 its repetition here indicates that ङीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य्. Thus औदमेयी ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इञ् (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292) though they do not denote a *jati*. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचित्ती ॥ The affix इञ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 and ordained to come after सुतंगम &c., and does not denote a jâti.

५२१ । ऊङुतः । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उकारान्तादयापधान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । कुरूः ॥ कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ तस्य स्त्रियामवन्तीत्यादिना लुक् । अयोपधात्किम् । अध्वर्युः ॥ अप्राणिजातेश्चारज्ज्वादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ रज्ज्वादिपर्युदासादुवर्णान्तेभ्य एव । अलाबूवा । कर्कन्धूवा । अनयोर्ह्रस्वान्तत्वेऽपि नोङ्धात्वोरिति विभक्तयुदात्तत्वप्रतिषेध ऊङः फलम् ॥ प्राणिजातेस्तु कृकवाकुः । रज्ज्वादेस्तु रज्जुः । हनुः ॥

521. After a nominal-stem ending in short उ not having the letter य् as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvritti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sûtra to complete it. Thus कुरु : 'a female of the country of the Kurus,' ब्रह्मबन्धू : "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called," जीवबन्धू : "a woman of the Jîvabandhu class."

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 in the feminine.

Note :—The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form करू (कुरु + उ = करु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, S. 891 in Bahuvrîhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबंधूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175 S. 3721), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sûtra VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambignous, for we could not have known what affix was partcularly meant there. Thus in ब्रह्मबन्धवां we could not have known the accent.

Why do we say "not having the letter य् as its penultimate"? Witness अध्वर्युब्राह्मणी 'a woman versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vârt :—The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions afterwords denoting non-animate jâti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाबूः 'the bottlegourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Though these two words have ऊ in the masculine also, yet the addition of another long ऊ in the feminine indicates the difference of *accent*, though not of form, as अलाब्वां and कर्कन्ध्वा are svarita accented on the final by VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकुः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c. The example अलाब्वा is Instrumental singular, and it is here that the rule of accent can be illustrated, and not in the Nominative or Accusative.

५२२ । बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । भद्रबाहूः । संज्ञायां किम् । वृत्तबाहुः ॥

522. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहूः 'Bhâdrabâhû'. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहुः 'a woman having rounded arms,' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

५२३ । पङ्गोश्च । ४ । १ । ६८ ॥

पङ्गूः । श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च * ॥ चादूङ् । पुंयोगलक्षणस्य ङीषोऽपवादः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्वादयः । श्वश्रूः ।

523. The feminine affix ऊङ comes after the word पंगु 'lame'.

As पङ्गूः 'a female lame'.

Vârt :—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter अ of the word. As श्वश्रूः 'mother-in-law'. This debars the punyoga ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504 The case affixes are added to the base श्वश्रू on the maxim प्रातिपदिक ॥ &c. see IV. 1. 1. S. 182.

५२४ । ऊरूत्तरपदादौपम्ये । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उपमानवाचिपूर्वपदमूरूत्तरपदं यत्प्रातिपदिकं तस्मादूङ् स्यात् । । करभोरूः ॥

524. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus करभोरूः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरूः स्त्री "a woman with round thighs". The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचकर्ष च करेणुकरोरुभिः ॥

५२५ । संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च । ४ । १ । ७० ॥

अनौपम्यार्थं सूत्रम् । संहितोरूः । सैव शफोरूः । शफौ खुरौ तावित्र संश्लिष्टत्वादुपचारात् । लक्षणशब्दाश्वर्क्षभाद्यच् । लक्षणोरूः । वामोरू ॥ सहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हितेन सह सहितौ ऊरू यस्याः सा सहितोरूः । सहेते इति सहौ ऊरू यस्याः सा सहोरूः । यद्वा । विद्यमानवचनस्यैव सहशब्दस्य ऊर्वतिशयप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगः ॥

525. The feminine affix ऊङ comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरूः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity).' शफोरूः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cows foot". लक्षणोरूः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरूः 'with handsome thighs.' The word lakshana is a Taddhita-formed word meaning "she who has the mark". The affix ऋक् is added to lakshana by its belonging to ऋक्शादि class V. 2. 129. S.

Vârt:—So also with the words सहित and सह ॥ As सहितारूः and सहारूः ॥ The word सह here has the force of denoting largeness or excessiveness though it literally means mere existence.

५२६ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ७२ ॥

कद्रुकमण्ड्वोः संज्ञायां स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । कद्रूः । कमण्डूः । संज्ञायां किम् । कद्रुः कमण्डलुः । अच्छन्दोऽर्थं वचनम् ॥

526. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु ॥

This rule applies to other than Vaidic forms. Thus कद्रूः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa,' कमण्डूः 'Kamandalû.' Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रुः 'the tawny color.' कमण्डलुः 'a water-gourd.'

५२७ । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन् । ४ । १ । ७३ ॥

शार्ङ्गरवादेरञो योऽकारस्तदन्ताच्च जातिवाचिनो ङीन् स्यात् । शार्ङ्गरवी । बैदी । जातिरित्यनुवृत्तेः पुंयोग ङीर्नेव । नृनरयोर्वृद्धिश्चेति गणसूत्रम् । नारी ॥

527. The feminine affix ङीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरवा and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman.' So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् as, बैदी 'a female descendant of Bida.' This sûtra applies to words expressing jâti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debars the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 63 S. 518. &c., where it came after jâti-vâchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504.

The नृ would have taken ङीप् by IV. 1. 5 S. 306 and नर would have taken ङीष् as it denotes a jâti. These words take vriddhi before ङीन्, the form being नारी in both cases. This is by force of the sûtra नृनरयो &c. read in the following list. Such sûtras are called gaṇa-sûtras.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौग्गुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैश, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अण्, the first four being formed by the अण् of (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) from शृंगरु, कपट्, गुग्गुलु and ब्रह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गोतम by the अण् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. S. 498 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मणकुलेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिचक, 11 आशीकेय ॥ These are formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) except kâmandaleya which is formed by ढञ् (IV. 1. 135 S. 1141) 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 गाङ्गायन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. and IV. 1. 99.

S. 1101. and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126.) 15 काव्य, 16 शैत्य are formed by ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189.) 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह् 'to try', and परि + आ + इह् (Un. IV. 117 सर्वधातुभ्य इन्) 19 आस्थ्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). 20 औदपान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76 S. 1455). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वसण्डः are jâti words. 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिमत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Nami. These words are formed by the affix मतुप्, and are consequently ङगित्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). This ordains ङीन् ॥

५२८ । यङश्चाप् । ४ । १ । ७४ ॥

यङन्तात् स्त्रियां चाप् स्यात् । यङ इति ष्यङ्ङोः सामान्यग्रहणम् । आम्बष्ठ्या । कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ पाद्यमश्चाप् वाच्यः * ॥ पौतिमाष्या ॥

528. The feminine affix **चाप्** comes after a stem which is formed by the affix **ष्यङ्** or **ष्यङ्** (with final acute VI. 1. 163.)

The affix **यङ्** here denotes and includes both the affixes **ष्यङ्** (as taught in IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 and **ष्यञ्** (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) as it is common element of both. Thus **आम्बष्ठ्या** 'a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya.'

Similarly **ष्यङ्** formed words, as, **कारीषगन्ध्या**, &c.

Vârt :—The affix **चाप्** comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix **यञ्** when the letter **ष्** immediately precedes such yañ. As **शार्कराक्ष्या** 'a female descendant of Śarkarâksha,' **पौतिमाष्या** 'a female descendant of Pûtimâshya.'

५२९ । आवट्याच्च । ४ । १ । ७५ ॥

अवटात्फक्चाप् स्यात् । यञश्चेति । ङीषोऽपवादः । अवटशब्दो गर्गादिः । आवट्या ॥

529. And the feminine affix **चाप** comes after the word **अवट्य** ॥

The word **अवट** belongs to Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) which after taking **यञ्**, would have taken **ङीप्** (IV. 1. 16 S. 471.) Thus **आवट्या** 'are female descendant of Avaṭa.'

५३० । तद्धिताः । ४ । १ । ७६ ॥

आपञ्चमसमाप्तेराधिकारोऽयम् ॥

530. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikâra or governing sûtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book of Pâṇini, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita.

Note:—Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sutra. As युवार्तः The word so formed is called Pratipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the word प्रत्ययः (III, 1. 1. S. 180) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य ञाञौ ॥ अश्वादि पञ्चाड् डिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, अग्रिम, आदिम, पार्श्वन ॥ See Vart IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sutras like कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च 1. 2. 46.

५३१ । यूनस्तिः । ४ । १ । ७७ ॥

युवनशब्दात्तिप्रत्ययः स्यात्स च तद्धितः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया सिद्धे तद्धिताधिकार उत्तरार्थः । युवतिः । अनुपसर्जनादित्येव । बहवो युवानो यस्यां सा बहुयुवा । युवतीति तु यौतेः शत्रन्तात् ङीपि बोध्यम् ॥

531. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid.' By IV. 1. 5. S. 306 ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sûtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 65, S. 520 for the affix ति its elf is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita: or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jâti word and hence IV. 1. 65 S. 520 would not apply. But with upasarjana we get the form बहुयुवा "a city containing many youths." The form युवती is by ङीप् added to the Present Participle युवत् ॥ and is a different word altogether.

———:o:———

अथ कारकादिविभक्ति प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KÂRAKAS.

५३२ । प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः । पात्रशब्दस्य प्रत्येकं योगः । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्राधिक्ये परिमाणमात्रे संख्यामात्रे च प्रथमा स्यात् । उच्चैः । नीचैः । कृष्णः । श्रीः । ज्ञानम् । अलिङ्गा नियतलिङ्गाश्च प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे इत्यस्योदाहरणम् । अनियतलिङ्गास्तु लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यस्य । तटः । तटी । तटम् । परिमाणमात्रे, द्रोणा व्रीहिः । द्रोणरूपं यत्परिमाणं तत्परिच्छिन्ना व्रीहिरित्यर्थः । प्रत्ययार्थे परिमाणे प्रकृत्यर्थोऽभेदेन संसर्गेण विशेषणम् । प्रत्ययार्थस्तु प्रतियोग्यपरिच्छेदकभावेन व्रीहौ विशेषणमिति विवेकः । वचनं संख्या । एकः । द्वौ । बहवः । इहोक्तार्थत्वाद्विभक्तेरप्राप्तौ वचनम् ॥

532. Where the sense is that of the Crude form (I. 2. 45 S. 178) or where there is the additional sense of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

By the word "prâtipadikârtha" (sense-of- the-crude form) is meant that meaning or connotation which is invariably present with the word. The word mâtra "only" is to be taken in connection with each term severally in the sûtra.

Thus—where the sense is only that of the Prâtipadika—उच्चैः "aloft," नीचैः "below," कृष्णः Krishna, श्रीः Sri, ज्ञानम् "knowledge".

These words have either no gender (as uchchais &c.) or a fixed constant gender, having no corresponding opposite gender, as Krishna &c.

While the words which have no fixed gender, will in addition to their own sense, denote gender also. As तटः, तटी or तटम् "the (river) bank".

Where there is the additional sense of measure, we have द्रोणो व्रीहिः "rice of the measure of a Drona"—which means that quantity of rice whose measure is that of a Drona. Now "Drona" by itself denotes measure, the Nominative affix सु is added to it in the sense of measure—the latter has a *general* sense of measure, the first is a particular kind of measure. The two—the base and the affix—have been united together in denoting an indivisible single thing, where the sense of the *base* (Drona) qualifies (limits) the general sense of the affix (su). But though the force of the affix सु after व्रीहि is also that of measure—yet here the connection between the base and the affix is not abheda-sansarga, as it was in the case of drona and su; but on the

in the case of vrihi and su, the sense of the *affix* qualifies or limits eral sense of the base vrihi, it is the Divider of a particular quantity big mass—the relation between the affix and the base here being parichchhedaka (measurer)' and parichchhedya (measurable).

The word "vachana' means number; as एक: one, द्वौ two, बहव: many.

The terms dvitiyâ &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pâṇini; they apply to the triads of सुप् affixes. करं करोति 'he makes the mat,' ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village'.

५३३ । संबोधने च । २ । ३ । ४७ ॥

हे प्रथमा स्यात् । हे राम ॥

533. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Thus हे राम O Râma.

———:o:———

५३४ । कारके । १ । ४ । २३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

534. The phrase 'kâraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Note:—Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kâraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of [illegible] Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the [illegible] Here Rama is agent kâraka; 'food [illegible] kâraka, fire is an instrument; 'master' is the dative

535. That which it is intended should be affected by the act of the agent is called the ob karma.

That which especially desired by the agent to be acco by the action is called karma. As कटं करोति "He makes the mat". ग्रामं छति "he goes to the village". Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe यवसेवदत्त बध्नाति "he ties the horse in the gram field." Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word यव takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसौदनं भुङ्क्ते "he eats the food along with the milk." Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, it takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sûtra by anuvritti from the sûtra I. 4. 46 S. 542 the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word âdhâra does not extend to this sûtra, because we do not take the anuvritti of any word of the previous sûtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sûtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गेहंविशति "he enters the house," we could not say ओदनं पचति "he cooks the food," सक्तु पिबति "he drinks saktu." By repeating the word in this sûtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karaka takes the second case-affix.

५३६ । अकथितं च ।

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

536. T not being specified' is to

537. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, &c. *i. e.* when the verb &c. does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

Thus हरिं भजति "he worships Hari.', But when the karma relation is specified by the verb &c., then the word will take the affix of the first case by the general rule II. 3. 64.

The force of a case-affix is generally denoted either by *first* the conjugational affixes तिङ्; *secondly*, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, *thirdly*, by the secondary affixes तद्धित; or *lastly* by compounds. (Thus this sûtra declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat': ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.') But the object can be denoted otherwise. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as हरिः सेव्यते "Hari is served." Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sûtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. S. 2679 and 2152. So also by a krit affix, as लक्ष्म्या सेवितः "served by Lakshmi" sûtra III. 4. 70. S. 2833. So by a Taddhita affix as शत्यः or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' शतेन क्रीतः Similarly by samâsa, as प्राप्त ज्ञानन्द्यं प्राप्तानन्दः "Whom happiness has reached."

Sometime the case-relation may be shown by a preposition or Nipâta: as विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्द्ध स्वयम् छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम् ॥ Here विषवृक्षः is equal to विषवृक्षम् ॥ साम्प्रतम् means, "is proper." It is not proper to cut himself the poison-tree that one has grown.

५३८ । तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम् । १ । ४ । ५० ॥

ईप्सिततमवत्क्रियया युक्तमनीप्सितमपि कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति । ओदनं भुञ्जानो विषं भुङ्क्ते ॥

538. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act, becomes, however, similarly connected with the action, it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anîpsita or object of aversion. Thus ओदनं बुभुक्षुः विषं भुंक्ते "he eats poison while he was hungrying for rice" ग्रामम् गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति 'going to the village, he touches the grass."

Here विषं and तृणं are in the Accusative case or karma-kâraka, though they certainly are not the things *desired* by the agent: but as they are *similarly* connected with the action, as the most desired things 'rice' and 'village,' so they also take the accusative case.

५३९ । अकथितं च । १ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपादानादिविशेषैरविवक्षितं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् ।
दुहयाचपच्दण्डरुधिप्रच्छिचिब्रूशासुजिमथ्मुषाम् ।
कर्मयुक् स्यादकथितं तथा स्यान्नीहृकृष्वहाम् ।

दुहादीनां द्वादशानां तथा नीप्रभृतीनां चतुर्णां कर्मणायद्युच्यते तदेवाकथितं कर्मेति परिभाषणं कर्मव्यपदेशेत्यर्थः । गां दोग्धि पयः । बलिं याचते वसुधाम् । अविनीतं विनयं याचते । तण्डुलानोदनं पचति । गर्गान् शतं दण्डयति । व्रजमवरुणद्धि गाम् । माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति । वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि । माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा । शतं जयति देवदत्तम् । सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति । देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति । ग्राममजां नयति हरति कर्षति वहति वा ।

अर्थानिबन्धनेयं संज्ञा । बलिं भिक्षते वसुधाम् । माणवकं धर्मं भाषते अभिधत्ते वक्तीत्यादि । कारकं किम् । माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति ॥

अकर्मकधातुभियोगे देशः कालो भावो गन्तव्योऽध्वा च कर्मसंज्ञक इति वाच्यम् * ॥ क्रोशं शयिता । मासमास्ते । गोदोहमास्ते । क्रोशमास्ते ॥

539. And that kâraka which is not spoken of as coming under any one of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

Â :—In the case of the twelve roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ् 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू 'to tell,' शास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ् 'to churn' मुष् 'to steal,' and also in the case of the four verbs नी, हृ, कृष्, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case.

As, गां दोग्धि पयः 'he milks the cow'; बलिं याचते वसुधां 'He begs the earth of Bali'; अविनीतं विनयं याचते "he supplicates for tolerance from the intolerant;" similarly तंडुलानोदनं पचति, "He cooks the raw rice into boiled rice." गर्गान् शतंदण्डयति, "He fines the Gargas a hundred pieces money." व्रजमवरुणद्धि गां "He shuts up the cow (in) the cow-pen." माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति, "He asks the boy (which is) the road." वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, "He gathers fruits from the tree." माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा "He expounds Dharma to the boy or teaches him Dharma." शतं जयति देवदत्तं, "He wins hundred from Devadatta." सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति, "He churns out ambrosia from the ocean of milk." देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति; "He steals a hundred from Devadatta." ग्राममजां नयति-हरति-कर्षति वहतिवा "He leads the goats to the village or takes them or drags them or drives them." are examples of the other roots in order.

Since it is the *sense* of the verb that causes these nouns to get the designation of "Indirect Object," it follows as a necessary corrollary that other verbs also, though not mentioned in the above list, but having synony-

mous with those verbs, will take two objects. Thus बलिं भिक्षते वसुधां or माणवकं धर्मं भाषते, अभिधत्ते or वक्ति &c.

Why do we say "a kâraka?" Observe माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति "He asks the father of the boy which is the road." Here माणवकस्य not being a kâraka retains the Genitive.

Vârtika. The Intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over. As कुरून् स्वपिति "He sleeps in the land of the Kurus." मासमास्ते "He stays for a month." गोदोहमास्ते "He is engaged in milking cow." क्रोशमास्ते "He goes over one Krosa (two miles)."

५४० । गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्माकर्मकाणामणि कर्ता स णौ ॥ १।४।५२ ॥

गत्याद्यर्थानां शब्दकर्मकाणामकर्मकाणां चाणौ यः कर्ता स णौ कर्म स्यात् ॥

शत्रूनगमयत्स्वर्गं वेदार्थं स्वानवेदयत् ।
आशयच्चामृतं देवान्वेदमध्यापयद्विधिम् ॥ १ ॥
आसयत्[illegible] यः स मे श्रीहरिर्गतिः ॥

गतीत्यादि किम् । पाचयत्योदनं देवदत्तेन [illegible] ।[illegible] नमर्थ[illegible] कः । गमयति देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं विष्णुमित्रः ॥ नीवह्योर्न * ॥ नाययति वाहय[illegible] कर्तृकस्य वहेरनिषेधः ॥ वाहयति रथं वाहान् सूतः ॥ आदिखाद्योर्न * [illegible] बटुना ॥ भक्षेरहिंसार्थस्य न * ॥ भक्षयत्यन्नं बटुना । अहिंसार्थस्य किम् । भक्ष[illegible] जल्पतिप्रभृतीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ जल्पयति भाषयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः ॥ दृशेश्च [illegible] भक्तान् । सूत्रे ज्ञानसामान्यार्थानामेव ग्रहणं न तु तद्विशेषार्थानामित्यनेन ज्ञाप्यते । तेन [illegible] तीत्यादीनां न । स्मारयति घ्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन । ॥ शब्दायतेर्न * ॥ शब्दाययति देवद[illegible] र्थस्य गृहीतकर्मत्वेनाकर्मकत्वात्प्राप्तिः । येषां देशकालादिभिन्नं कर्म न संभवति तेऽत्राकर्मका[illegible] क्षितकर्माणोऽपि ॥ तेन मासमासयति देवदत्तमित्यादौ कर्मत्वं भवत्येव । देवदत्तेन पाचयतीत्य[illegible]

540. That which was Agent of the No[illegible] verb becomes the Karma (object) of the causal verb[illegible] the verb has the sense of "to move," "to know," "to[illegible] sound" or "to teach" or is an Intransitive verb.

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or [illegible]tion' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar se[illegible] of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of in[illegible] roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is [illegible] Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged ; e. g[illegible]

Thus in the verse above given :—

Causal.	Non-Causal
शत्रून्-अगमयत् स्वर्गम्	शत्रवः स्वर्गम् अगच्छन्
He sent the enemies to Heaven.	The enemies went to Heave[illegible]

वेदार्थं देवान् अध्यैयत्
He explained the sense of the Vedas to His own.

स्वे (स्वकीयाः) वेदार्थमविदुः
His own understood the sense of the Vedas.

आशयत् च अमृतं देवान्
He made the Devas drink ambrosia.

देवा अमृतम् आशत
The Devas drank ambrosia.

वेदम् अध्यापयत् विधिम्
He taught the Veda to Brahmâ.

विधिः वेदमध्येत
Brahmâ learnt the Vedas.

अशयत् सलिले पृथ्वीम्
He fixed the Earth in Water.

सलीले पृथ्वी आस्त
The Earth floated on water.

Why do we say 'verbs of motion &c.'? Observe पाचयति ओदनं देवदत्तेन "He gets the food cooked by Devadatta."

Why do we say "of the Non-Causal"? Observe that in गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं Devadatta makes Yajnadatta go) If some body else ( ) prompts Devadatta to do [illegible] we shall have to say ( ) देवदत्तेन विष्णुमित्रः गमयति 'Vishnumitra prompts Devadatta to cause Yajnadatta to [illegible] is not put in the Accusative case, because the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal sense.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह 'to carry' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. भृत्यो भारं नयति वहति वा "A servant carries a load" becomes in causal भृत्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart—But वह when it has for its subject in the causal a word meaning a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as वाहयति रथं दारून् हयान् 'The driver drives the chariot and the horses."

Vart:—The causals of the roots अद् and खाद्, 'to eat' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमत्ति खादति वा "The boy eats his food," In the causal, बटुनान्नमादयति खादयति वा॥ "(He) causes the boy to eat food."

Vart:—भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient being' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति अत्र बटुना Why do we say "in the sense of injury"? Observe भक्षयति बलीं वर्धान् सस्यम् ॥ "He makes the goats to injure the crops".

Vart:—Enumeration should be made of जल्पयति &c. as जल्पयति योजयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta teaches his son the dharma".

Vart:—So also with दर्शयति; as दर्शयति हरिं भक्तान् "He shows Hari to the devotees".

These vârtikas imply that the "verbs of knowledge" of the sûtra are general verbs, and not verbs denoting particular kinds of knowledge.

Therefore, the rule will not apply to verbs like स्मरति 'he remembers', जिघ्रति "he smells" &c. As स्मारयति घ्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ "He makes Devadatta to remember or to smell".

Vart:—Not so with the verb शब्दायति as; शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन "He causes Devadatta to make sound".

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above, is meant such roots, as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is quite evident; as. किंकरः पचरः पचति ॥ Here पचति, though transitive is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरेण पाचयति and not किंकरं ॥ Thus in मासमासयति देवदत्तः, the word मासम् is in the accusative case; but not so in देवदत्तेन पाचयते &c.

Note:—Patanjali, in his Mahabhashya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sûtra गतिबुद्धि &c. शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दो यस्यां क्रियायां or शब्दो यस्यां कर्म ॥

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्रयतिं (ह्वे) कंदति (कंद) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule; as, ह्रयति देवदत्तं ह्राययति देवदत्तेन; कंदति-शब्दायते-देवदत्तः; कंदयति-शब्दाययतिं-देवदत्तेन ॥ And the roots श्रु ज्ञा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, शृणोति विजानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः, श्रावयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तम् ॥ When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प, भाष् with आ and लप with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषत-देवदत्तः, जल्पयति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तं ॥

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged as:—

Primitive.	Causal Active.	Causal Passive.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति ॥	राम ग्रामं गमयति ॥	रामो ग्रामंगम्यते ॥
Rama goes to a village.	(He) causes Rama to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
भृत्यः कटं करोति ॥	भृत्येन भृत्यं वा कटं कारयति ॥	भृत्यः कटं कार्यते ॥
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्ते ॥	गोविंदं मासमासयति ॥	गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥
Govind sits for one month.	(He) makes Govind sit &c.	Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa,

e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he makes the boy know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मो बोध्यते 'The boy is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to the boy'; बटुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food:' बटुरोदनं भोजयते or बटुमोदनं भोज्यते (S. K.).

With regards roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; *i. e.*, those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive verb, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो बलिं वसुधांयाचते (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं वसुधां याचयति '(God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth'. गोपोऽजां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हारयति ॥ '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

५४१ । हृकोन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

हृकोरण्यर्थः कर्ता स णौ वा कर्मस्यात्। हारयति कारयति वा भृत्यं भृत्येन वा कटम् ॥ अभिवादिदृशोरात्मनेपदे वेति वाच्यम् * ॥ अभिवादयते दर्शयते देवं भक्तं भक्तेन वा ॥

541. The agent of the verb in its non- causal form, in the case of hṛi "to lose" and kṛi "to make," is optionally called karma or object when these verbs are causal.

Primitive.	Causal.
आहरति भारं भृत्यः ॥	हारयति भारं भृत्यं or भृत्येन ॥
The servant takes the load.	He causes the servant to take the load.
करोति कटं भृत्यः ॥	कारयति कटं भृत्यं or भृत्येन ॥
The servant makes the mat.	He causes the servant to make the mat.

Vart:—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and दृश् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the Causal: as.

Primitive.	Causal.
अभिवदते देवं भक्तः ॥	अभिवादयते देवं भक्तं or भक्तेन ॥
The devotee bows down to the Deity.	He makes the devotee bow down to the Deity.
पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् ॥	दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते भृत्यैः ॥
The servants see the king.	He makes the servants see the king.

५४२ । अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म । १ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अधिपूर्वाणामेषामाधारः कर्म स्यात्। अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥

542. That which is the site of the verbs शी 'to lie down,' स्था "to stand," आस "to sit," when preceded by

the preposition अधि is, however, called karma kâraka or object.

This ordains Accusative case, where otherwise by the last sûtra there would have been the Locative case. As अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वै कुण्ठं हरिः ॥ "Hari lies down in, occupies or rules the Vaikuṇṭha".

५४३ । अभिनिविशश्च । १ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अभिनीत्येतत्संघातपूर्वस्य विशतेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् । परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमिति सूत्रादिह मण्डूकप्लुत्याऽन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणमनुवर्त्य व्यवस्थितविभाषाश्रयणात्क्वचित्र । पापेऽभिनिवेशः ॥

543. That which is the site of the verb अभिनिविश् 'to enter,' is also called karma-kâraka.

As अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् 'he resorts to the good path'. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sûtra I. 4. 44. S. 580 should be read into it, though between I. 4. 44 S. 580 and the present sûtra i. 4. 47. S. 543 other sûtras intervene, in which the anuvritti of option is not read. This, leaping over intermediate sûtras and exerting its influence on a remote sûtra is based on the maxim of "frog-leap." The option however, will be a settled option—"vyavasthita vibhashâ".

Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः "resorting to sin." कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः "resorting to good". The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhâsa.

५४४ । उपान्वध्याङ्वसः । १ । ४ । ४८ ॥

उपादिपूर्वस्य वसतेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । उपवसति अनुवसति-अधिवसति आवसति वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥ अभुक्त्यर्थस्य न * ॥ वनं उपवसति ॥

उभसर्वतसोः कार्या धिग्युपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ॥
द्वितीयाऽऽम्रेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते * ॥

उभयतः कृष्णं सेना । सर्वतः कृष्णम् । धिक् कृष्णाभक्तम् । उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः । अध्यधि लोकम् । अधोऽधो लोकम् ॥

अभितः परितः समयानिकषाहाप्रतियोगेऽपि * ग्रामं समया । निकषा लङ्काम् । हा कृष्णाभक्तम् । तस्[illegible] किंचित् ॥

544. That which is the site of t[illegible] dwell,' when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and ân[illegible] karma-kâraka.

As उपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति वैकुण्ठं हरि[illegible] Heaven'.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote "lying in a locality". As वने उपवसति "he fasts in the forest". Here the verb "upavasati" governs the locative case and not the accusative.

Vârtika :—The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोधः, अध्यधि, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative; sometimes other cases also. As उभयतः कृष्णंगोपाः 'on both sides of Krishna are the gopas' सर्वतः कृष्णं 'on all sides of Krishna'; धिक् कृष्णाभक्तम् 'fie to non-devotee of Krishna". उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः 'just over the lokas is Hari, अध्यधि or अधोधो लोकम् 'just below the loka'.

Vart :—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning 'round,' समया, निकषा both meaning 'near' and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern, the accusative case; as, अभितः or परितः कृष्णम् ''round Krishna' ग्रामं समया 'near the village' निकषा लङ्काम् "near the Lankâ". हा कृष्णाभक्तम् 'woe be to non-devotee of Krishna, बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किंचित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his [illegible]'.

५४५। अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते। २। ३। ४॥

आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया स्यात्। अन्तरा त्वां मां हरिः। अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखम्॥

545. A word joined with (or governed by) the word antarâ, or antareṇa takes the second case-affix.

Note :—The anuvritti of dvitiya is understood here and not that of tritiya. Both these words antara and antareṇa are Nipatas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antara means 'between,' while antareṇa means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding'.

As. अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखं 'there can be no happiness without Hari' अन्तरा त्वांमां हरिः 'Hari is between thee and me'.

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तक्षशिलांच पाटलिपुत्रं बुद्धस्य प्राकारः॥

[illegible] RAVACHANIYAS.

[illegible] वनीयाः। १। ४। ८३॥

[illegible]3. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. [illegible]es treated of, are to be understood as having [illegible]ma-pravachaniya.

Note :—These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुस्तुतं भवता "well praised by you." सु सिक्तं भवता "you have sprinkled well." Here सु is a karma-pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, *i. e.* it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270). The word karma-pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms, such as, दि, धि, घु, &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवत्) an action (कर्म) is so called.

५४७ । अनुर्लक्षणे । १ । ४ । ८४ ॥

लक्षणे योऽयमनुरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञापवादः ॥

547. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachanîya.

The word lakshana means a sign; an attendant circumstance, an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of,' or 'being indicated by'.

This debars the designation of gati and upasarga with regard to *anu* meaning lakshana.

५४८ । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ८ ॥

एतेन योगे तृतीया स्यात् । जपमनु प्रावर्षत् । हेतुभूतजपोपलक्षितं वर्षणमित्यर्थः । परापि हेवाविति तृतीयाऽनेन बाध्यते । लक्षणेत्थं भूतख्यानेन सिद्धे पुनः संज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात् ॥

548. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachanîya (I. 4. 83).

As जपमनुप्रावर्षत् 'it rained after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers'. To put it in other words, anu is a karmapravachnîya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

The third case affix ordained by the *subsequent* sûtra II. 3. 23. S. 568 even is debarred by the present sûtra, so far as अनु is concerned. This is because, though अनु would have been a karmapravachaniya by I. 4. 90 S. 552 it has been read again in I. 4. 84 S. 547.

Note :—Why make unnecessarily this sûtra, when अनु would have been karma pravachaniya even by force of sûtra 552 following, where also the word lakshana occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karmapravachaniyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8 S. 548) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23. S. 568). Otherwise Rule 568 would have set aside Rule 548 *i. e.* the

present sutra, by the maxim of परस्य I. 4. 2. S. 175 and would have caused a karma pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case, where the sense was that of hetu.

So also शाकलस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत् = शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत् ॥ "The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Sakalya". The force of a karmapravachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga, whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun, which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशम्य understood.

५४९। तृतीयार्थे। १। ४। ८५ ॥

अस्मिन् योगेऽनुरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात्। नदीमन्ववसिता सेना। तया सह संबन्धेत्यर्थः॥ षिञ् बन्धनेऽस्मात्॥

549. The word anu is karma-pravachaniya, when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or 'along with.' As नदीमन्ववसिता सेना "the army lying along side the river".

The word अवसिता is derived from षिञ् meaning 'to bind', with the past participial affix क्त ॥

५५०। हीने। १। ४। ८६ ॥

हीने योगेऽनुः प्राग्वत्। अनु हरिं सुराः। हरेर्हीनाइत्यर्थः॥

550. The word अनु is karma pravachaniya, when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

As अनुहरिंसुराः 'The gods are inferior to Hari'

Note:—The word हीन् means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Sakatayana'.

५५१। उपोऽधिके च। १। ४। ८७ ॥

अधिके हीने, च योगे उपेत्यव्ययं प्राक्संज्ञं स्यात्। अधिके सप्तमी वक्ष्यते। हीने, उप हरिं सुराः॥

551. The word उप when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is, when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप हरिं सुराः "The gods are inferior to Hari.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

When उप means 'superior,' then it governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior; examples of this will be given hereafter.

५५२ । लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः । १ । ४ । ९० ॥

एष्वर्थेषु विषयभूतेषु प्रत्यादय उक्तसंज्ञाः स्युः । लक्षणे, वृक्षं प्रति पर्येतु वा विद्योतते विद्युत् । इत्थंभूताख्याने, भक्तो विष्णुं प्रतिपर्येतु वा । भागे, लक्ष्मीर्हरिं प्रतिपर्येतु वा । हरेर्भाग इत्यर्थः । वीप्सायां, वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रतिपर्येतु वा सिञ्चति । अत्रोपसर्गत्वाभावान्न षत्वम् । एषु किम् । परिषिञ्चति ॥

552. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of (1) 'sign' 'in the direction of' (2) 'mere statement of a circumstance' ('as regards') (3) division 'share of' and (4) 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति—परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree'. (2) भक्तो विष्णुम् प्रति—परि -अनु "devotee towards Vishnu" (3) हरिं प्रति लक्ष्मी 'Lakshmi fell to the lot of Hari'. So with परि and अनु ॥ (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति "he sprinkles one tree after another". So with परि and अनु ॥ Here these words, not being upasargas, do not change the स of सिञ्चति to ष, as required by VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270. Why in these senses only? Observe परिषिञ्चति ॥

५५३ । अभिरभागे । १ । ४ । ९१ ॥

भागवर्जे लक्षणादावभिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । हरिमभि वर्तते । भक्तो हरिमभि । देवं देवमभिसिञ्चति । अभागे किम् । यत्र ममाभिष्यात्तद्दीयताम् ॥

553. The word abhi is karma-pravachanîya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, or 'share of'.

The illustrations given under the last sûtra mutus mutandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head ३ ॥ As हरिमभि वर्तते, भक्तो हरिमभि; देवं देवमभि सिञ्चति ॥ Why do we say 'when it does not mean division or the share of'? Observe यत्रममाभि ष्यात् तद् दीयताम् 'give that which falls here' to my share'. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of ष्य is changed into ष by S. 2270.

५५४ । अधिपरी अनर्थकौ । १ । ४ । ९३ ॥

उक्तसंज्ञौ स्तः । कुतोऽध्यागच्छति । कुतः पर्यागच्छति । गतिसंज्ञाबाधाद्गतिर्गतावितिनिपातौ न ॥

554. The words अधि and परि are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽध्यागच्छति "whence has he come"? or कुतः पर्या गच्छति ॥ These words, though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachaniya, so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati, and thus produce results peculiar to those words. (See VIII. 1. 70. S. 3977) for by that rule they would produce accentlessness of the subsequent words. This is prevented.

५५५ । सुः पूजायाम् । १ । ४ । ९४ ॥

सुसिक्तम् ॥ सुस्तुतम् । अनुपसर्गत्वान्न षः । पूजायां किम् । सुषिक्तं किं तवात्र । क्षेपोऽयम् ॥

555. The word सु is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of "respect," (when it means 'excellently').

As सुसिक्तं भवता, "excellently sprinkled by your honor." सु स्तुतं भवता "Well praised by your honor." By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुषिक्तं किं तवात्र "has this your place been well sprinkled to-day". This is meant here as an irony.

५५६ । अतिरतिक्रमणे च । १ । ४ । ९५ ॥

अतिक्रमणे पूजायां चातिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् । अतिदेवान् कृष्णः ॥

556. The word अति, in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma.pravachaniya.

As अतिदेवान्कृष्णः "Krishna is above all gods".

Note:—The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last.

५५७ । अपिः पदार्थसंभावनाऽन्वाचयसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु । १ । ४ । ९६ ॥

एषु द्योत्येष्वपिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् । अनुपसर्गत्वान्न षः । संभावनायां लिङ् । तस्या एव विषयभूते भवति कर्तुर्वैलक्षण्यप्रयुक्ते दैलक्ष्ये द्योतयन्नपिशब्दः स्यादित्यनेन सबध्यते । सर्पिष इति षष्ठी तु अपिशब्दसंसर्गेण गम्यमानस्य बिन्दोरवयवावयविभावसंबन्धे । इयमत्र ह्यपिशब्दस्य पदार्थद्योतकता नाम । द्वितीया तु नेह प्रवर्तते सर्पिषा बिन्दुना योगो न त्वपिनेत्युक्तत्वात् ॥ अपि स्तुयादृषभम् ॥ संभावन अस्तुत्कर्षमात्रवक्तृनिष्ठत्वात् ॥ अपि स्तुहि । अन्वाचयसर्गः कामचारानुज्ञा ॥ धिग्देवदत्तमपि स्तुयादृषभम् । गर्हा ॥ अपि सतत्व अपि स्तुहि समुच्चयः ॥

557. The word अपि is a karma-pravachanîya, when it implies, "the sense of word understood", ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

In the above senses of "somewhat," "even" "if you like", "even", and "and", the word अपि gets the designation of Karma-pravachanîya.

As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् "there may be a drop of ghee." Here since *api* is not an upasarga, the स of स्यात् is not changed to ष् (VIII. 3. 87. S. 2472).

There is Potential Mood with the force of संभावना in the above example. When there is such a doubt or uncertainty with regard to the existence of the agent of the verb, that is to say, when owing to the scarcity of the agent, it is doubtful whether it exists or not, there the word *api* denoting 'scarcity' is related with the verb syât. The word सर्पिषः in the above example is in the Genitive case, and by force of the word अपि, it denotes that the word बिन्दु "a drop" which is understood here is related to सर्पिः as a part is related to its whole. The full sentence will be सर्पिषोऽपि बिन्दुः स्यात्॥ The force of the genitive, therefore, here is to denote the general relation of part to the whole, of a "drop" to the whole "Ghee." This is the only way in which the word *api* can denote an *object* (padârtha): namely, to express scarcity owing to the scarcity of a drop even. The second case-affix ordained by II. 3. 8. S. 548, does not apply here, and so the word सर्पिः is not put in the accusative case. This is because, it has already been said above, that the word सर्पिः is syntactically connected with the word बिन्दुः understood, and not with the Karmapravachanîya *api*.

Secondly, when *api* has the force of sambhâvana; as अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम्॥ Vishnu who is not to be expressed by word or comprehended by mind, is being praised. The meaning is that a person who is capable of praising Vishnu the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Unutterble, is certainly able to praise other Divinities lower in rank. It is needless to say that he can praise others. Here the word *api* expresses "possibility" itself; while in the first example, it expressed the scarcity of the object of possibility. The word api being a Karmapravachaniya, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65. S. 2270.

The word प्रयोग means the sense of [illegible] word which is not expressed, but has to be supplied. [illegible] here may be perhaps a

drop of ghee,' मधुनोऽपि स्यात् ॥ Here some word like bindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little,' mâtrâ 'a measure' &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिंचत् मूलकसहस्रं क्षणेनैकेन 'possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment'. अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् "he can praise even Vishnu". In the above cases, it is used with the Potential mood. अनुज्ञा means indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिंच 'you may sprinkle, if you like.' अपि स्तुहि 'you may praise, if you like.' The word गर्हा means 'censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग् देवदत्तमपि स्तुयाद् वृषलम् ॥ The word समुच्चय means cummulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच 'praise as well as sprinkle'.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into ष ॥

५५८ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

इह द्वितीया स्यात् । मासं कल्याणी । मासमधीते । मासं गुडधानाः । क्रोशं कुटिला नदी । क्रोशमधीते । क्रोशं गिरिः । अत्यन्तसंयोगे किम् । मासस्य द्विरधीते । क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

558. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), मासं गुडधानाः। क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं गिरिः 'the hill through one full kos'.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

Here ends the Accusative Kâraka.

KARTÂ

OR

THE AGENT KÂRAKA.

५५९ । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । १ । ४ । ५४ ॥

क्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षितोऽर्थः कर्ता स्यात् ॥

559. Wh[illegible]peaker chooses as the in-

dependent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartâ or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks.' स्थाली पचति 'the pot cooks.'

THE INSTRUMENTAL KÂRAKA.

५६० । साधकतमं करणम् । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

क्रियासिद्धौ प्रकृष्टोपकारकं करणसंज्ञं स्यात् । तमप्ग्रहणं किम् । गङ्गायां घोषः ॥

560. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kâraka.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः "the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges." कूपे गर्गकुलम् "the family of frogs in the well, *i. e.* on the sides of the well."

५६१ । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया । २ । ३ । १८ ॥

अनभिहिते कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया स्यात् । रामेण बाणेन हतो वाली ॥

प्रकृत्यादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥प्रकृत्या चारुः । प्रायेण याज्ञिकः । गोत्रेण गार्ग्यः । समेनैति । विषमेणैति । द्विद्रोणेन धान्यं क्रीणाति । सुखेन दुःखेन वा यातीत्यादि ॥

561. In denoting the agent or the instrument the third case-affix is employed.

As रामेण बाणेन हतो वाली 'Bâli was killed by Râma by an arrow.'

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्रोण, पैचक and साहस as प्रकृत्याचारुः, प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण एति, द्विद्रोणेन धान्यम् क्रीणाति सुखेन दुःखेन वा याती त्यादि. &c.

५६२ । दिवःकर्म च । १ । ४ । ४३ ॥

दिवः साधकतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्याच्चात्करणसंज्ञम् । अक्षैरक्षान्वा दीव्यति ॥

562. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव 'to play' is called karma (object), as well as karaṇa, (instrument)

Note:—The present sûtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this.

As अक्षान् दीव्यति or अक्षै दीव्यति 'he plays the dice or with the dice.'

५६३। अपवर्गे तृतीया। २। ३। ६॥

अपवर्गः फलप्राप्तिस्तस्यां गम्यायां कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया स्यात्। अह्ना क्रोशेन षडङ्गवाक्रोऽधीतः। अपवर्गे किम्। मासमधीतो नायातः॥

563. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

Thus; अह्ना क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvâka by going over a kos.'

Why is the word अपवर्ग read in the sûtra? It means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvâka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनायातः 'learnt for a month, but not yet prepared the Anuvaka.'

५६४। सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने। २। ३। १९॥

सहार्थेन युक्ते अप्रधाने तृतीया स्यात्। पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता। एवं साकंसार्धसमयोगेऽपि। विनापि तद्योगं ततीया। वृद्धो यूनेत्यादिनिर्देशात्॥

564. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

As पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son,'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह such as साकं, सार्धं, समं &c; as, पुत्रेण सार्धं 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pâṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 S. 931 वृद्धो यूना &c.

Note:—Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्यगौः.

५६५। येनाङ्गविकारः। २। ३। २०॥

येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया स्यात्। अक्ष्णा काणः। अक्षिसक्थ्यक्नां काया-स्थावयविनि इत्यर्थः। अङ्गविकारः किम्। अक्षि काणमस्य॥

565. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खंजः 'lame of foot,' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word anga in this sûtra applies to the whole body. Whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here. Why do we say 'defect of a limb'? Observe अक्षिकाणमस्य "His eye is blind."

५६६ । इत्थंभूतलक्षणे । २ । ३ । २१ ॥

कांचित्प्रकारं प्राप्तस्य लक्षणे तृतीया स्यात् । जटाभिस्तापसः । जटाद्याप्ततापसत्वाविशिष्ट इत्यर्थः ॥

566. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'

Note:—अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्राक्षीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिश्छात्रः 'a student has kamandalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhûta? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते ।

५६७ । संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि । २ । ३ । २२ ॥

कर्मणि तृतीया वा स्यात् । पित्रा पितरं वा संजानीते ॥

567. After the verb sam-jñâ, the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.'

५६८ । हेतौ । २ । ३ । २३ ॥

हेत्वर्थे तृतीया स्यात् । द्रव्यादिसाधारणं निर्व्यापारसाधारणं च हेतुत्वम् । करणत्वं तु क्रियामात्रविषयं व्यापारनियतं च । दण्डेन घटः । पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः । फलमपीह हेतुः । अध्ययनेन वसति । गम्यमानापि क्रिया कारकविभक्तीः प्रयोजिका । अलं श्रमेण । श्रमेण साध्यं नास्तीत्यर्थः । इह साधनक्रियां प्रति श्रमः करणम् । शतेन शतेन वत्सान्पाययति पयः । शतेन परिच्छिनत्तीत्यर्थः ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे काणः प्रयोगे चतुर्थ्यर्थे तृतीया * ॥ दास्या संयच्छते कामुकः । धर्मं तु मायायै संयच्छति ॥

568. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55 S. 2575.) which is "agent." Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called *hetu*, where the thing produced is a substance, or a quality (गुण) or action (क्रिया), but where the *action* is not primarily taken into consideration.

The difference between *hetu* and *Karaṇa* is this, that any substance, quality or action in general, by which any object in general is accomplished, without referring to any action necessarily is a *hetu*; while karaṇa is confined to *action* only, and its scope is always limited to that action necessarily. This is expressed by the following verse:—

द्रव्यादि विषयो हेतुः कारकं नियतक्रियम् ।
अनाश्रित तु व्यापारं निमित्त हेतुरिष्यते ॥

As an example of substance (द्रव्य) being a hetu, we have दण्डेन घटः = दण्डहेतुकोघटः "A pot made by the stick." Here the stick is used to make the potter's wheel revolve. But it is not absolutely necessary. The wheel might be moved by *hand* as well. So the *stick* not being absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the act, gets the name of hetu. As an example of guna-hetu, we have पुण्येन गौरवर्णः "white races get that colour by their merit—while black races are sinners." Here "*white*" is an attribute or quality, the hetu of which is punya, but white colour may be acquired by other things than *punya* also. In short, hetu is that which effects something in the shape of a substance or action or quality; and which is not immediately connected with any *verb*. The *karaṇa* is always so connected with a verb, and gives rise only to *action*, and not to a substance or quality.

As an example of action (क्रिया) we have पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः "Hari is seen through virtue." Here punya means the highest merit (apûrva) acquired by Jeeus, and not any particular sacrifice &c. So it is not a karaṇa, for it is not absolutely necessarily implied in the idea of seeing.

The FRUIT ALSO is hetu in the sense of this sûtra. As अध्ययनेन वसति "He dwells with the Guru with the object of getting instruction."

An action not expressly mentioned in a sentence, but which may be inferred, may be the cause of giving rise to kâraka-inflection. As अलं श्रमण "no necessity of exertion." Here Sramena is in Instrumental kâraka, without any *verb* expressed, the understood verb being साध्यं नास्ति ॥ Here श्रम or exertion is karaṇa or instrument to the verb साधन "accomplishment" understood. The full sentence being "by exertion, accomplishment is not possible, so do not exert." So also शतेन शतेन वत्सान् पाययति "He makes the calves

to drink by hundred, that is, he waters the calves, by dividing them into groups of hundreds.

Vârt:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative, in connection with the verb दा 'to give,' when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्या संयच्छते कामुकः "The profligate gives to the slave to entice her." यच्छ replaces दा by VII. 3. 78. S. 2440. But when proper conduct is meant, we use the Dative, and Parasmaipada, as भार्यायै संयच्छति "He gives to his wife." See I. 3. 55 S. 2728, for the use of the Atmane and Parasmai Padas.

In the above vârtika the words दाणः प्रयोग 'when the verb दा is employed" are redundant. Because, by I. 3. 55 S. 2728, दा alone takes the Instrumental case, with the force of the Dative, under certain circumstances.

:o:

THE DATIVE KARAKA.

५६९। कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् । १ । ४ । ३२ ॥

दानस्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

569. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of the verb दा 'to give' is called Sampradâna or recipient.

Note:—Though the word कर्मणा in the sutra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb दा to give; and this we infer from the word संप्रदान which has the root दा in it.

Note:—As उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति "he gives the cow to the teacher." माणवकाय भिक्षाम् ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

५७०। चतुर्थी संप्रदाने । २ । ३ । १३ ॥

विप्राय गां ददाति । अनभिहित इत्येव । दानीयो विप्रः ॥

क्रियया यमभिप्रैति सोऽपि संप्रदानम् * ॥ पत्ये शेते ॥

कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा * ॥ पशुना रुद्रं यजते । पशुं रुद्राय ददातीत्यर्थः ॥

570. In denoting the sampradâna-kâraka (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

As विप्राय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the learned.' The word अनभिहिते is understood here also. See II. 3. 1 S. 536. Therefore we have the form दानीयाविप्रः also, where the affix अनीयर् is used with the force of sampradâna.

Vârt:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As पत्ये शेते 'she sleeps for her husband.'

Vârt:—After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karana) and the recipient (Sampradâna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना रुद्रं यजते or पशुं रुद्राय ददाति 'he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra,' which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

५७१ । रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

रुच्यर्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थः संप्रदानं स्यात् । हरये रोचते भक्तिः । अन्यकर्तृकोऽभिलाषो रुचिः । हारनिष्टप्रीतेर्भक्तिः कर्त्री । प्रीयमाणः किम् देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि ॥

571. In the case of verbs having the signification of the root रुच 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradâna.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As हरये रोचते भक्तिः "devotion pleases Hari." Here bhakti is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Hari.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. "Devadatta likes sweet-meat in the way." The word 'pathi' is here in the 7th case.

५७२ ॥ श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः ।१ । ४ । ३४ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे बोधयितुमिष्टः संप्रदानं स्यात् । गोपी स्मरात्कृष्णाय श्लाघते ह्नुते तिष्ठते शपते वा । ज्ञीप्स्यमानः किम् । देवदत्ताय श्लाघते पथि ॥

572. In the case of verbs ślâgh "to praise,' hnu 'to take away,' sthâ 'to stand,' and śap 'to curse,' the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, those actions, is called Sampradâna.

The word ज्ञीप्स्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As गोपीस्मरात् कृष्णाय श्लाघते "Gopi praises Krishna," *i. e.* while praising

Krishṇa she wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As कृष्णाय हुते "she hides from the co wives for the sake of Krishna," (wishing that Krishna should know of it)' कृष्णाय तिष्ठते "she stays or waits for Krishna." कृष्णाय शपते 'she reviles Krishṇa.'

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय श्लाघते पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

५७३। धारेरुत्तमर्णः। १। ४। ३५॥

धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णः उत्तसंज्ञः स्यात्। भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः। उत्तमर्णः किम्। देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति ग्रामे॥

573. In the case of the verb dhâri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word उत्तमर्ण is compounded of two words उत्तम 'best' and ऋण 'debt' meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्ण 'debtor.' As भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः "Hari owes salvation to His devotee."

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति ग्रामे 'he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village.' Here village is in the Locative case.

५७४। स्पृहेरीप्सितः। १। ४। ३६॥

स्पृहयतेः प्रयोगे इष्टः संप्रदानं स्यात्। पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति। ईप्सितः किम् पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति। ईप्सितमात्रे इयं संज्ञा। प्रकर्षविवक्षायां तु परस्यास्कर्मसंज्ञा। पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति॥

574. In the case of the verb sprih 'to desire,' the thing desired is called Sampradâna.

The verb स्पृह 'to desire,' belongs to the Churâdi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers.'

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers in the forest.' Here वने is in the Locative case, the Sampradâna being confined to the object desired only.

This definition of the Dative is only confined to the thing desired. But where superiority or excellence is to be expressed, then by the next sûtra, the thing desired will get the designation of karma and will be in the objective case, as पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति॥

५७५। क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रति कोपः। १। ४। ३७॥

क्रुधादीनां प्रयोगे यं प्रति कोपः स उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात्। हरये क्रुध्यति। द्रुह्यति। ईर्ष्यति श्रसूयति। यं प्रति कोपः किम्। भार्यामीर्ष्यति मैनामन्योऽद्राक्षीदिति। क्रोधार्थः। द्रोहोऽपकारः। ईर्ष्याऽक्षमा।

असूया गुणेषु दोषाविष्करणम् । द्रुहादयोऽपि कोपप्रभवा एव गृह्यन्ते । अतो विशेषणां सामान्येन यं प्रति कोप इति ॥

575. In the case of the verbs having the sense of krudh 'to be angry,' druh 'to injure,' îrshya 'to envy,' asûyâ 'to detract,' the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called Sampradâna.

As हरये क्रुध्यति, द्रुह्यति, ईर्ष्यति or असूयति "he is angry upon, (*i. e.* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds the faults with Hari." Here Hari is in the Dative case.

Krudh means non-tolerance, droha means doing wrong or hurt, irshya jealously; and asûya means to find out the faults of another. The word kopa includes all the above four sorts of actions.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भार्यामीर्ष्यति 'he is jealous of his wife,' *i. e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word 'bhâryâ' is in the accusative case. The words द्रुह &c., here should be taken as given birth to by 'anger.' Therefore they are all qualified by the common adjective "यं प्रति कोपः" in the sûtra.

५७६ । क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्म । १ । ४ । ३८ ॥

सोपसर्गयोरनयोर्यं प्रति कोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । कृष्णमभिक्रुध्यति अभिद्रुह्यति ॥

576. But in the case of the verbs 'krudh' and 'druh,' when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called karma kâraka or object.

कृष्णमभिक्रुध्यति अभिद्रुह्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As वधकाय क्रुध्यति.

Note :—This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having an upasarga or preposition.

५७७ । राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः । १ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एतयोः कारकं संप्रदानं स्यात् । यदीयो विविधः प्रश्नः क्रियते । कृष्णाय राध्यति ईक्षते वा । वृद्धो गर्गः शुभाशुभं पर्यालोचयतीत्यर्थः

577. In the case of the verbs râdh, 'to propitiate,' and îksh 'to look to,' the person about whose good or bad

fortune questions are asked is called Sampradâna.

The word viprasna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus कृष्णाय राध्यति-ईक्षते गर्गः 'Garga is favorable to or looks to Krishṇa' the sense is that being casually asked by Krishṇa, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Krishṇa.

Note :—Another explanation of this sutra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्नोति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

५७८ । प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां परस्य श्रुणोतेर्योगे पूर्वस्य प्रवर्तनरूपव्यापारस्य कर्ता संप्रदानं स्यात् । विप्राय गां प्रतिश्रुणोति आश्रुणोति वा । विप्रेण मह्यं देहीति प्रवर्तितः प्रतिजानीत इत्यर्थः ॥

578. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the perpositions prati and âṅ; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit : the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradâna.

As विप्राय गां प्रतिश्रुणोति—आश्रुणोति "he promises a cow to a learned man."

Note :—The compound verb प्रतिश्रु and आश्रु means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case.

५७९ । अनुप्रतिगृणश्च । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

आभ्यां गृणातेः कारके पूर्वव्यापारस्य कर्तृभूतस्योक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् । होत्रेऽनुगृणाति प्रतिगृणाति । होत्रा प्रथम शंसति तमध्वर्युः प्रोत्साहयतीत्यर्थः ॥

579. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradâna.

The phrase pûrvasya kartâ of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे अनुगृणाति or प्रतिगृणाति. They encourage the Hotri *i. e.*, the Hotri priest invokes first, the Adhvaryu then follows him in invocation and by so doing encourages him.

Note :—The words अनुगरः and प्रतिगरः mean encouraging the invoker.

५८० । परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ४४ ॥

नियतकालं भृत्या स्वीकरणं परिक्रयणं तस्मिन् साधकतमं कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । शताय वा परिक्रीतः ॥ तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी वाच्या * ॥ मुक्तये हरिं भजति ॥ कल्पि संपद्यमाने भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते संपद्यते जायते इत्यादि ॥ उत्पातेन ज्ञापिते च * ॥ वाताय कपिला विद्युत् ॥ हि च * ॥ ब्राह्मणाय हितम् ॥

580. In the case of hiring on wages, that wh is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the ac of the verb parikrî, 'employing on stipulated wages, optionally called Sampradâna.

As शताय परिक्रीतः or शतेन परिक्रीतः ॥

Note:—This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have Instrumental case. The word परिक्रयणे means to engage for a limited on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time.

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the is that of 'for the purpose thereof'; as मुक्तये हरिं भजति 'he worships Ha the purpose of getting emancipation.'

Vart:—The verb कल्प and other verbs meaning 'to be adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplsh, produce, tend to,' gover dative case: as, भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते-संपद्यते-जायते &c, 'devotion tends to pr knowledge.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'i ting a portent or calamity,' as. वाताय कपिला विद्युत् ॥ 'The reddish light portends wind.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection the word हितः as ब्राह्मणायहितं 'good for the Brâhmanas.'

५८१ । क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः । २ । ३ । १४ ॥

क्रियार्था क्रिया उपपदं यस्य तस्य स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य तुमुनः कर्मणि चतुर्थी फलेभ्यो यानि । फलान्याहर्तुं यातीत्यर्थः । नमस्कुर्मो नृसिंहाय । नृसिंहमनुकूलयितुमित्यर्थः । एवं

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,] suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is it in the Dative case.

Thus फलेभ्यो याति = फलान्याहर्तुं याति 'he goes for fruits *i. e.* to bring fruits.' his debars accusative case. So also we have नमस्कुमों नृसिंहाय "we salute —Lion to propitiate Him." So also in स्वयम्भुवे नमस्कृत्य &c.

५८२ । तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् । २ । ३ । १५ ॥

भाववचनाश्रेति सूत्रेण यो विहितस्तदन्ताच्चतुर्थी स्यात् । यागाय याति । यष्टुं यातीत्यर्थः ॥

582. The fourth case-affix is employed after a rude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' abstract noun, III. 3. 11. S. 3180) and having the force of e affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

As यागाय याति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं याति ॥

Note :—The word **तुमर्थ** means 'having the same significance as the तुम्' ॥

५८३ । नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलंवषड्योगाच्च । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभिर्योगे चतुर्थी स्यात् । हरये नमः ॥ * उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी ॥ नमस्करोति । प्रजाभ्यः स्वस्ति । अग्नये स्वाहा । पितृभ्यः स्वधा । अलमिति पर्याप्त्यर्थग्रहणम् । तेन देवेभ्यो प्रभुः समर्थः शक्त इत्यादि । प्रभ्वादियोगे षष्ठ्यपि साधुः । तस्मै प्रभवति स एषां प्रभवतीति वा । तेन प्रभुर्बभूव भुवनत्रयस्येति सिद्धम् । वषडिन्द्राय । चकारः पुनर्विधानार्थः । तेनाशीर्विवक्षायां अपि चतुर्थी चाशिषीति षष्ठीं बाधित्वा चतुर्थ्येव भवति । स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

583. The fourth case-affix is employed in connection with words namaḥ 'salutation,' svasti 'peace,' Svâhâ, svadhâ (terms used in offering oblations to Gods Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient ' and vashaṭ a term of oblation.

As हरये नमः But in नमस्करोति देवान्. the word देवान् is in the Accusative e in accordance with the following Paribhâshâ.'

Paribhâshâ—" A case-termination, which if it were added to a base uld show that the person or thing denoted by that base is instrumental bringing about the action denoted by the Verb of a sentence, posseses ater force than a case-termination which might be added to the same e, because of the presence in the same sentence of a word requiring the

addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added preference to the latter".

Note :—Accordingly देवान् has received the termination of the Accusa case by II. 3. 2. S.537 "because the Accusative, namely the Devas are the ob of the action denoted by नमस्करोति, and it has not received the termination the dative which case is governed by the word नमः ॥ उपपदविभक्तेः कारक विभक्तिर्बलीय The meaning of उपपदविभक्ति is "that case which is used in connection with a certa word and has not any direct relation with the verb in the sentence." Suc the dative case in हरये used in connection with नमः ॥ Here the dative has connection with the verb and is brought about by the force of नमः ॥ कारकवि is the Vibhakti added on to the word which denotes the person or thing ta part in an action. The maxim says Karaka Vibhakti is stronger then Upa Vibhakti.

स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाऽग्नये, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं मल्लो मल्लाय 'Salutation to Gods' 'svâhâ to Agni'; 'svâdhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for a athlete' &c., The word अलं, includes its synonyms also, as प्रभुः, शक्तः &c.; दैत्येभ्यो हरिरलं, प्रभुः, समर्थः, शक्तः &c.

The use of Genitive is also valid in connection with प्रभु Because we find sentences like तस्मै प्रभवति (V. 1. 101 S. 1765) स एषां प्रा (V. 2. 78 S. 1878) Therefore this is valid :—प्रभुर्वभूवुर्भुवनत्रयस्य ॥ So वयमिन्द्राय ॥

The च indicates that the Dative, will debar the Genitive, in spit II. 3. 73 S. 631 in the case of these words, though used benedictively स्वस्तिगोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

५८४ । मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु । २ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्राणिवर्जे मन्यतेः कर्मणि चतुर्थी वा स्यात्तिरस्कारे । न त्वां तृणं मन्ये तृणाय वा । इ निर्देशात्तानादिकयोगे न । न त्वां तृणं मन्ये । अप्राणिष्वित्यपनीय नौकाकात्रछुकशृगालवर्जेषि शास्त्रम् ॥ तेन न त्वां नावमन्ये वा मन्ये इत्यत्राप्राणिष्वपि चतुर्थी न । न त्वां शुने मन्ये ह प्राणिष्वपि भवत्येव ॥

584. In denoting the indirect object, which is an animal, of the verb manya 'to think,' the dative c is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वां तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a stra The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the ve मन्य So also the sûtra uses the form मन्य, with the vikarana इय indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tan मन्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां तृणं मन्ये ॥

The words "which is not an animal" in the sûtra are use

and should be removed. Because even when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative :—as न त्वां शुने मन्ये "I do not regard thee even as a dog." See the Vârtika given below.

Vart :—Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sûtra, the word अनावादिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nâvâdi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये, never in the Dative :—नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक 'parrot,' and शृगाल 'jackal.'

Hence नावं and अन्नं although inanimate are not put in the dative in नत्वां नावमन्नं मन्ये ; नत्वां शुने मन्ये ॥

५८५ । गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि । २ । ३ । १२ ॥

अध्वभिन्ने गत्यर्थानां कर्मणि एते स्तश्चेष्टायाम् । ग्रामं ग्रामाय वा गच्छति । चेष्टायां किम् । मनसा हरिं व्रजति । अनध्वनीति किम् । पन्थानं गच्छति । गन्त्राधिष्ठितेऽध्वन्येवायं निषेधः । यश्चोत्पथात्पन्था एवाक्रमितुमिष्यते तत्रा चतुर्थी भवत्येव । उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

585. In the case of roots implying motion, the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case, in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

As, ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' Why do we say 'when physical motion is meant'? Observe मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari.' Why do we say 'when the object is not a word expressing road'? Observe पन्थानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way').

The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying a road ; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, the Dative will be employed, as उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

———:o:———

THE ABLATIVE KÂRAKA.

५८६ । ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । १ । ४ । २४ ॥

अपायो विश्लेषस्तस्मिन्साध्ये ध्रुवमवधिभूतं कारकमपादानं स्यात् ॥

586. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point, from which departure takes place, is called Apâdâna or ablation.

५८७। अपादाने पञ्चमी। २। ३। २८॥

ग्रामादायाति। धावतोऽश्वात्पतति। कारक किम्। वृक्षस्य पर्ण पतति॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम्॥ पापाज्जुगुप्सते विरमति धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति॥

587. When the Apâdâna-kâraka is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

As, ग्रामादायाति 'he comes from the village'; धावतोऽश्वात्पतति 'he falls off a galloping horse.'

Why do we say कारक in explaining the sûtra? Observe वृक्षस्य पर्ण पतति॥ The leaf of the tree falls. (Here 'वृक्ष' has no direct connection with the Verb, hence it is not कारक)॥

Vârtika:—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus पापाज्जुगुप्सते or विरमति, 'he dislikes or ceases from sin.' धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति, 'he deviates from the path of Virtue.'

५८८। भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः। १। ४। २५॥

भयार्थानां त्राणार्थानां च प्रयोगे भयहेतुरपादानं स्यात्। चोराद् बिभेति। चोरात् त्रायते। भयहेतुः किम्। अरण्ये बिभेति त्रायते वा॥

588. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger,' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apâdâna.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चोरात् बिभेति "he is afraid of the thief," चोरात् त्रायते or रक्षति "He protects or saves from the thief."

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu), is put in the ablative case? Observe अरण्ये बिभेति or त्रायते "he fears or protects in the forest."

५८९। पराजेरसोढः। १। ४। २६॥

पराजेः प्रयोगेऽसह्योऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात्। अध्ययनात्पराजयते। ग्लायतीत्यर्थः। असोढः किम्। शत्रून्पराजयते। अभिभवतीत्यर्थः॥

589. In the case of the verb parâji, 'to be tired of, weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdâna.

When the verb जि "to conquer," with the preposition parâ has

sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable,' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते "he finds study unbearable."

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते "he defeats the enemies."

५९० । वारणार्थानामीप्सितः । १ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रवृत्तिविघातो वारणम् । वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे ईप्सितोऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति । ईप्सितैः किम् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति क्षेत्रे ॥

590. In the case of verbs having the sense of "preventing," the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off, is called Ablation or Apâdâna.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vâraṇa or prevention. As यवेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति "he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley."

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case'? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे "he wards off the cow in the field."

५९१ । अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति । १ । ४ । २८ ॥

व्यवधाने सति यत्कर्तृकस्यात्मनो दर्शनस्याभावमिच्छति तदपादानं स्यात् । मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः । अन्तर्धौ किम् । चौरान्न दिदृक्षते । इच्छतिग्रहणं किम् । अदर्शनेच्छायां सत्यां सत्यपि दर्शने यथा स्यात् । देवदत्तात् यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

591. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apâdâna.

Thus मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः "Krishna conceals or hides from his mother," that the mother may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् दिदृक्षते "he does not wish to see the thieves." Here the term chaurân is in accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apâdâna kâraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, not he is seen. As देवदत्तायज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

५९२ । आख्यातोपयोगे । १ । ४ । २९ ॥

नियमपूर्वकविद्यास्वीकारे वक्ता प्राक्संज्ञः स्यात् । उपाध्यायादधीते । उपयोगे किम् । नटस्य गाथां शृणोति ॥

592. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apâdâna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

Note :—The word आख्यातृ means "teacher," and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way.

Thus उपाध्यायादधीते "he learns from the preceptor."

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नटस्य गा[य]ं शृणोति 'he hears the song of the player,"

५९३। जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः। १।४।३०॥

जायमानस्य हेतुरपादानं स्यात्। ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते॥

593. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan "to be born," is called Apâdâna.

As ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते the creatures come out of Brahma.

Note :—That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan is put in the ablative case.

५९४। भुवः प्रभवः। १।४।३१॥

भवनं भूः। भूकर्तुः प्रभवस्तथा। हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति। तत्र प्रकाशत इत्यर्थः॥

ल्यब्लोपे कर्मण्यधिकरणे च * ॥ प्रासादात्प्रेक्षते। आसनात्प्रेक्षते। प्रासादमारुह्य आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षत इत्यर्थः श्वशुराज्जिह्रेति। श्वशुरं वीक्ष्येत्यर्थः।

गम्यमानाऽपि क्रिया कारकविभक्तीनां निमित्तम्। कस्मात्त्वं नद्याः॥

यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी * ॥ तद्युक्तादध्वनः प्रथमासप्तम्यौ * ॥ कालात्सप्तमी च वक्तव्या * ॥ वनाद्ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा। कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे॥

594. The source of the agent of the verb bhû, "to become," is called Apâdâna.

The phrase 'of the agent' (kartuh,) is understood here. The wo[rd] प्रभव means "the source or that from which anything arises." As हिमवतो [गं]ा प्रभवति "the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas."

The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, [w]hen the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षते = प्रास[ा]द प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart :—And under similar circumstances, in denoting the locat[ion] the place where an action is performed, is put in the ablative case, as, आ[स]न उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from the seat.' So also श्वशुराज् जिह्रेति = श्वशु[रं] वीक्ष्य "He becomes shy at the sight of his father-in-law."

A verb understood is also a cause that gives rise to kâraka inflection[s]. As कस्मात् त्वं नद्याः॥

Note :—In questions, and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:— कुत[ो] भवान्? पाटलीपुत्राद् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra.'

Vart :—That point of time or space, from which distance in time or space is measured, is put in the Ablative case :—as, वनात् ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा "The village is one or two yojanas from the forest."

Vart :—After a word denoting time, the seventh case is also employed in the sense of ablation. As कार्त्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे 'Agrahâyana is one month from Kârtika.' The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case here as मासे ॥

Vart :—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative ; as गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ॥

५९५ । अन्यारादितरर्ते दिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते । २ । ३ । २९ ॥

एतैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अन्य इत्यर्थग्रहणम् । इतरग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्थम् । अन्यो भिन्न इतरो वा कृष्णात् । आराद्वनात् । ऋते कृष्णात् । पूर्वो ग्रामात् । दिशि दृष्टः शब्दो दिक्शब्दः । तेन संप्रति देशकालवृत्तिना योगेऽपि भवति । चैत्रात्पूर्वः फाल्गुनः । अवयववाचियोगे तु न । तस्य परमाम्रेडितमिति निर्देशात् । पूर्वं कायस्य । अञ्चूत्तरपदस्य तु दिक्शब्दत्वेऽपि षष्ठ्यतसर्थेति षष्ठीं बाधितुं पृथग्ग्रहणम् । प्राक्, प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् । आच्, दक्षिणा ग्रामात् । आहि, दक्षिणाहि ग्रामात् । अपादाने पञ्चमीति सूत्रे कार्तिक्याः प्रभृतीति भाष्यप्रयोगात् प्रभृत्यर्थयोगे पञ्चमी । भवात्प्रभृति आरभ्य वा तव्यो हरिः । अपरिवहिरिति समासविधानाज्ज्ञापकाद्बहिर्योगे पञ्चमी । ग्रामाद्बहिः ॥

595. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or rite 'without,' or words indicative of the directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

The word अन्य in the sûtra includes all words having the sense of अन्य, i. e. all words meaning 'other than.' इतर must be synonymous with अन्य for the application of this sûtra. Its use in the sûtra is therefore only illustrative. When इतर means नीच "low," then the sûtra does not apply.

As अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, कृष्णात् "different from Krishna," आराद् वनात् "remote from or near to the forest". (The word ârâd meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sûtra 611, but this enjoins 5th case-affix) ऋते कृष्णात् 'excepting Krishna.' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village.' The word दिक् 'direction' includes here every word which is employed primarily in denoting direction and nothing else. Therefore, the rule applies when such a word is used in connection with point of time, as चैत्रात्

पूर्वः फाल्गुनः, "The month Phalguna is anterior to Chaitra." Here the direction denoting word पूर्वः governs the Ablative. But when it means "member," it does not govern the ablative.' for Panini himself shows this in the construction of the sûtra तस्य परं आम्रेडितम् VIII. 1. 2. S. 83. Here परं does it not govern the ablative, and the sûtra is not तस्मात् परं &c. Thus पूर्वं कायस्य, here पूर्वं does not govern the ablative.

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añch are also दिक्शब्दः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the sûtra 609 does not come after them. उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer.' With añchu we have प्राङ् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village,' with आच् we have दक्षिणा-ग्रामात् ॥ and with âhi we have दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् both meaning 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

In commenting on the sûtra II. 3. 28. S. 587 Patanjali gives the example कार्तिक्याः प्रभृति, which shows that प्रभृति and its synonyms also govern the ablative case. Here प्रभृति means आरभ्यः ॥ Thus भवात् प्रभृति आरभ्य वा सेव्यो हरिः "Hari is to be served by all commencing with Bhava downwards."

The word बहिस् governs the ablative, and this we infer from II. 1. 12 S. 666, which says "The words अप, परि बहिस् and indeclinables ending in अञ्चु may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case." This rule of samâsa *implies* that बहिस् governs fifth case: as ग्रामाद् बहिस् ॥ This rule being inferred by implication is not universal, on the maxim ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्र ॥ Therefore we have करस्य करभोबहिः and not करात् ॥

———:o:———

The three particles अप, पार and आङ् govern the ablative, when they are Karmapravachanîya. The next two sûtras describe when they are Karmapravachanîya.

५९६ । अपपरी वर्जने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतौ वर्जने कर्मप्रवचनीयौ स्तः ॥

596. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachanîya, when meaning 'exclusion.'

Note:—The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपत्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः "it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta." So also परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः ॥ In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma pravachaniya. As ओदनं पर्यग्निक्षत्ति ॥ "He waters the rice

thoroughly." Here it is an upasarga, meaning thoroughly and hence changes the स into ष ॥

५९७ । आङ् मर्यादा वचने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आङ् मर्यादायामुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । वचनग्रहणात्तदभिविधावपि ॥

597. The word âṅ "as far as", is karma-pravachanîya when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (but excluding) Pâṭaliputra." आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (including) Pâṭliputra," आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः ॥ आसांकाश्यात्, आ मथुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix, it does not get this name.

The मर्यादा is the limit exclusive (विना तेन), while अभिविधि is the limit *inclusive* (सह तेन) ॥ The construction of the sûtra would have been better if it had been the same as II. 1. 13 S. 667 आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥

५९८ । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः । २ । ३ । १० ॥

एतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अपहरेः परिहरेः संसारः । परिरत्र वर्जने । लक्षणादौ तु परिपरि । आमुक्तेः संसारः । आसकलाद्ब्रह्म ॥

598. The fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the karmapravachanîya apa, âṅ or pari.

अप or परि हरेः संसारः "The samsâra is outside of Hari" Here the force is that of exclusion.

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90 S. 552), or हरिं परि where the meaning is that of "sign" &c. mentioned in I. 4. 90 S. 552.

(So also आमुक्तेः संसारः = मुक्तिं मर्यादीकृत्य "the samsâra has its sway up to mukti, but not with it or beyond it." आसकलाद् ब्रह्म "Brahma is in every thing." Here आ has the force of inclusion, = सकलमभिव्याप्य ॥

५९९ । प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः । १ । ४ । ९२ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोः प्रतिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

599. The word prati is karma-pravachanîya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

Note :—That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि ॥ Giving return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान ॥

६०० । प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् । २ । ३ । ११ ॥

अत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययोगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात्प्रति । तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति माषान् ॥

600. The Fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed after whatsoever is governed by the karmapravachaniya प्रति when used in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

As प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात् प्रति "Pradyumna is the representative of Krishna." तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति माषान् "he exchanges mâshâs for the sesamum."

६०१ । अकर्तर्यृणे पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २४ ॥

कर्तृवर्जितं यदृणं हेतुभूतं ततः पञ्चमी स्यात् ॥ शताद्बद्धः । अकर्तरि किम् । शतेन बन्धितः ॥

601. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

As शताद्बद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe शतेन बन्धितः, 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

६०२ । विभाषागुणेऽस्त्रियाम् । २ । ३ । २५ ॥

गुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे पञ्चमी वा स्यात् । जाड्याज्जाड्येन वा बद्धः । गुणे किम् । धनेन कुलम् । अस्त्रियां किम् । बुद्ध्या मुक्तः । विभाषेति योगविभागादगुणे स्त्रियां च क्वचित् । धूमादग्निमान् । सास्ना नदोऽनुपलब्धेः ॥

602. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

As जाड्यात् जाड्येन वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' Why do we say 'when the noun expresses an attribute'? Observe धनेन कुलम् ॥ Why do we say 'not being of the feminine gender?' Observe बुद्ध्या मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill.'

This sutra may be divided into two distinct sutras e. g. विभाषा गुणे and अस्त्रियाम् ॥ Thus we get two rules :—

1. The ablative is used optionally when the noun expresses the ...se of a thing, whether material or attributive; whether feminine or ...culine. This rule is of limited scope.

Therefore a feminine word even will also govern the ablative. As ...ग्निमान्, "By reason of the smoke, (we infer the mountain to be) fiery." ...ना घटोऽनुपलब्धेः "There is no pot here, because it is not perceived."

2. The ablative is employed when a word expresses attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

६०३। पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्। २। ३। ३२॥

एभिर्योगे तृतीया स्यात्पञ्चमीद्वितीये च। अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणं सम्बध्यार्थम्। पञ्चमीद्वितीयेऽनुवर्तते। पृथग् रामेण रामात् रामं वा। एवं विना नाना॥

603. When joined with the words prithak 'without,' vinâ 'without' and nânâ 'without' the third case-affix [illegible] optionally [illegible]

The rule applies to these *three* synonyms only. Therefore not हिरण्य देवदत्तस्य 'without Devadatta.'

६०४। करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य । २ । ३ । ३

एभ्योऽव्यवचनेभ्यः करणे तृतीयापञ्चम्यौ स्तः । स्तोकेन स्तोकाद्वा मुक्तः । द्रव्ये तु स्त विषेण हतः ॥

604. When expressing an instrument-kâraka, after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' krichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the third as well as the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects (i. e. they are used as adverbs and not as adjectives).

As स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा मुक्तः and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c." But स्तोकेन विषेन हतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance.

६०५। दूरान्तिकार्थैर्योगे द्वितीया च । २ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीया स्याच्चात्पञ्चमीतृतीये । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे विधिरयम् । ग्रामस्य दूरं दूरात् दूरेण वा, अन्तिकात् अन्तिकेन वा । असत्त्ववचनस्येत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दूरः पन्थाः ॥

605. After the words having the sense of dûra and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used the fifth and the third.

दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकात्, अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य ॥

rule applies only when these words have their original signification, and do not qualify a substance, because the anuvritti do not denote (or qualify) material objects understood Therefore the proper case-affix is employed here as दूरः पन्थाः ॥

———:o:———

THE GENITIVE.

षष्ठी शेषे । २ । ३ । ५० ॥

प्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिभावादिसंबन्धः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी स्यात् । राज्ञः पुरुषः । ग्रामविवक्षायां षष्ठ्येव । सतां गतम् । सर्पिषो जानीते । मातुः स्मरति । एधी शब्दोश्वरणार्थयोः । फलानां तृप्तः ॥

The sixth case-affix is employed in the cases, that is to say, where there is a relation between property and its owner, etc.

different from that of a word related to a verb (kâraka), and from that of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika)

As, राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः father's son.'

The sixth case should also be employed when the *mere* relationship of kârkas like karma (Accusative) &c. is intended to be expressed. As सतां गतम् = सत्पुरुष सम्बन्धिगमनम् "the going of the good, i. e. the going relating to the good." So also सर्पिषो जानीते "He knows about ghee" i. e. every thing relating to ghee, its price, manufacture, quality &c. Here sixth case is used with the force of the Instrumental = सर्पिः संबन्धि प्रवर्तन ॥ Others take it in the sense of karma, explaining it as सर्पिः सबन्धि ज्ञानं ॥

So also मातुः स्मरति ॥ "He remembers his mother." एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते (see 614). "Fuel does good to water i. e. purifies it. Or heats it." The word edhodaka is either a samâhâra compound of एधाश्च उदकंच; or एधांसिच उदकंच ॥ The word दक is an abbreviated form of उदक ॥

So also भजे शंभोश्चरणयोः 'I worship the feet of Shambhu.' and फलैः तृप्तः "satisfied with fruits."

६०७। षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे। २। ३। २६ ॥

हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्येषष्ठी स्यात्। अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

607. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word "hetu" is used along with such a word.

As अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.' This ordains sixth [illegible] there would have been otherwise the third case.

[illegible] सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च। २। ३। २७ ॥

[illegible] हेतुशब्दस्य च प्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये तृतीया स्यात् षष्ठी च। केन हेतुना वसति। कस्य [illegible]

[illegible] प्रयोगे सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् * ॥ किंनिमित्तं वसति। केन निमित्तेन। कस्मै निमित्ताय वसति। किं कारणं को हेतुः किं प्रयोजनमित्यादि। प्रायग्रहणादसर्वनाम्नः प्रथमाद्वितीये मस्तः। ज्ञानाय निमित्तायेत्यादि ॥

[illegible] After a sarvanâman (I. 1. 27 S. 213) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word 'hetu' is used with it, the sixth case-affix is employed, as well as the third.

As कस्य [illegible] वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' यस्य or कस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

Vart:—When the words निमित्त or कारण or its synonyms are so used almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तेन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति ॥ Similarly with the words kâraṇa and hetu. किं कारणं, को हेतुः, किं प्रयोजनं &c. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति ॥

By the employment of the word प्राय, the First and the second-case-affixes do not come after non-sarvanama words. As, ज्ञानेन, निमित्तेन हरिः सेव्यः or ज्ञानाय निमित्ताय &c.

६०९ । षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन । २ । ३ । ३० ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । दिक्शब्देति पञ्चम्या अपवादः । ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः पुरः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्टात् ॥

609. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the [illegible] of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28 S. 1978).

[illegible] affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28. S. 1978.

[illegible] fifth case affix ordained by V. 3. 27 S. 1974.

As ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्टात् वा 'to the south or north, fore most, [illegible] above the village.'

६१० । एनपा द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ३१ ॥

एनबन्तेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । [illegible] अपि । दक्षिणेन ग्रामं ग्रामस्य वा । एवमुत्तरेण ॥

610. With a word ending [illegible] 'enap' (V. 3. 35 S. 1984), the second case-[illegible] well as the sixth.

As. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.' So al[illegible] the rule of yoga-vibhâ, we get the sixth case-affix also.

६११ । दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एतैर्योगे षष्ठी स्याद्पञ्चमी च । दूरं निकटं ग्रामस्य ग्रामाद्वा ॥

611. When in conjunction with [illegible] ing the sense of 'dûra' 'distant,' and antika 'nea[illegible] xth case-affix is employed and also the Fifth.

As ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूर विप्रकृष्टं, आन्तिकं, अभ्याश[illegible] वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

६१२। ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे। २। ३। ५१॥

ज्ञातेरज्ञानार्थस्य करणे शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी स्यात्। सर्पिषो ज्ञानम्॥

612. Of the verb ज्ञा jnâ, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्पिषोज्ञानम्॥

Note:—The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of 'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रतिहतो वा॥ Compare I. 3. 54.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

६१३। अधीगर्थदयेशांकर्मणि। २। ३। ५२॥

एषां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात्। मातुः स्मरणम्। सर्पिषो दयनम्। ईशनं वा॥

613. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of îśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As मातुः स्मरणम् 'he remembers the mother.' सर्पिषो दयनं॥ ईशनं वा 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गात्राणामीष्टे 'he can not rule his limbs.

Note:—But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातरं स्मरति is also allowed.

६१४। कृञः प्रतियत्ने। २। ३। ५३॥

कृञः कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यादगुणाधाने। एधो दकस्योपस्करणम्॥

614. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

As एधोदकस्योपस्करणम् 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, S. 2552 स is inserted).

Note:—When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कटं करोति॥

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also एधोदकमुपस्कुरुते॥

६१५ । रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरेः । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकर्तृकाणां ज्वरिवर्जितानां रुजार्थानां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । अज्वरिसंतापीति वाच्यम् ॥ रोगस्य चौरज्वरः । चौरसंतापो वा । रोगकर्तृक चौरसम्बन्धि ज्वरादिरित्यर्थः ॥

615. The object of verbs having the sense of ruj 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb jvaraya 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा "the disease afflicts the thief" चौरस्यामयति धामथ ॥

Vartika:—It should be rather stated "with the exception of ज्वरय or संतापय ॥"

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks" So also not here चोरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चोरं संतापयति तापः ॥

The word शेष is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजांत रोगः ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथः । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीरर्थस्य नाथतेः शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो नाथनम् । आशिषीति किम् । माणवकनाथनम् । तत्संबन्धिनी याच्ञेत्यर्थः ॥

616. Of the verb nâth when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्पिषो नाथनम् 'the blessing of the honey.' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe माणवकनाथनम् 'he entreats the boy.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

६१७ । ज्ञासिनिग्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हिंसार्थानामेषां शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्योज्ज्ञासनम् । निग्रौ सहनो विपर्यस्तौ व्यस्तौ वा । चौरस्य निग्रहणनम् प्रग्रहननम् । निहननम् प्रहणनं वा । नट अवस्यन्दने चुरादिः । चौरस्योन्नाटनम् चौरस्य क्राथनम् । वृषलस्य पेषणम् । हिंसायाम् किम् । धानापिषणम् ॥

617. The object of the verbs jâsi 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' han 'to strike' preceded by नि and प्र, jointly, severally, or in any order, nât to 'injure,' 'krath,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्याज्ञासनम्, निग्रहणम्, निहननं, ग्रहणं, प्रणिहणम्, उन्नाटयति, क्वाथयति, पीनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root नद् belonging to the Churâdi class No. 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvâdi. हन with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root क्वथ takes in the causative vriddhi irregularly. This verb is Bhvâdi and falls into the subdivision ghaṭâdi, and is called likewise a मित् verb; all मित् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix णिच् (IV. 4. 92). Thus क्वाथ is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानोपघणम् 'the pounding of the barley.'

Note:—The word शत is also understood here as चौरमुज्जासयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनस्ति, चौरं विहान्ति ॥

६१८। व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः। २। ३। ५७॥

धात्वोः कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात्। व्यवहृ क्रयविक्रयव्यवहारे चानयोस्तुल्यार्थता। शतस्य व्यवहरणं पणनं वा समर्थयोः किम्। शलाकाव्यवहारः। गणनेत्यर्थः॥ ब्राह्मणपणनं स्तुतिरित्यर्थः॥

618. The object of the verbs vyavahṛi and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य व्यवहरणं or पणनं 'dealing in, or staking hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix आय्? It takes आय when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say samarthayos? Not so here शलाका व्यवहारः 'counting the dice,' ब्राह्मण पणनं 'praising the Brâhmaṇa.' The word शत is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

६१९। दिवस्तदर्थस्य। २। ३। ५८॥

द्यूतार्थस्य क्रयविक्रयरूपव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिवः कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात्। शतस्य दीव्यति। तदर्थस्य किम्। ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति। स्तौतीत्यर्थः॥

619. The object of the verb div, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking'? Observe ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he praises the Brâhmaṇa.'

Note:—The yoga vibhâga, when this root might well have been inclu the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sûtras, in which the ant of दिव runs, and not of others.

६२० । विभाषोपसर्गे । २ । ३ । ५९ ॥

पूर्वयोगापवादः । शतस्य शतं वा प्रतिदीव्यति ॥

620. The object of the verb div, when ha the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga.

As शतस्य शतं वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.'

Note:—But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, शलाकां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile.'

६२१ । प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने । २ । ३ । ६१ ॥

देवतासंप्रदानेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोः प्रेष्यब्रुवोः कर्मणो हविर्विशेषस्य वाचकाच्छब्दात्षष्ठी स्यात् । अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदसः प्रेष्य अनुब्रूहि वा ॥

621. The object of the verb preshya and brûhi (imperative singular of Divadi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recepient.

As अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदस प्रेष्य अनुब्रूहि वा 'send to fire as oblation the goat, the fat, and the marrow.'

Note:—But not here:—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपां मेदो जुहुधि. Because the verb is not preshya or bruhi. So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेष्य. Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडाशं प्रेष्य. Because the recepient is not a diety. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as: इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छाग हविर्वपां मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send for Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

६२२ । कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे । २ । ३ । ६४ ॥

कृत्वोर्थानां प्रयोगे कालवाचिन्यधिकरणे शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । पञ्चकृत्वोऽह्नो भोजनम् । त्रिरह्नो भोजनम् । शेषे किम् । त्रिरह्न्यध्ययनम् ॥

(kâla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

As पञ्चकृत्वोऽह्नोभोजनम् 'eating five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरह्नोभोजनम् 'he eats twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्?'. Observe अह्नि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुङ्क्ते. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कांस्यपात्र्यां भुङ्क्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is not meant as द्विरह्नो भुङ्क्ते.

Why is शेष understood here? Observe द्विरहन्यध्ययनम्.

६२३ । कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति । २ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कृद्योगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी स्यात् । कृष्णस्य कृतिः । जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः ॥ गुणकर्मणि वेष्यते * ॥ नेताऽश्वस्य क्षुद्रस्य क्षुद्रं वा । कृति किम् । ताद्धिते मा भूत् । कृतपूर्वी कटम् ॥

623. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a krit affix (III. 1. 93), the anuvritti of शेषे ceases.

As कृष्णस्य कृतिः "the doing of Krishna."

जगतः कर्ताकृष्णः "Krishna is the creator of the world,"

But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.' Where it is neither agent nor object.

Ishti:—According to Patanjali, the employment of the sixth case is optional when the word is an Indirect object (of a verb that takes two objects), as नेता अश्वस्य क्षुद्रस्य क्षुद्रंवा ।

Why do we say 'krit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वीकट. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

Note:—Why do we say कृत्? Because the agent or the object will take the affix of the sixth case only in connection with krit, while in connection with a conjugated verb (तिङ्) the sixth case is debarred by II. 3. 69. S. 627; Observe कृतपूर्वी कटः

Here the object कटं is not put in the sixth case, though it is not governed by a conjugated verb but by a Taddhita.

६२४। उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ६६ ॥

उभयोः प्राप्तायामिन्क्तौ तच्च कर्मण्येव षष्ठी स्यात् । आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपेन ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययेष्वकाकारयोर्नायं नियमः ॥

भेदिका विभित्सा वा रुद्रस्य जगतः ॥ शेषे विभाषा* ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यय इत्येके । विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा । केचिदविशेषेण विभाषामिच्छन्ति । शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येणाचार्यस्य वा ॥

624. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by a krit-affix, are both used in a sentence, and the sixth case can be employed after EITHER, then the sixth case-affix is employed in the object only, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

Note :—" When a primary noun is accompanied at the same time by both its agent and its object, generally only the object is put in the genitive, the agent being denoted by the Instrumental. As आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपालकेन wonderful is the milking of the cows, by one who is not a cow herd." (Keil horn).

आश्चर्यो गवांदोहोऽगोपेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.'

Vart :—'When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, and the restriction of the present sutra regarding object does not apply when the krit terminations are of the feminine gender ending in अक or अ (III. 3. 111. and III. 3. 102. भेदिका विभित्सा वा रुद्रस्य जगतः "The destruction or the desire of destroying the universe by Rudra." Here in भेदिका we have अक, and in विभित्सा we have अ.

Vârtika :—There is option in the remaining affixes. According to some when affixes are feminine other than अक or अ as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' Some hold the option of this vârtika as unrestricted by any such condition ; as शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्य वा "the dissertation on words by the âchârya." Here anuśasanam is neuter, and not feminine.

६२५। क्तस्य च वर्तमाने । २ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वर्तमानार्थस्य क्तस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । न लोकेति निषेधस्याऽपवादः । राज्ञां मतो बुद्धःपूजितो वा ।

625. The past participle ending in क्त when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

This sûtra debars sûtra 627 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhâ affixes. This is an exception to that s ûtra.

As राज्ञां पूजित : 'honored by kings,' So also राज्ञामतो बुद्धोवा ॥

६२६ । अधिकरणवाचिनश्च । २ । ३ । ६८ ॥

क्तस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । इदमेषामासितं शयितं गतं भुक्तं वा ॥

626. The past participle in क्त is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhâ contained in II. 3. 69, S. 627. As इदमेषामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेषां शयितंगतं भुक्तंवा 'this is their sleeping.'

६२७ । न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम् । २ । ३ । ६९ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । लोकेशः । कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा सृष्टिं हरिः । उ । हरिं दिदृक्षुः । अलंकरिष्णुर्वा । उक । वैरयान् घातुको हरिः ॥ कर्मण्यनिषेधः * ॥ लक्ष्म्याः कामुको हरिः । अव्ययम । जगत् सृष्ट्वा । सुखं कर्तुम् । निष्ठा । विष्णुना हता दैत्याः । दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णुः । खलर्थाः । ईषत्करः प्रपञ्चो हरिणा । तृन्निति प्रत्याहारः शतृशानचाविति तृशब्दाद्वारभ्यातृनो नकारात् । शानन् । सोमं पवमानः । प्सानश् । आस्मानं मण्डयमानः । शतृ । वेदमधीयन् । तृन् । कर्ता लोकान् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा* ॥ पुरस्य पुरं वा द्विषन् ॥ सर्वोऽयं कारकषष्ठ्याः प्रतिषेधः ॥ शेषे षष्ठी तु स्यादेव । ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् । नरकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

627. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle which is the substitute of ल, or when the word is formed by the affix उ, or उक, or governed by an Indeclinable, or by a past Participle in क्त and क्तवतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sûtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक = ल + ऊक = लोक.

1. The word त means the substitutes of ल *i. e.*, the Present Participles in शतृ, शानच् (III. 2. 124 S. 3100), कानच् (III. 2, 106 S. 3094) कसु (III. 2. 107

S. 3095) कि and क्विन् (III. 2. 172 S. 3151). Thus कुर्वन् or कुर्वाणो वा सृष्टिं हरिः। ओदनं पचन् पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवान्, पपिः सोमम्, ददिर्गाः॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168 S. 3148, as, हरिं दिदृक्षुः "desirous of seeing Hari." The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामलंकरिष्णुः॥

3. The affix उक is ordained by (III. 2. 154: S. 3134 as दैत्यान् घातुकः हरिः॥

Vart:—But there is no prohibition in the case of the word कामुक in secular Sanskrit, which governs the Genitive, as लक्ष्म्याः कामुको हरिः।

4. Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, जगत् सृष्ट्वा सुखं कर्तुम्॥

Vart:—This prohibition, however, does not apply, to the indeclinables formed by तोसुन् (III. 4. 16 S. 3443) and कसुन् (III. 4. 17 S. 3444,) as पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेयः, पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपो विरप्शिन् (I. 1. 40.)

5. Nishṭhâ *i. e.*, क्त and क्तवतु; as विष्णुना हता दैत्याः। दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णुः॥

6. The words formed by खलर्थ affixes (III. 3. 126. S. 3305), as, ईषत्करो प्रपञ्चो हरिणा, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता.

7. The तृन् in the aphorism is a pratyâhâra, formed by taking the ऋ of शतृ (III. 2. 124. S. 3100) and the final न of तृन् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115), meaning the affixes शानन् (III. 2. 128 S. 3108) As सोमं पवमानः॥ चानश (III. 2 129 S. 3109) आत्मानं मण्डयमानः॥ शतृ (III. 2. 130 S. 3110), अधीयन् and तृन् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115). कर्ता लोकान्॥

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्विष् takes the affix शतृ, as, मुरं or मुरस्य द्विषन्॥ The rule of this sûtra is a prohibition of kâraka Shashṭhî and not of Shesha Shashṭhî. That sixth-case affix will be employed. As ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, नरकस्य जिष्णुः॥

६२८। अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ण्ययोः। २। ३। ७०॥

भविष्यत्यकस्य भविष्यदाधमर्ण्यार्थेनश्च योगे षष्ठी न स्यात्। सतः पालकोऽवतरति। व्रजं गामी। शतं दायी॥

628. The sixth case affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity' and 'indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as ण्वुल्, तृच् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170. S. 3171, S. 3311), denotes both. Thus सतः पालकोऽवतरति "He takes birth to protect the good." ओदनं भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, व्रजं गामी 'he has to go to Braja.' शतं दायी 'he owes hundred.'

६२६ । कृत्यनां कर्तरि वा । २ । ३ । ७१ ॥

षष्ठी वा स्यात् । मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः । कर्तरीति किम् । गेयो माणवकः साम्नाम् । मध्यमग्रहणे किम् । यष्टिधानादनभिहिते कर्मणि । अत्र योगो विभज्यते ॥

629. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kritya).

By II. 3. 65, S. 623 primary nouns, (krit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sûtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those primary nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः.

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent?' In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो माणवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Here by III. 4. 68 S. 2894, the kritya word गेयः can denote the agent also, and is not *necessarily* confined to the object, like other kritya formed words (III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Hence the compulsory genitive. Of course, the objective may also be used, as गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कष्टव्या यासं शाखा वैद्यदत्तेन. नेतव्या व्रजं गावः कृष्णेन.

According to Patanjali the present sûtra should be divided into two rules, by the method of Yoga vibhâga. As.

६२६ क ॥ कृत्यानाम् ॥

उभयप्राप्ताविति नेति चानुवर्तते । तेन नेतव्या व्रजं गावः कृष्णेन । ततः

629 A. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kritya affix are both used in a sentence and it is possible to employ the Genitive case after either of them, then the sixth case-affix is not used after the object.

Here the words उभयप्राप्तौ of II. 3. 66 S. 624 and न of II. 3. 69 S. 627 must be read into this sûtra to complete the sense. The meaning of the aphorism therefore is as given above.

As नेतव्या व्रजं गावः कृष्णेन ॥ Here we cannot employ the sixth case-affix, after the word व्रज ॥

६२६ ख ॥ कर्तरि वा ॥

उक्तार्थं ॥

629 B. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kritya affix are both used in a sentence, then the sixth case-affix may optionally be used denoting the agent.

As गेयः माणवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Patanjali:—Why have we used the word "kartari" in the sûtra? So that the affix may not come in the object. No, this cannot be the reason; for the kritya-affixes are employed in denoting bhâva Impersonal action and karma (Passive Voice) only, and never kartâ (agent). (See. III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Thus being governed by the kritya, the object of the Passive Participle will never take the Genitive affix, but will take the first case affix. To this Kâtyâyana gives the following answer:—

Vârtika:—The word "Kartari" is used in the sûtra, because the kritya words of the sûtra III. 4. 68 S. 2894 (*aiz.*, भव्य, गेय &c.,) express agent also (are used in Active construction); and their object being not expressly taught, those kritya words do not govern any object directly. As गेयो माणवकः साम्नां।

The object of the Passive Participles भव्य &c., not being taught, the "agent" of the kritya words is taken here.

How do you say "the object of the Participles bhavya &c., is taught by the kritya affixes," for do we not find them also governing an object, as in the following example? आकृष्ट्या ग्रामं शाखा. The verb कृष् governs two objects, the Principal object is put in the accusative after the Participle. So it is necessary to use the word kartari in the sûtra.

If this be so, we shall divide the sûtra into two. First कृत्यानां and then कर्तरि च as given above.

६३० । तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

तुल्यार्थैर्योगे तृतीया वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी । तुल्यः सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य कृष्णेन वा । अतुलोपमाभ्यां किम् । तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

630. The third or the sixth case affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to, or resemblance'; excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्यः सदृशः समोवा कृष्णस्य or कृष्णेन. Why do we say "excepting तुला and उपमा." Here the Genitive must necessarily be employed. Observe तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

Note:—Though the anuvritti of वा was understood in this sûtra from the previous sûtra, yet the repitition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sûtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sûtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired.

६३१। चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः। २। ३। ७३॥

एतदर्थैर्योगे चतुर्थी वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी आशिषि। आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय कृष्णस्य वा भूयात्। एवं मद्रं भद्रं कुशलं निरामयं सुखं शं अर्थः प्रयोजनं हितं पथ्यं वा भूयात्। आशिषि किम्। देवदत्तस्यायुष्यमस्ति। व्याख्यानात्सर्वत्रार्थग्रहणम्। मद्रभद्रयोः पर्यायत्वादन्यतरो न पठनीयः॥

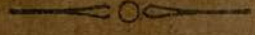
631. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words âyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sûtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart:—In the sûtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य॥ Similarly मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, शं, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पथ्यं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य भूयात्॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.



६३२। आधारोऽधिकरणम्। १। ४। ४५॥

कर्तृकर्मद्वारा तन्निष्ठक्रियाया आधारः कारकमधिकरणसंज्ञं स्यात्॥

632. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed, by reason of the agent or the object being in that place, is called Adhikarana or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called âdhâra. As कटे आस्ते 'he is seated on the mat.' कटे शेते 'he is sleeping on the mat.' स्थाल्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' The Adhikarana takes the 7th case-affix.

६३३। सप्तम्यधिकरणे च। २। ३। ३६॥

अधिकरणे सप्तमी स्यात्। चकारादूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः। औपश्लेषिको विषयिकोऽभिव्यापकश्चेति त्रिधा। कटे आस्ते। स्थाल्यां पचति। मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति। सर्वस्मिन्नात्माऽस्ति। वनस्य दूरे अन्तिके वा। अन्तिकार्थेभ्य इति विभक्तित्रयेण सह चतसृणामपि विभक्तीनां ग्रहणम्। फलितः॥

कर्मण्येधिषयस्य कर्मण्युपसङ्ख्यानम्॥ अधीति व्याकरणे। अधीतमनेनेति विग्रहे इष्टादिभ्यश्च कर्तरीनिः॥

साध्वसाधुप्रयोगे च॥ साधु कृष्णो मातरि। असाधुर्मातुले॥

निमित्तात्कर्मयोगे॥ निमित्तमिह फलम्। योगः संयोगसमवायात्मकः॥

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति दन्तयोर्हन्ति कुञ्जरम्।
केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सीम्नि पुष्कलकं हतः॥ १॥

हेतौ तृतीयाऽत्र प्राप्ता तन्निवारणार्थमिदम्। सीमाऽण्डकोषः। पुष्कलको गन्धमृगः।
योगविशेषे किम्। वेतनेन धान्यं लुनाति॥

633. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location, as well as after the word meaning 'distant' or 'near.'

The location is of three sorts :—

1. Location of contact.
2. Location of object.
3. Location of pervasion.

As कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' स्थाल्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति. "He desires Liberation." सर्वस्मिन्नात्माऽस्ति. अन्तिके दूरे वा वनस्य 'near or distant from the forest.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh. See II. 3. 35 S. 605.

Vart :—Words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object :—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in grammar.' It should be analysed as अधीतमनेन, and then इनि is added by See V. 2. 88 S. 1888.

Vart :—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown ; as साधुः कृष्णो मातरि 'Krishna is well behaved towards his mother.' असाधुर्मातुले 'ill-behaved towards his uncle.'

Vart :—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done. The nimitta here means "fruit" ; yoga means samyoga and samavâya. As in the above verse :—

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

Here the third case-affix would have, otherwise, come in denoting "hetu". The present vârtika prevents that. The word सीमा in the above verse means "testicle." The word पुष्कलकः means musk-deer. According to Padamanjari pushkalaka means "a spear or dart." सीम्नि पुष्कलकोहतः "a bolt or dart fixed in the ground, for the sake of demarcation or fixing the boundary."

Why do we say in this vârtika "purpose for which anything is done"? Observe वेतनेन धान्यं लुनाति "by wages he cuts the paddy."

६३४। यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम्। २। ३। ३७॥

यस्य क्रियया क्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततः सप्तमी स्यात्। गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः॥ अर्हाणां कर्तृत्वेऽनर्हाणामकर्तृत्वे तद्वैपरीत्ये च * ॥ सत्सु तरत्सु असत्सु आसते। असत्सु सन्तस्तरन्ति। सत्सु तिष्ठत्सु असन्तस्तरन्ति। असत्सु तरत्सु सन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति॥

634. By the action (bhâva) of what-so-ever time of another action is indicated, that takes the seven case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked he went away' दुग्धास्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' हूयमानेषु गतः, हुतेष्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe देवदत्तो न भुंक्ते. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यज्ञदत्तो देवदत्तः.

Vârtika:—In denoting the proper action of a person competent to perform it, in the same sentence with the non-performance of the same by the person not competent to do it, or in the non-doing of the action by the person not competent to do it, in the same sentence with the performance of the action by the person competent to do it, the first part of the sentence is put in the Locative case and *vice versa*, when incompaibility of action is denoted. As सत्सु तरत्सु असन्त आसते "The good crossing over, the bad are sitting." &c.

६३५। षष्ठी चानादरे। २। ३। ३८॥

अनादराधिक्ये भावलक्षणे षष्टीसप्तम्यौ स्तः। रुदति रुदतो वा प्राव्राजीत्। रुदन्ति पुत्रे इव सत्यस्तवानित्यर्थः॥

635. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown

that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदति वा प्राव्राजीत 'in spite of his weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all, that' &c., रुदन्त पुत्रादिकमनादृत्य प्रव्रजितवान् "disregarding the weeping sons and the rest, he became a Sannyâsi."

६३६ । स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च । २ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एतैः सप्तभिर्योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । षष्ठ्यामेव प्राप्तायां पाक्षिकसप्तम्यर्थं वचनम् । गवां गोषु वा स्वामी । गवां गोषु वा प्रसूतः । गा एवानुभवितुं जात इत्यर्थः ॥

636. The sixth and the seventh case affixes are used after words when they are joined with svâmin 'master,' îśvar 'lord', adhipati 'ruler,' dâyâda 'an heir,' sâkshin 'witness,' pratibhû 'a surety' and prasûta 'betten.'

Thus गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वरः 'master of cows.' So also गवां गोषु वा "born for the cows *i. e.* to help the cows."

Note:—These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the prasûtra ordains Locative as well.

६३७ । आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् । २ । ३ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तस्तात्पर्येऽर्थे । आयुक्तो व्यापारितः । आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा ॥ आसेवायां किम् । आयुक्तो गौः शकटे । ईषद्युक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

637. In conjunction with the words âyukta 'engaged' and kuśala 'skillful,' when meaning entire absorption or engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

As आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्यवा 'deeply absorbed in worship of Hari.'

Why do we say 'deeply absorbed'? For when not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different. Observe आयुक्तो गौः शकटे 'the cow is duly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employ-

६३८ । यतश्च निर्धारणम् । २ । ३ । ४१ ॥

यतश्च समुदायात् सकाशात् पृथक्करणं निर्धारणं यतस्तत्र षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । नृणां

नृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा । गच्छतां गच्छत्सु वा धावन् क्षिप्रः । छात्रा छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः ॥

638. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class.)

A nirdhâraṇa or specification is made by separating one from many or a part from the whole, by reason of its genus, quality or action (2. 10.)

As नृणां नृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः "The Spiritual man is the best among men or of men."

As गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' गच्छतां गच्छत्सु वा धावञ्छीघ्रः "Of walkers, the runner is the fastest." छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः "Among the pupils Maitra is most skillful."

६३९ । पञ्चमी विभक्ते । २ । ३ । ४२ ॥

विभागो विभक्तम् । निर्धार्यमाणस्य यत्र भेद एव तत्र पञ्चमी स्यात् । माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्यो आढ्यतराः ॥

639. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्यः आढ्यतराः 'Mathuras are more rich than Pâtaliputra.'

६४० । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः । २ । ३ । ४३ ॥

आभ्यां योगे सप्तमी स्यादर्चायां न तु प्रतेः प्रयोगे । मातरि साधुर्निपुणो वा । अर्चायां किं ? निपुणो राज्ञो भृत्यः । इह तत्त्वकथने तात्पर्यम् । अप्रत्यादिभिरिति वक्तव्यम्* ॥ साधुर्निपुणो वा प्रतिपर्यनु वा ॥

640. In conjunction with the words sâdhu 'good' and nipuṇa 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

Thus, मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of fact.

Vârtika.—The exception applies not only to प्रति, but to [illegible] positions like परि [illegible] साधुर्निपुणो वा मातरि

६४१ । प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च । २ । ३ । ४४ ॥

आभ्यां योगे तृतीया स्याच्चात्सप्तमी । प्रसित उत्सुको वा हरिणा हरौ वा ॥

641. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

We read the anuvritti of सप्तमी by force of the word च "and" in the sūtra.

Ex.: As प्रसति उत्सुको हरिणा हरौ वा.

६४२ । नक्षत्रे च लुपि । २ । ३ । ४५ ॥

नक्षत्रे प्रकृत्यर्थे यो लुप्संज्ञया लुप्यमानस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थस्तत्र वर्तमानात्तृतीयासप्तम्यौ स्तोऽधिकरणे । मूलेनावाहयेद्देवीं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत् । मूले श्रवणे इति वा । लुपि किम् । पुष्ये शनिः ॥

642. When an affix declaring the time of an asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Thus 'मूलेनावाहयेद्देवीं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्' or else मूले or श्रवणे.

Note:—पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमश्नीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Tishya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मघाभिः मघासु पललोदनम. But not so here पञ्चालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla.' Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe पुष्ये शनिः Here there is no elision.

But why not in अद्यपुष्यः, अद्यकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location. That is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words, that we may use the Saptami case-affix in the alternative,

६४३ । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये । २ । ३ । ७ ॥

शक्ति क्रियामध्ये यौ कालाध्वानौ ताभ्यामेते स्तः । अद्य भुक्त्वाऽह्नि द्व्यहे द्व्यहाद्वा भोक्ता ॥ कर्तृकर्मशक्त्योर्मध्येऽयं कालः । इहस्थोऽयं कोशं क्रोशाद्वा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् । कर्तृकर्मशक्त्योर्मध्येऽयं देशः ॥ अधिकरणे सप्तमीपञ्चम्यावित्येके । तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति यस्मादधिकमिति च सूत्रनिर्देशात् । लोके लोकान्तरे ॥

643. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that of interval between one action and ano-

ion (or implies an interval of time and space between as.)

us अद्य भुक्त्वायं द्व्यहे or द्व्यहाद्भोक्ता 'having dined today, he will dine in or days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his eating. So also इहस्थोऽयं क्रोशात् क्रोशेवा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् 'standing here, he mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos or space is the interval he agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object he location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

hti:—According to Patanjali, the word अधिक governs the fifth and h case-affixes. This is inferred from the Jnâpaka of sûtras V. 2. 45 nd II, 3. 9. S. 645 where Pâṇini uses the forms अभिप्रत्याधिकं and . Thus लोके लोकाद्वा अधिको हरिः ॥

६४४ । अधिरीश्वरे । १ । ४ । ९७ ॥

स्वामिभावसंबन्धेऽधिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

644. The word adhi is karmapravachanîya when the sense of 'lord" ("being as a lord" or "having d").

e:—The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः. tta rules over Panchâlas.

६४५ । यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी । २ । ३ । ९ ॥

त्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते सप्तमी स्यात् । उपपरार्धं हरेर्गुणाः । परार्धादधिका इत्यर्थः । ऐश्वर्ये तु पर्यायेण सप्तमी । अधिभुवि रामः । अधिरामे भूः । सप्तमी शौण्डैरिति समासेऽपत्ते तु रामेक्षेत्यादिना खः ॥

645. Where a word is governed by a karmapravain the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord 4. 97) there the seventh case-affix (locative) is em-

As उपपरार्धं हरेर्गुणाः 'the qualities of Hari are more than billions."
n denoting 'lordship,' the seventh case-affix is used either after the noting the thing possessed or after the possessor, indifferently. As रामः or अधि रामेभूः "Râma is lord of the world." By II. 1. 40 S. 717 ay be compounding also, as रामाधीना ॥ Here the affix ईन (technically ख) d to the stem अधि by V. 4. 7. S. 2079.

९४६ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधिः करोतौ प्राक्संज्ञो वा स्यादीश्वरेऽर्थे । यत्र मामधिकरिष्यति । विनियोक्ष्यत विनियोक्तुरीश्वरत्व गम्यते । अगतित्वात्तिङि चोदात्तवतीति निघातो न ॥

946. The word adhi is optionally karmaprav ya when the verb kṛi follows.

As यत्र मामधि करिष्यति. Here adhikarishyati means "directs &c." Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a क When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by VIII. 1. 71. otherwise not.

———:o:———

अथाव्ययीभावसमास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AVYAYÎ BHÂVA COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

ANOMALOUS COMPOUNDS.

६४७। समर्थः पदविधिः। २।१।१॥

पदसंबन्धी यो विधिः स समर्थाश्रितो बोध्यः॥

647. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are cennected.

Note:—This is a paribhâshâ or interpreting aphorism. Whereever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि॥ The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाम्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि॥ What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (परांगवद् भाव)॥

The word समर्थ means capable; and is of two sorts vyapekshâ and ekarthi bhâva. When a single word is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence, on analysis, it is called ekârthîbhâva Sâmarthyam; while that which depends upon the words of a sentence as connected in sense; is called vyapeksha sâmarthyam.—Thus राजपुरुषः a single compound word is an example of the first; while राज्ञः पुरुषः of the second. In this second case राज्ञः may be connected with other words also, as राज्ञःपुरुषोऽश्वश्च "The king's man and horse". But not so in the first case, there you cannot add any other word with राज॥

Thus it will be taught in sûtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत &c. and forms tatpurusha compound;' as, कष्टं श्रितः=कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense, there can be no

compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, श्रितो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and श्रितं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ ॥

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sûtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि *i. e.* rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधिः and therefore, the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply there. Two words, however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sûtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyâhâra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyâhâra यण्, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyâhâra अच् immediately follows;' as, दधि + अशान = दध्यशान ॥ This substitution of य् for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as तिष्ठतु दध्यशान त्वं शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

६४८ । प्राक्कडारात्समासः । २ । १ । ३ ॥

कडाराः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्राक्समास इत्यधिक्रियते ॥

648. From this point up to the aphorism kadarâkarmadhâraye (II. 2. 38 S. 751), all the terms that we shall describe will get the designation of samâsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word यथा when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sûtra to complete the sense.

६४९ । सह सुपा । २ । १ । ४ ॥

सह इति योगो विभज्यते । सुबन्तं समर्थेन सह समस्यते । योगविभागस्येष्टसिद्ध्यर्थत्वात्क्वाति-पयतिङन्तोत्तरपदोऽयं समासः । सच छन्दस्येव । पर्यभूषयत् । अमुञ्चच्चलत् ॥

649. The words 'saha supâ' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sûtra 2, so that it consists of three words *viz.*, सुप्, सह, सुपा ॥ All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sûtra may require.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sûtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sûtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sûtra into two separate and simple sûtras, namely :—

649 A. सह, (सुप्, समस्येत समर्थेन) 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sûtra 2, समस्येते from sûtra 3, and समर्थेन from sûtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुस्यचलन्, अनुप्रावर्षत्, पर्यभूषत् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samâsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samâsa, the udâtta accent is on the final.

649 B. सुपा (सह सुप् समस्यते) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word." The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुत्स्यूनं वासो देयं पुनर्निष्ठितो स्थः This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c.

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोरवयवस्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्वे चरडिति निर्देशाद्भूतशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातः पूर्वं भूतो भूतपूर्वः ॥

इवेन समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च ॰ ॥ जीमूतस्येव ॥

650. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

In the sûtra भूतपूर्वे चरट् (VI. 3. 53. S. 1999), the word भूतपूर्व is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member. पूर्वं भूतः = भूतपूर्वः and not पूर्वभूतः, though both nouns are in the nominative case; and there is no express sûtra of Pâṇini, which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being upasarjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pâṇini is to the contrary.

Vartika:—There is no elision of the case-affix when a word enters into composition with इव 'like.'

Thus जीमूतस्येव ॥ This samâsa, like the previous, is of rare occurrence.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8, S. 2657 " he wishes for a son of his own." A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46 S. 179); as कष्टश्रितः 'having recourse to pain'. राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टंश्रितः = कष्टश्रितः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक ? Because when it gets any other name. such as अङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, प्लक्षः ॥

—:o:—

SECTION II.

AVYÂYÎBHÂVA.

६५१ । अव्ययीभावः । २ । १ । ५ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

651. From this forward, whatever we shall describe, will get the name of Avyayîbhâva samâsa or adverbial compound.

Note :—This is also an adhikâra aphorism like the last.

६५२ । अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्ययासंप्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भावपश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययौगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु । २ । १ । ६ ॥

अव्ययमिति योगो विभज्यते । अव्ययं समर्थेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः ॥

652. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or 'of near to,' or 'prosperity,' or 'adversity,' or 'absence of the thing,' or 'departure,' or 'not now,' or 'the production of some sound,' or 'after,' or 'according to,' or 'order of arrangement,' or 'simultaneousness,' or 'likeness,' or 'possession' or 'totality,' or 'termination,' is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, which is connected with

it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva,

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sûtra. The words वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases. The examples of this sûtra will be found under 658.

This sûtra should also be divided into two, namely, the word अव्यय should form a sûtra by itself.

652. A. अव्ययं ॥

An Indeclinable is compounded with any word with which it is connected in sense.

Thus the two words अप and दिवस् may be compounded, when meaning दिवसैर्मध्ये ॥ In compounding, the following rules should be borne in mind; the actual compound is shown in sûtra 657.

६५३ । प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

समासशास्त्रे प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

653. In (this book, in the sûtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

Note:—This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sûtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sûtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीत पतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः) is a samâsa sûtra enjoining composition. In this sûtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sûtra means, "An accusative (द्वितीयः) is compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपन्न and forms Tat-purusha." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कष्टं + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः ॥ Here the word कष्टं being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30 S. 654 उपसर्जनंपूर्वम्, (In a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शंकुलाखण्डः, यूपदारु; वृकभयम्, राजपुरुषः, भक्षशौण्डः ॥

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राक्प्रयोज्यम् ॥

654. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) is to be placed first in a compound.

Note :—The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samâsa, must stand first.

६५५ । एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विग्रहे यन्नियतविभक्तिकं तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् नतु तस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

Note :—A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, *i. e.*, a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samâsa i. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apûrva-nipâte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. As निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥ निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ

Similarly the word, निर्वाराणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राज्ञः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राज्ञः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीं; राज्ञः + कुमार्या, = राजकुमार्या, राज्ञः + कुमार्यै = राजकुमार्यै ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I. 2. 48. S. 656.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बीनिः ॥

६५६ । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोशब्दः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । अव्ययीभावमेत्यव्ययत्वम् ॥

656. A short vowel is the substitute of that prâtipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sûtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrîhi or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prâtipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशाम्बी = निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाराणासिः ॥

Other examples are:—अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वः 'without a bedstead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasajana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अदन्ताद्व्ययीभावात्सुपो न लुक् किन्तु तस्य पञ्चमी विना अमादेशः । विशयोर्मध्ये अपविशम् । क्षीरेऽव्ययं त्वपविशं विशोर्मध्ये विविक्षिश्वामित्यमरः ॥

657. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayîbhâva compound that ends in अ; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the sûtra II. 4. 82. instead of luk-elision, we have अम् added to the words

ending in short अ; as दिशयोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ This is neuter and an Indeclinable. But when दिश् is consonant ending, then also we have the same form As दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशं ॥ The word दिश being read in the शरादि class, takes the samâsânta टच् ॥ Another synonym of अपदिशं is विदिक् which is, however, feminine. It means "an intermediate quarter" See Amarakosha (Chat I. Vyoma Varga verse 5)

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after an Avyayibhâvâ compound, ending in any other vowel, there is not अम substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अधिहरि ॥

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhâva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution; as उपकुम्भादानय ॥

६५८। तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । २ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अदन्ताद्व्ययीभावात्तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलमम्भावः स्यात् । अपदिशम् । अपदिशेन । अपदिशम् । अपदिशे । बहुलग्रहणात्सुभद्रयुन्मत्तगङ्गमित्यादौ सप्तम्या नित्यमम्भावः ।

विभक्त्यादेरर्थः । विभक्त्यर्थादिषु वर्तमानमव्ययं सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । विभक्तौ तावत् । हरौ इत्यधिहरि । सप्तम्यर्थस्यैवात्र ग्रोतकोऽधिः । हरिं कि अधि इत्यलौकिकं विग्रहवाक्यम् । अत्र निपातेनाभिहिते ऽप्यधिकरणे वचनसामर्थ्यात्सप्तमी ॥

658. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayîbhâva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

Thus Nominative and Accusative अपदिशम्; Ins अपदिशेन or अपदिशम्, Dat, Abl., and Gen. अपदिशम्, Loc. अपदिशे or अपदिशम् ॥

Vârt:—The अम substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayîbhâva compound denotes prosperity (II. 1. 6. S. 652) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19 S. 673); as सुभद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly उन्मत्तगङ्गम् । लोहितगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम् ॥ The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vârtika.

———:o:———

The meaning of sûtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 is now being given. "An Indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity &c. is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is Avyayîbhâva."

(1) Thus विभक्त्यर्थवचन example is अधिहरि ॥ Here अधि has the force of the seventh case-affix. The analysis of this compound is हरि + ङि + अधि

This is the grammatical (alaukika) as opposed to syntactical analysis. Here though the location is expressed by a particle (adhi), yet there is seventh case by force of the sûtra. Because सुप् is understood and it is the rule that a सुबन्त can be compounded with a सुप् ॥ Some explain अधिहरि as हरौ अधिकृत्य ॥

The compound अधिहरि is Neuter by the next sûtra.

६५६ । अव्ययीभावश्च । २ । ४ । १८ ॥

अयं नपुंसकं स्यात् ॥ ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ गोपायतीति गाः पातीति वा गोपाः । सप्तम्यित्यधिगोपम् । समीपे । कृष्णस्य समीपमुपकृष्णम् । समया ग्रामम्, निकषा लङ्काम् । आराद्दूनादित्यञ्च तु नाव्ययीभावः । अभितः परितः अन्यारादिति द्वितीयापञ्चम्योर्विधानसामर्थ्यात् । मद्राणां समृद्धिः सुमद्रम् । यवनानां व्यृद्धिर्दुर्यवनम् । विगता ऋद्धिर्यस्य तद्विर्ऋद्धिः । मक्षिकाणामभावो निर्मक्षिकम् । हिमस्यात्ययोऽतिहिमम् । अत्यगो ध्वंसः । निद्राऽसंप्रति न युज्यत इत्यतिनिद्रम् । हरिशब्दस्य प्रकाश इतिहरि । विष्णोः पश्चादनुविष्णु । पश्चाच्छब्दस्य तु नायं समासः । ततः पश्चात्संस्थते ध्वंस्ते इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । योग्यतावीप्सापदार्थानतिवृत्तिसादृश्यानि यथार्थाः । अनुरूपम् । रूपस्य योग्यमित्यर्थः । अर्थमर्थं प्रति प्रत्यर्थम् । प्रतिशब्दस्य वीप्सायां कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात्तद्योगे द्वितीयागर्भे वाक्यमपि । शक्तिमनतिक्रम्य यथाशक्ति । हरेः सादृश्यं सहरि । वक्ष्यमाणेन सहस्य सः । ज्येष्ठस्यानुपूर्व्येणेत्यनुज्येष्ठम् । चक्रेण युगपदिति विभेद ॥

659. An Avyayîbhâva compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिहरि ॥

Note :—But for this rule, an Avyayîbhâva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable; and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

A crude-form is shortened by the rule S. 318; therefore, पा will be shortened to प when last member in a compound, as अधि + गोपा = अधिगोप which in Neuter becomes अधिगोपम् ॥ The word गोपा is derived either from गोपायति (गुपु 'to protect,) or from पा 'to protect' with the noun गो; as गाः पाति = गोपा "protector of cows."

The word गोपा when derived from गुपु रक्षणे is thus formed गुप् + आय (III. 1. 28 S. 2303) = गोपाय ॥ Now add to this root क्विप्, thus गोपाय + क्विप् = गोपा (the अ of य is dropped by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308 and the य is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873) गोपा "protector." The second गोपा (गाः पाति) is an upapada compound.

Now we give examples of समीपवचन &c. of S. 652 :—

(2) समीपवचनं, as कृष्णस्य समीपं = उपकृष्णम्, 'near to Krishna.' But in समयामामम्, निकषा लङ्काम्, आराद् वनात् there is no avyayîbhâva. Because by the vârtika अभितः परित· &c. (S. 544) the words समया and निकषा govern Accusative case. If there were compounding, there would have been no necessity of that vârtika. Similarly by sûtra अन्यारात् &c. S. 595, आराद् governs the Fifth case, and therefore would give rise to no compounding.

3. सवृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधं 'well with the Magadhas.'

4. व्यृद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवादिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas;' दुर्यवनं 'ill with the Yavanas.' The word vyridhi means विगता वृद्धि "want of prosperity, adversity."

5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मक्षिकम् 'free from flies;' निर्मशकम् 'free from mosquitoes.'

6. अत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather'; or अतिहिमम् ॥ Atyaya means "destruction, departure."

7. अस्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैलिकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts,' so also अतिनिद्रम् "Past the time of sleeping," i. e. time to awake.

8. शब्दप्रादुर्भाववचन;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे इतिहरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चादूचन;—As विष्णोः पश्चात् = अनुविष्णु "after Vishnu." The word पश्चात् however itself cannot be so compounded; as Patanjali uses it separately in ततः पश्चात् क्रस्यते see Mahâbhâshya on I. 1. 57 S. 50 and II. 2. 24.

10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz., correspondence, 2. severalty or succession, 3. the not passing beyond something, 4. and likeness; thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding, or becoming or suitable manner.' (2) अत्यर्थम् 'according to each or several object of signification.' The word प्रति is a karmapravachanîya also when it denotes severalty, and so there will be no compounding but a sentence optionally having an accusative case, (3) यथाशक्ति 'according, to one's ability.' (4) सहरि "like Hari." Here सह is changed to स, See also example 13 further on.

11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. यौगपद्यवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel'

Here सचक्रं is formed from चक्रेण युगपत् or सहचक्रेण ॥ At this stage applies the next sûtra, by which सह which has the meaning of युगपत् is changed to स ॥

६६० । अव्ययीभावे चाकाले । ६ । ३ । ८१ ॥

सहस्य सः स्यादव्ययीभावे न तु काले । सचक्रम् । काले तु सहपूर्वाह्णम् । सदृशः सख्या ससखि । यथार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धे पुनः सादृश्यग्रहणं गुणभूतेऽपि सादृश्ये यथा स्यादित्येवमर्थम् । क्षत्राणां संपत्तिः सक्षत्रम् । ऋद्धेराधिक्यं समृद्धिः । अनुरूप आत्मभावः संपत्तिरिति भेदः । तृणमप्यपरित्यज्य सतृणमत्ति । साकल्येनेत्यर्थः । नस्वयं तृणभक्षणे तात्पर्यम् । अन्ते । अग्निमन्यपर्वान्तमधीते साग्नि ॥

660. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayîbhâva, when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंधेहि, but सहपूर्वाह्णम् when the second member is a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

13. सादृश्यवचन ;—As ससखि 'like a friend.' Though this could have been formed by example 10, as सहरि, the repetition of सादृश्य is for the sake of indicating that compounding will take place where sâdrishya is secondary even.

14. संपत्तिवचन ;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.' The difference between समृद्धि and सम्पत्ति is this, that the former means "abundance of prosperity," the latter "acting according to one's nature, or befitting one's self."

15. साकल्यवचन ;—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' *i. e.* the whole, not leaving even a scrap, as in the sentence सतृणमत्ति 'He eats up every thing, even the straw.' The sense is not that he eats the straw, but that he eats everything.

16. अन्तवचन ;—As साग्नि 'he studies as far as the chapter of fire' (*i. e.* the whole Veda).

६६१ । यथाऽसादृश्ये । २ । १ । ७ ॥

असादृश्ये एव यथाशब्दः समस्यते । तेनेह न । यथा हरिस्तथा हरः । हरेरुपमानस्वं यथाशब्दो द्योतयति । तेन सादृश्य इति वा यथार्थ इति वा प्राप्तं निषिध्यते ॥

661. The indeclinable word yathâ, when it does not signify 'likeness', is invariably compounded, with a word ending in a case-affix, which is in construction with it, and the compound is called an Avyayîbhâva Samâsa.

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामामन्त्रयस्व "invite every old Brâhmaṇa." So also यथाध्यापकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथाहरिस्तथा हरः 'As is Hari

so is Hara' Here यथा denotes comparison with Hari. Thus the compounding under cl. (10) when यथा means सादृश्य or under cl. (14). having the same meaning is prohibited here by.

६६२। यावदवधारणे। २। १। ८॥

यावन्तः श्लोकास्तावन्तोऽध्युत्प्रणामा यावच्छ्लोकम्॥

662. The indeclinable word yâvat, when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावदमत्रं ब्राह्मणनामन्त्रयस्व 'invite so many Brâhmanas only and not more as there are pots': *i. e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brahmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brâmansa.' यावच्छ्लोकम् प्रणामः "Bowing the head down so many times as there are the verses," i. e. saluting the God with every verse.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावदन्नं तावद् भुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i. e.* I do not know for certainty how much I have eaten.

६६३। सुप् प्रतिनामात्रार्थे। २। १। ९॥

शाकस्य लेशः शाकप्रति। मात्रार्थे किम्। वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत्॥

663. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayîbhâva.

The word मात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, शाकप्रति 'a little,' सूपप्रति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens in the direction of every tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Note:—Though the word सुप् was, by anuvritti from sûtra II. 1. 2, S. 3656. understood in this sûtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अव्यय which began with sûtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 does not extend further into the subsequent sûtras.

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 3). S. 654).

६६४ । अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा । २ । १ १० ॥

द्यूतव्यवहारे पराजये एकार्थं समासः । अक्षेण विपरीतं वृत्तं अक्षपरि । शलाकापरि । एकपरि ॥

664. The words aksha, 'a die for playing with,' salâkâ 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and sankhyâ 'numeral' are compounded with the word pari, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

Note:—This समास is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called panchikâ, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned downwards, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses.

This compound is confined to words denoting loss in gambling. Thus अक्षपरि 'an unlucky throw of dice.' शलाकापरि, 'an unlucky throw of of ivory pieces''; so also एकपरि 'an unlucky throw by one over.'

६६५ । विभाषा । २ । १ । ११ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । एतत्सामर्थ्यादेव प्राचीनानां नित्यसमासत्वम् । सुप्सुपेति तु न नित्यसमासः । अव्ययमित्यविसमास विधानाज्ज्ञापकात् ॥

665. The word vibhâshâ or option governs all the succeeding sûtras.

This is an adhikâra sûtra. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words, as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before this; for by the jñâpaka of this aphorism we infer that the compounds taught before must be *nitya* and not vibhâshâ. There is, however, an exception with regard to सुप्सुपा compounding. It is not nitya, because of the jnâpaka of the sûtra II. 1. 6. S. 652, for सुपा would have covered the case of avyayas also; but the enunciation of a separate rule about avyayas, indicates that the previous rule सुप्सुपा is an anitya rule, and the compound so formed may be expressed by a sentence. Compounds like सुमद्र, यथावृद्धं, अक्षपरि &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

Note:—The compounds taught previous to this sûtra, like the technical terms दि, घु, भ &c., would be necessarily *nitya*, because no वा is read in those sûtras. But the author strengthens this inference, by clearly enunciating the present sûtra "*option*

ally." Q. If so, then सुप्सुपा should also be a *nitya*, as that has also been taught anterior to this sûtra ? Ans. Not so, the repetition of the injunction with regards to Indeclinables, as contained in II. 1. 6. S. 652 indicates that सुप्सुपा compounding is not nitya ; because the Indeclinables are also सुप् and would have been covered by the rule of सुप्सुपा &c.

६६६ । अपपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या । २ । १ । १२ ॥

अपविष्णु संसारः । अपविष्णोः । परिविष्णोः । बहिर्वनम् । बहिर्वनात् । प्राग्वनम् । प्राग्वनात् ॥

666. The words apa, pari, bahiḥ and indeclinables ending in añchu may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be Avyayîbhâva.

As अपविष्णु संसारः or अप विष्णोः संसारः "The saṁsâra is outside or away from Vishṇu." So also, परिविगर्तम् or परिविगर्तेभ्यः 'round about Trigarta,' बहिर्ग्रामम् or बहिर्ग्रामात् 'outside the village' प्राग् ग्रामम् or प्राग् ग्रामात् 'east of the villege.'

Words formed from the verb अंचु 'to go,' are उदंच् 'north' प्रांच् 'east,' &c.

From this sûtra we learn by inference (jñâpaka) that the word बहिः also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29 S. 595). But this is not universal, as we see in करस्य करभोबहिः, here it governs the sixth case.

६६७ । आङ्मर्यादाभिविध्योः । २ । १ । १३ ॥

एतयोराङ् पञ्चम्यन्तेन वा समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । आसुक्ति संसारः । आसुक्तेः । आबालेभ्यः ॥

667. The word आङ् when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva-

As, आपाटलिपुत्रं or आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देवः 'it rained up to Pâṭaliputra.' आकुमारं or आकुमारेभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः 'the fame of Pâṇini extends even to the boys.' So also आसुक्ति संसारः or आसुक्तेः संसारः ; आबालं हरिभक्तिः or आबालेभ्यः ॥

६६८ । लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये । २ । १ । १४ ॥

आभिमुख्ययोतकावभिप्रती चिह्नवाचिना सह प्राग्वत् । अभ्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति । अग्निमभि । अग्न्यभि अग्निमभि ॥

668. The words abhi and prati when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word lakshaṇa means a sign, goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 S. 547 and 552 for a further explanation of this word. As अभ्यग्नि or अग्निमभि ज्वालाभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्नि or आग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aim (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

६६६। अनुर्यत्समया। २। १। १५॥

यं पदार्थं समया द्योत्यते तेन लक्षणभूतेनानुः समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः। अनुवनमशनिर्गतः। वनस्य समीपं गत इत्यर्थः॥

669. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Note:—Though this compounding was valid even by sûtra 652, because nearness is mentioned there also: it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayîbhâva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

६७०। यस्य चायामः। २। १। १६॥

यस्य दैर्घ्यमनुना द्योत्यते तेन लक्षणभूतेनानुः समस्यते। अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी। गङ्गाया अनु : गङ्गादैर्घ्यसदृशदैर्घ्योपलक्षितेत्यर्थः॥

670. The word anu 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva

As, अनुगंगं वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमुनं मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

६७१ । तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च । २ । १ । १७ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । तिष्ठन्त्यो गावो यस्मिन्काले स तिष्ठद्गु र्दोहनकालः । आयतीगवम् । इह शसादेशः पुंवद्भावविरहः समासान्तश्च निपात्यते ॥

671. And the words tishṭhadgu, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are Avyayîbhâva compounds.

The words तिष्ठद्गु &c. are all irregularly formed Avyayîbhâva compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of च in the sûtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the Avyayîbhâva compound and nothing else. They are as follow :—

तिष्ठद्गु "the time when the cows stand still ; *i. e.* the milking time." बहुव्रु, आयतीगवम् . In आयातीगवम् there is the absence of the Present Participial affix शतृ and in आयाति (which is a conjugated verb), of the masculinisation and there is added the samâsânta affix अ ॥ All these are irregularities. खलेयवम् खलेयुसम्, खलेयुसम्, लुनयवम्, लूयमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संभृतयवम्, संभ्रियमाणयवम्, संभृतयुसम्, संभ्रियमाणयुसम्, समभूमि, समपदाति, सुखमम्, विषमम्, दुष्यमम्, निष्यमम्, अपरसमम्, आयतीसमम् प्राह्णम्, प्ररथम्, प्रशुनम्, प्रहस्तिनम्, अपरदक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इक् कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. *e. g.* केशाकेशि ॥

६७२ । पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा । २ । १ । १८ ॥

पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह वा समस्येते । एवन्तत्स्वं चानयोर्निपात्यते । पक्षे षष्ठीतत्पुरुषः । पारेगङ्गादानय । गङ्गापारात् । मध्येगङ्गात् । गङ्गामध्यात् । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । गङ्गायाः पारात् । गङ्गाया मध्यात् ॥

672. The words pâra 'across,' and madhya 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms pâre and madhye, and the compound so formed is Avyayîbhâva.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present sûtra ordains Avyayîbhâva instead. The force of वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारेगंगादानय or गंगापारात् 'bring across the Ganges.' मध्येगंगात् or गंगामध्यात् 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sûtra II. 1. 11 S. 665 this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase ; as गंगायाः पारात् or गंगायाः मध्यात्.

६७३ । संख्या वंश्येन । २ । १ । १९ ॥

वंशो द्विधा विद्यया जन्मना च । तत्र भवो वंश्यः । तद्वान्तिना सह संख्या वा समस्यते । द्वौ मुनी वंश्यौ द्विमुनि । व्याकरणस्य त्रिमुनि । विद्यातन्त्रतामभेदविवक्षायां त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम् । एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् ॥

673. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word वंश is of two kinds and means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source, whether through (1) birth or (2) knowledge. A succession of (1) teachers and pupils, or of (2) ancestors and descendants, would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyâkaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders *viz.*, Pâṇini and Pantanjali.' So त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives *viz.*, Pâṇini, Patanjali and Sâkaṭâyana or Kâtyâyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम्.

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् 'Twenty-one Bhâradwâjas.' These and the subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

६७४ । नदीभिश्च । २ । १ । २० ॥

नदीभिः सह संख्या प्राग्वत् ॥ समाहारे चायमिष्यते * ॥ सप्तगङ्गम् । द्वियमुनम् ॥

674. A numeral (saṅkhyâ) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva denoting an aggregate.

Ishti:—According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunâs." See II. 4. 1, 17.

६७५ । अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । २१ ॥

अन्यपदार्थे विद्यमानं सुबन्तं नदीभिः सह नित्यं समस्यते संज्ञायाम् ॥ विभाषाधिकारेऽपि वाक्येन सज्ञानवगमादिह नित्यसमासः ॥ उन्मत्तगङ्गं नाम देशः । लोहितगङ्गम् ॥

675. A word ending in a case affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayîbhâva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyâ does not extend to this sûtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samâsa rule : for no name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गम् 'the country called Unmatta Gangam.' So also लोहितगंगम् कृष्णगंगम्; शनैर्गंगम् II. 4. 18.

६७६ । समासान्ताः । ५ । ४ । ६८ ।

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

676. The following affixes are added to the ends of compounds without changing their sense.

Note :—This is an adhikâra or regulating sûtra.

६७७ । अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १०७ ॥

शरदादिभ्यष्टच् स्यात्समासान्तोऽव्ययीभावे । शरदः समीपमुपशरदम् । प्रतिविपाशम् । शरद् । विपाश् । अनस् । मनस् । उपानह् । दिव् । हिमवत् । अनडुह् । दिश् । दृश् । विश । चेतस् । चतुर् । त्यद् । तद् । यद् । कियत् । जरायाजरस् च । उपजरसम् । प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽक्ष्णः ॥ अस्येति च ॥ प्रत्यक्षम् । अक्ष्णः परमिति विग्रहे समासान्तविधानसामर्थ्यादव्ययीभावः । पराक्षे लिडिति निपातनात्परस्यौकारादेशः । परोक्षम् । परोक्षा क्रियेत्यादि तु अर्शआद्यच् । समक्षम् । अन्वक्षम् ॥

677. The affix ṭach comes after the words śarat &c, when forming an Avyayîbhâva compound.

Thus शरदः समीपम्=उपशरदम्, प्रतिशरदम्, प्रतिविपाशम् ॥

Those words of शरदादि class which end in a झय् consonant add invariably (नित्य) the ṭach, in spite of V. 4. 111. S. 682 The anuvṛitti of avayayîbhâva extends upto V. 4. 113 S. 852

1 शरद्, 2 विपाश्, 3 अनस्, 4 मनस्, 5 उपानह्, 6 अनडुह्, 7 दिव्, 8 हिमवत्, 9 हिरुक् *, 10 विद् *, 11 सद् *, 12 दिश्, 13 दृश्, 14 विश्, 15 चतुर्, 16 त्यद् *, 17 तद्, 18 यद्, 19 कियत् *, 20 जराया जरस् च (as उपजरसम्), 21 प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽक्ष्णः (as प्रत्यक्षं, परोक्षः, समक्षम्, and अन्वक्षम्, The second is Tatpurusha) 22 पथिन्, 23 सदृश् ॥

20. The word जरा assumes the form जरस् in the compound. As उपजरसम् ॥

21. The words प्रति, पर, सम and अनु are compounded with अक्षी ॥ As, प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ It is thus formed प्रति+अक्षि+टच्=प्रति+अक्ष्+ट (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311)=प्रत्यक्षम् so also अक्ष्णः परम्=परोक्षम् ॥ Here ओ replaces the final अ of पर, because we find the form परोक्ष used by Pâṇini himself in III. 2. 115 S. 2171. The form परोक्षा in परोक्षाक्रिया &c. takes the affix अच् by V. 2. 127 S. 1933. so also समक्षम् and अन्वक्षम् ॥

६७८। अनश्च। ५। ४। १०८॥

अन्नन्ताद्व्ययीभावाट्टच् स्यात्॥

678. The affix ṭach comes after an Avyayîbhâva compound ending in अन्, as the final of the compound.

Thus उप+राजन्+टच्॥ Now applies the following sûtra, by which the अन् of राजन् should be elided.

६७९। नस्तद्धिते। ६। ४। १४४॥

नान्तस्य भस्य टेर्लोपः स्याच्चद्धिते। उपराजम्। अध्यात्मम्॥

679, Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided before a Taddhita affix.

Thus उपराजम्, अध्यात्मम्॥

६८०। नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम्। ५। ४। १०९॥

अन्नन्तं यत्क्लीबं तदन्ताद्व्ययीभावाट्टच् वा स्यात्। उपचर्मम् or उपचर्म॥

680. The affix ṭach comes optionally after an Avyayîbhâva compound, ending with a neuter word, whose final syllable is अन्

Note—The word अन् is understood here also. The word 'Neuter' qualifies, the second i.e. last term of the compound. This allows option, where as the previous sûtra had made it compulsory.

Thus उपचर्म or उपचर्मम्॥

६८१। नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः। ५। ४। ११०॥

वा टच् स्यात्। उपनदम्। उपनदि। उपपौर्णमासम्। उपपौर्णमासि। उपाग्रहायणम् s उपाग्रहायणि॥

681. The affix ṭach comes optionally after an Avayayîbhâva ending in nadî, paurṇamâsî, and âgrahâyaṇi.

Thus नद्याः समीपम्=उपनदम् or उपनदि, उपपौर्णमासम् or उपपौर्णमासि, उपाग्रहायणम्॥ or उपाग्रहायणि॥

६८२। झयः। ५। ४। १११॥

झयन्ताद्व्ययीभावाट्टच्स्या। उपसमिधम्। उपसमित्॥

682. The affix ṭach comes optionally after an Avyayîbhâva compound ending in a letter of jhay class (a mute letter).

Thus उपसमिधम्, or उपसमित् ॥

Note :—The झय् here means the pratyâhâra झय् i. e. all the Mute consonants.

६८३। गिरेश्च सेनकस्य। ५। ४। ११२॥

गिर्यन्तादव्ययीभावादृज्वा स्यात्। सेनकग्रहणं पूजार्थम्। उपगिरम्। उपगिरि॥

683. The affix ṭach comes after an Avyayîbhâva compound ending in 'giri', according to the opinion of the Grammarian Senaka.

Thus उपगिरिम् or उपगिरि॥ The name of Senaka is mentioned for the sake of respect (pujârtha), for the anuvritti of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" was understood here already.

Here end the Avyayîbhâva compounds.

अथ तत्पुरुष समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TATPURUSHA COMPOUNDS.

६८४ । तत्पुरुषः । २ । १ । २२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । प्राग्बहुव्रीहेः ॥

684. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, S. 829 the word Tat-purusha is the governing word and is understood in all the following sûtras.

Form this sûtra as far as the sûtra II. 2. 23 S. 829 relating to Bahuvrîhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sûtra.

Note :—The Karmadhâraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds.

६८५ । द्विगुश्च । २ । १ । २३ ॥

द्विगुरपि तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः स्यात् । इदं सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुश्चेति पठित्वा चकारबलेन संज्ञात्रयसमावेशस्य सुवचत्वात् । समासान्तः प्रयोजनम् । पञ्चराजम् ॥

685. And the kind of compound called Dvigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

This sûtra could well have been dispensed with, by inserting a च in the sûtra II. 1. 52 S. 730, and so that aphorism would mean that a compound preceded by a Numeral would get the designation of Dvigu as well as Tatpurusha. The object of its being a Tatpurusha is that टच् affix of samâsânta may be added ; as पंचराजम् ॥

Note :—The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 S. 676 &c. should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sûtra ; as sûtra II. 1. 52 S. 730 already defines Dwigu. Thus पंचराजम V, 4. 91 S. 788 fem पंचराजी (IV. I. 15, 21 S. 470), an aggregate of 5 princes.' According, to Haradatta the feminine form is wrong, as अ is not part of राज but of the whole compound.

———:o:———

ACCUSATIVE TATPURUSHA.

६८६ । द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः । २ । १ । २४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तं श्रितादिप्रकृतिकैः सुबन्तैः सह वा समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । कृष्णं श्रितः कृष्णश्रितः दुःखमतीतो दुःखातीतः ॥ गम्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ ग्रामं गमी ग्रामगमी । अन्नं बुभुक्षुः अन्नबुभुक्षुः ॥

686. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atîta 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prâpta 'who has obtained,' and âpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णं + श्रितः = कृष्णश्रितः 'who has had recourse to Krishṇa.' So also दुःखं + अतीत = दुःखातीतः 'who has passed over sorrow.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी ; अन्नं बुभुक्षुः = अन्नबुभुक्षुः ॥

६८७ । स्वयं क्तेन । २ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वितीयेति न संबध्यते अयोग्यत्वात् । स्वयंकृतस्यापत्यं स्वायंकृतिः ॥

687. The indeclinable word *swayam* 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया being inappropriate does not take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sûtra. Because the word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं कृतस्यापत्यं = स्वायं कृतिः ॥

६८८ । खट्वा क्षेपे । २ । १ । २६ ॥

खट्वाप्रकृतिकं द्वितीयान्तं क्तान्तप्रकृतिना सुबन्तेन समस्यते निन्दायाम् । खट्वारूढो जाल्मः नित्यसमासोऽयम् । नहि वाक्येन निन्दा गम्यते ॥

688. The word *khaṭwâ* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when *censure* is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

As खट्वारूढः or खट्वाप्लुतः (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

Note:—The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word, as a whole, and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

There is no compounding when 'censure' is not meant. As खट्वारूढः 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharya *i. e.* the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmâcharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachâris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वारूढः 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

६८६ । सामि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सामिकृतम् ॥

689. The indeclinable word sâmi meaning '*half*' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As सामिकृतम् 'half-done.'

Note:—The word सामि being an avyaya, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore, the anuvṛitti of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism.

६९० । कालाः । २ । १ । २८ ॥

क्तेनेत्येव । अनत्यन्तसंयोगार्थं वचनम् । मासप्रमितः प्रतिपच्चन्द्रः । मासं परिच्छेतुमारब्धवानित्यर्थः ।

690. The words denoting *time*, (but not duration thereof) being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमाः 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month).

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word कालाः does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sûtra I. 1. 68, S. 25 the word-form काल but special words denoting काल ॥

६९१। अत्यन्तसंयोगे च। २। १। २९॥

काला इत्येव। अत्यन्तार्थं वचनम्। मुहूर्तं सुखं मुहूर्तसुखम्॥

691. Words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of *complete connection throughout* with the time (i. e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्त ॥'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uniterrupted connection.'

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.'

———:o:———

INSTRUMENTAL TATPURUSHA.

६९२। तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन। २। १। ३०॥

तत्कृतेति लुप्ततृतीयाकम्। तृतीयान्तं तृतीयान्तार्थकृतगुणवचनेनार्थशब्देन च सह प्राग्वत्। शङ्कुलया खण्डः शङ्कुलाखण्डः। धान्येनार्थो धान्यार्थः। तत्कृतेति किम्। अक्ष्णा काणः॥

692. A word ending with *the 3rd case-affix* is optionally compounded *with what denotes quality*, the quality being *that which is instrumentally caused by the thing* signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

As शंकुलयाखण्डः = शंकुलाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' The word तत्कृत is an anomalous compound used only in sûtras and in which the 3rd case affix is elided. It is equal to तत्कृतेन ॥ Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case? Observe अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्ष्णा in the 3rd case, is not the instrumental cause, that produced blindness, and hence there is no compounding.

Note:—The words सुप्, सुपा are understood here: and the whole of this sûtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with

a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः, provided that, the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case.

६९३ । पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः । २ । १ । ३१ ॥

तृतीयान्तमेतैः प्राग्वत् । मासपूर्वः । मातृसदृशः । पितृसमः । ऊनार्थे । माषेण कार्षापणम् । माषविकलम् । वाक्कलहः । आचारनिपुणः । गुडमिश्रः । आचारश्लक्ष्णः । मिश्रग्रहणे सोपसर्गस्यापि ग्रहणम् । मिश्र चानुपसर्गमसन्धावित्यत्रानुपसर्गग्रहणात् । गुडसंमिश्रा धानाः ॥ अवरस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ मासेनावरो मासावरः ॥

693. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pûrva 'prior,' sadriśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' ûnartha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipuṇa 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and slakshṇa 'polished, sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

From this sûtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषेण कार्षापणं, माषविकलं 'a Karshâpana coin less by a mâshâ' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words.' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' गुडमिश्रैः 'mixed with juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart:—The compounding takes place even when मिश्र is preceded by an Upasarga. This we infer from VI. 2. 154 S. 3888 "The word मिश्र is acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition and does not mean a compact." This shows that it takes upasarga also. Thus we have गुड़समिश्रा धानाः ॥

Vart:—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

६९४ । कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् । २ । १ । ३२ ॥

कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृदन्तेन बहुलं प्राग्वत् । हरिणा त्रातो हरित्रातः । नखैर्भिन्नो नखभिन्नः ॥ कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् * ॥ नखनिर्भिन्नः । कर्तृकरणे इति किम् । भिक्षाभिरर्षितः । हेतावेषा तृतीया । बहुलग्रहणं सर्वोपाधिव्यभिचारार्थम् । तेन दात्रेण लूतवानित्यादौ न । कृता किम् । काष्ठैः पचतितराम् ॥

694. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes *the agent* or *the instrument* (II. 3. 18) is compounded *diversely with* what ends with a *krit*

affix; and the compound so formed is called Tatpurusha.

As अहिनाहतः=अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखभिन्नः 'divided by the nails.' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe,' हारिणाजातः=हारिजातः ॥

Vart:—The word कृत् here includes not only simple kridantas, but words preceded by a Gati or a kârakâ even. As not only नखभिन्नः but नखनिर्भिन्नः also.

Why do we say 'when denoting the *agent* or the *instrument*'? Observe भिक्षाभिरुषितः 'dwelt with alms." Here the force of the 3rd case is that of हेतु: mentioned in sûtra II. 3. 21 S. 566 and not that of II. 3. 18.' S. 561.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. Observe दात्रेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परशुनाछिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as, पादहारकः and गले चोपकः. Why do we say with a kridanta? See काष्ठैः पचति तराम् where पचतितराम् is a verb and not a kridanta noun.

Paribhasha:—" A krit-affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that krit affix has been added and which ends with the krit-affix; but moreover, should a Gati, or a noun such as denotes a case relation, have been prefixed to that word-form, then the krit-affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it."

६९५। कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने। २। १। ३३॥

स्तुतिनिन्दाफलकमर्थवादवचनमधिकार्थवचनं तत्र कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृत्यैः प्राग्वत्। वातच्छेद्यं तृणम्। काकपेया नदी॥

695. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally *with* a word ending in a *kritya* affix, when *an exaggerated statement* (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As वातच्छेद्यं तृणं 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by wind.) It is praise, denoting softness, or it may be the reverse; denoting weakness.

So also काकपेयानदी 'a full river' (so full that a crow may dip his beak, into it and drink while sitting on the bank. In this sense it is praise. It may be censure also, and it will mean a shallow river, so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink.)

६९६। अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम्। २। १। ३४॥

संस्कारकद्रव्यवाचकं तृतीयान्तमन्नेन प्राग्वत्। दध्ना ओदनो दध्योदनः। इहान्तभूतोपसेकक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम्॥

696. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting *a condiment*, is optionally compounded *with* a word ending in a case-affix, signifying *food*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as दध्योदनः = दध्ना उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

६९७। भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम्। २। १। ३५॥

गुडेन धानाः गुडधानाः। मिश्रणक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम्॥

697. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *relish giving or refining ingredient, is* compounded *with* a word meaning, *victuals*, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery;'

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरण॥

Note:—The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

:o:

THE DATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९८। चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः। २। १। ३६॥

चतुर्थ्यन्तार्थाय यत्किञ्चिनाऽर्थादिभिश्च चतुर्थ्यन्तं वा प्राग्वत्। तदर्थेन प्रकृतिविकृतिभावक एव गृह्यते। बलिरेक्षितग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकात्। यूपाय दारु यूपदारु। नेह। रन्धनाय स्थाली। अश्वघासाद्यस्तु षष्ठीसमासाः॥ अर्थेन नित्यसमासो विशेष्यलिङ्गता चेति वक्तव्यम*॥ द्विजायार्थं द्विजार्थः सूपः। द्विजार्था यवागूः। द्विजार्थं पयः। भूतबलिः। गोहितम्। गोसुखम्। गोरक्षितम्॥

698. A word ending with *the 4th case-affix* is compounded with what denotes that which is *for the purpose of what* ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words *artha* 'on account of,' *bali* 'a sacrifice,' *hita* 'salutary,' *sukha*

'pleasure' and *rakshita* 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप्, सुपा are understood in this sûtra: and the whole sûtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थ 'for the purpose there of,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is, by Patanjali here, held to be intended. This we infer from the jnâpaka of the words *bali* and *rakshita* used in this sûtra. As यूपाय दारु: = यूपदारु: 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). But not so here. रन्धनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' So also or अवहननायोलुखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing.' The words like अश्वघास &c. are Genitive compounds.

From this sûtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose there of.' The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable there to.' See VI. 2. 44. S. 3777. For accent see VI. 2. 45 S. 3779.

Vart:—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, द्विजार्थ: सूप: "soup for the twice-born" ब्राह्मणार्थम् पय: 'milk for the sake of Brahmans;' and द्विजार्था यवागू: 'gruel for the twice-born.' So also भूत बलि: 'a sacrifice for bhûtas' महाराजबलि: 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

———:o:———

THE ABLATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९९ । पञ्चमी भयेन । २ । १ । ३७ ॥

चोराद्भयं चौरभयम् ॥ भयभीतभीतिभीभिरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ वृकभीत: । वृकभीति: । वृकभी: ॥

699. A word ending with *the 5th case-affix* is optionally compounded with the word *bhaya* 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note:—The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sûtra qualifies it.

As चोराद्भयम् = चौरभयं 'fear from thieves'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भी: as वृकभीत:, वृकभीति:, वृकभी: ॥

Note:—This sûtra is an expansion of sûtra II. 1. 32 S. 694 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गत: 'gone out of the village.' अधर्म जुगुप्सु: ॥

७०० । अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

एतैः सहाल्पं पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते सः तत्पुरुषः । सुखापेतः । कल्पनापोढः । चक्रमुक्तः । स्वर्गपतितः । तरङ्गापत्रस्तः । अल्पशः किम् । प्रासादात्पतितः ॥

700. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words *apeta* 'gone away,' *apodha* 'carried away,' *mukta* 'freed' *patita* 'fallen,' *apatrasta*, 'afraid of,' when the action takes place in *a gradual manner*, and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः "freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32. S. 694.

Why do we use the word अल्पशः 'when the action is gradual'? It shows the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following case :—प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion.' For here the fall, is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

७०१ । स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन । २ । १ । ३९ ॥

स्तोकान्मुक्तः । अल्पान्मुक्तः । अन्तिकादागतः । अभ्याशादागतः । दूरादागतः । विप्रकृष्टादागतः कृच्छ्रादागतः । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्य इत्यलुक् ॥

701. Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dûra* 'far,' and also the word *krichchhra* 'difficulty,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded *with* what ends in *kta*, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकात् मुक्तः 'loosed from a littile distance.' अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अभ्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रादागतः 'come with difficulty.' कृच्छ्रात् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2. S. 959 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

———:o:———

THE GENITIVE TATPURUSHA

७०२ । षष्ठी । २ । २ । ८ ॥

राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः ॥

702. A word ending with *a sixth case-affix* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः "the king's man.'

७०३ । याजकादिभिश्च । २ । २ । ९ ॥

एभिः षष्ठ्यन्तं समस्यते । तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरीत्यस्य प्रतिप्रसवोऽयम् । ब्राह्मणयाजकः । देवपूजकः ॥ गुणाश्रयेण तरबीपमेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तरबन्तं यद्गुणवाचि तेन सह समासस्तरप्प्रत्ययलोपश्च । न निर्धारण इति पूरणगुणेति च निषेधस्य प्रतिप्रसवोऽयम् । सर्वेषां श्वेततरः सर्वश्वेतः । सर्वेषां महत्तरः । सर्वमहान् ॥ कृत्योगाच्च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वाच्यम् * ॥ इध्मस्य प्रक्षनः इध्मप्रक्षनः ॥

703. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yâjaka* 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brâhmana's sacrificer.'

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by II. 2. 15 S. 309 in the case of याजक &c. ; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition.

(याजकादि)

1. याजक ॥ 2. पूजक ॥ 3. परिचारक ॥ 4. परिषेवक ॥ 5. परिषेचक ॥ 6. आपक or आतक ॥ 7. अध्यापक ॥ 8. उत्साहक or उत्सादक ॥ 9. उद्घर्षक ॥ 10. होतृ ॥ 11. भर्तृ ॥ 12. रथगणक ॥ 13. पत्तिगणक ॥ 14. पोतृ ॥ 15. हर्तृ ॥ 16. वर्षक ॥

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brâhmana-caste.' चंदनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कापित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree ; and तर the sign of comparison is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vârtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sûtra and the one after next, which prohibit composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गौः 'a cow whitest among all.'

Vart—When a word takes the genitive case, because of its connection with a word ending in a krit affix ; that word may be compounded with such a krit word. Rule II. 3. 65 S. 623 states the conditions when a krit-formed word governs the genitive case. Thus इध्मप्रक्षनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter),

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by krit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact, the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pânini, other than II. 3. 50, S. 606 is a 'pratipadavidhâna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see Vârtika under II. 2. 10 S. 704.

७०४। न निर्धारणे। २। २। १०॥

निर्धारणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते। नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः॥ प्रतिपदविधाना षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वाच्यम्॥ सर्पिषो ज्ञानम्॥

704. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhâraṇa).

As नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः 'The twice born is the best amongst men.'

Note:—With this sûtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhârana.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sûtra II. 3. 41. S 638.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sûtra II. 3. 50 S. 606. is never compounded. Namely the genitives formed by rules like 612, 613, 614, &c are incapable of Samâsa. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोज्ञानम्, मधुनोज्ञानम्॥

७०५। पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसदव्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन। २। २। ११॥

पूरणार्थैः सदादिभिश्च षष्ठी न समस्यते। पूरणे। सतां षष्टः।

गुणे। काकस्य काण्र्यम्। ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः। यदा प्रकरणादिना इन्ता इति विशेष्यं ज्ञातं तदेवमुदाहरणम्। अनित्योऽयं गुणेन निषेधः। तदाश्रित्य संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादित्यादिनिर्देशात्। तेनार्थगौरवं बुद्धिमान्यमित्यादि सिद्धम्।

सुहितार्थास्तृप्त्यर्थाः। फलानां सुहितः। तृतीयासमासस्तु स्यादेव। स्वरे विशेषः।

सत्। द्विजस्य कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा। किंकर इत्यर्थः।

अव्ययम्। ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा। पूर्वोत्तरसाहचर्यात्कृदव्ययनेव गृह्यते। तेन तदुपरीत्यादि सिद्धमिति रक्षितः।

तव्यः। ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्। तव्यता तु भवत्येव। स्वकर्तव्यम्। स्वरे भेदः।

समानाधिकरणेन। तक्षकस्य सर्पस्य। विशेषणसमासस्त्विह बहुलग्रहणान्न। गोधेनोरित्यादिषु पोटायुवतीत्यादीनां विभक्त्यन्तरे चरितार्थानां परत्वाद्बाधकः षष्ठीसमासः प्राप्तः सोऽव्ययेन वार्यते॥

705. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of (1) an ordinal, (2) an attribute, or (4) satisfaction, or (4) with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127 S. 3106) or (5) an indeclinable, or (3) ending with the affix tavya, or (7) with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) सतांषष्ठः 'sixth amongst the goods'; (2) काकस्य कार्ष्ण्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः 'The Brahmana has white teeth.' This illustration is to be given when by context the word दन्ताः is understood.

The prohibition about guṇa-compounding, is however not universal: for we find Pâṇini himself making such a compound in the following sûtra तत्रशिष्टं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् I. 2. 53 S. 1295. Here the word संज्ञाप्रमाणत्व is a guṇa-compound, the word प्रमाणत्वम् being guṇa. So the compounds अर्थगौरवं, बुद्धिमान्द्यम् are valid.

(3) The word सुहित means तृप्त or satisfied. फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां तृप्तः The Instrumental compound however is not prohibited. As फलेन तृप्तः=फलतृप्तः ॥ The difference is in accent. It is âdyudâtta, while a genitive compound would have been final udâtta.

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the servant of a Brâhmana;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the servant of a Brâhmaṇa.'

(5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brâhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हृत्वा ॥

The word avyaya in the sûtra means the Kṛidanta Indeclinables only and not every Indeclinable. This we infer from the fact that the word avyaya here is associated with Kridanta words both before and behind. Namely सत् is a Krit affix and तव्य is also a krit affix, therefore अव्यय, which is in the middle, must refer also to a krit-formed Indeclinable. Therefore, we can have a compound with Indeclinables other than kridanta, as तस्य उपरि=तदुपरि ॥ This is according to the grammarian Rakshita. According to others, namely Kaiyyata and Haradata, the prohibition applies to every Indeclinable. But the latter opinion is not sound, as the former is supported by Patanjali, who uses the compound तदुपरि ॥

(6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् ॥ When however the affix is तव्यत् having the indicatory त् (III. 1. 96) there is compounding; as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यं 'the Brâhmaṇa's duty.' स्वकर्तव्यम् 'One's duty.' The difference is in accent. (VI. 1. 185. S. 3729)

(7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pâtaliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sûtra composer Pâṇini.' So also तक्षकस्य सर्पस्य We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । Even by the general rule relating to words in apposition one qualifying the other, as contained in sûtra II. 1 57 S. 736 the compound cannot be affected here, because of the word bahula used in that sûtra ; the difference between that sûtra and the present is as to the position of the words. In the genitive compound, the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

In the case of तव्यत् the compounding takes place. The difference is in accent. तव्यत् is final svarita as it has an indicatory त् ॥ Thus कर्तव्यम् formed by तव्यत्, and कर्तव्यम् by तव्य ॥ In compounding with कर्तव्यम् the svarita will be retained by कृदुत्तरप्रकृतिस्वरः but had there been compounding with the second कर्तव्यम् the udâtta would have remained in the middle.

In the phrase गोर्धेनोः, the गो is a jâti word, and धेनु is read in sûtra II. 1. 65 S. 744, and so there ought to be compounding : is it so ? Now the compounding is ordained by II. 1. 65 S. 744 which applies to all cases in general (including genitive) but that sûtra is set aside by the subsequent sûtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which specifically applies to genitive cases. Therefore गोर्धेनोः should be compounded by II. 2. 8 S. 702. But this sûtra itself is set aside by the present sûtra, so there is no compounding in गोर्धेनोः either by II. 2. 8 S. 702, or II. 1. 65 S. 744. In fact, II. 1. 65 S. 744 finds its scope in all other cases than the sixth ; while the sixth case will be governed by the subsequent sûtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which itself is limited by the present sûtra.

७०६ । क्तेन च पूजायाम् । २ । २ । १२ ॥

मतिबुद्धीति सूत्रेण विहितो यः क्तस्तदन्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते । राज्ञां मतो बुद्धः पूजितो वा । राजपूजित इत्यादौ तु भूते क्तान्तेन सह तृतीयासमासः ॥

706. A word ending with a sixth case affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' 'inclination', and 'understanding.'

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sûtra III. 2. 188. S. 3089. The present sûtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजा: and pûjâ itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

But in राजपूजितः "honored by the king," the affix kta denotes past time, and it is an Instrumental compound and not a genitive compound.

७०७। अधिकरणवाचिना च। २। २। १३॥

क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते। इहमेषामासितं गतं भुक्तं वा॥

707. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

As इहमेषां मासितं गतं भुक्तंवा 'here they have sat, gone or eaten.'

Note:—When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots *i. e.*, that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76 S. 3087)

७०८। कर्मणि च। २। २। १४॥

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणीति या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते। आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपेन॥

708. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative under II. 3. 66 S. 624.

As आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd *is* a wonder.'

Note:—The anuvṛitti of क्त does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sûtra II. 3. 66 S. 624 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed *i. e.*, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent.

७०९। तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि। २। २। १५॥

कर्त्र्यर्थतृजकाभ्यां षष्ठ्या न समासः। अपां स्रष्टा। वज्रस्य भर्ता। ओदनस्य पाचकः। कर्तरि किम्। इक्षूणां भक्षणमिक्षुभक्षिका। पत्यर्थभर्तृशब्दस्य तु याजकादित्वात्समासः। भूभर्ता। कथं तर्हि घटानां निर्मातुस्त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलह इति। शेषषष्ठ्या समास इति कैयटः॥

709. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when

the force of the affixes is that of an agent.

As अपां स्रष्टा 'the creator of waters' वज्रस्य भर्त्ता 'the holder of thunder-bolt.'

Note :—The word 'kartari' qualifies the affixes trich and aka. The affix तृच् is taught in sûtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix ; all affixes that have an element व are अक ; such as ण्वुल् or वुञ् or वुन् (sûtra VII. 1. 1.)

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of आजक (II. 2. 9. S. 703) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband or lord,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.' Thus भूभर्ता "the lord of world." How do you explain the compound त्रिभुवनविधातुः in the sentence घटानांनिर्मातुस् त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलहः "The quarrel of the maker of pots and the ruler of the Three worlds." According to Kaiyyata it is compounded as shesha shashṭhi and it is not a pratipada vidhâna shashṭhi.

The above are examples of words formed by तृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक ; thus ओदनस्य पाचकः 'the cooker of rice.'

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिका मे धारयसि.

७१० । कर्तरि च । २ । २ । १६ ॥

कर्तरि षष्ठ्या अकेन न समासः । भवतः शायिका । नेह तृजनुवर्तते । तद्योगे कर्तुरभिहितत्वेन कर्तृषष्ठ्या अभावात् ॥

710. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'aka.' affix when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

As भवतः शायिका 'your honors' repose.'

The word 'kartari' qualifies the Genitive case. The Genitive case has the force of an agent under II. 3. 65 S. 623. The anuvritti of तृच् is not to be read into this sutra. Because a तृच्-formed word always denotes an agent, and so a Genitive case used along with such a word can never denote an agent. Thus स्रष्टा is a word formed with तृच् affix. It means "creator," and in अपां स्रष्टा हरिः the agent हरिः can never take the Genitive case in connection with स्रष्टा denoting the agent. But with अक (ण्वुच् III. 3. 111 S. 3288) we have सर्जिका where हरि can take the Genitive case, as हरेः सर्जिका "Hari's turn of creating."

७११ । नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः । २ । २ । १७ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोरकेन नित्यं षष्ठी समस्यते । उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका । क्रीडाविशेषस्य संज्ञा । संज्ञायामिति भावे ण्वुल् । जीविकायाम् । दन्तलेखकः । तत्र क्रीडायां विकल्पे जीविकायां तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरीति निषेधे प्राप्ते वचनम् ॥

711. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when this affix denotes a sport or a livelihood ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभंजिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddâlaka (lasorâ vernacular) flowers are broken or crushed.' Here ण्वुल् denotes mere action by III. 3. 109 S. 3286, and forms a Name. As an example of livelihood we have दन्तलेखकः "one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Note :—This is a Nitya-samâsa incapable of analysis. The anuvṛitti of the word 'na' which began with II. 2. 10 S. 704, does not extend further. The affix वुञ् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood ; the only examples possible are of 'aka.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe ओदनस्य भोजकः.

उद्दालक पुष्पाणां भञ्जिका ॥ Here neither the ण्वुल् denotes the agent nor the genitive पुष्पाणां is a कर्तरि षष्ठी ॥ Therefore both the preceding two sutras can not apply. Now the compounding will be the usual genitive compound by sûtra II. 2. 8 S. 702 which is optional, and to set aside that usual *optional* compounding, the present sutra is ordained which makes the compounding *compulsory*. Similarly दन्तलेखकः ॥ In this the *aka* अक denoting the agent could not have been compounded with a genitive, by virtue of the prohibition of the preceding sûtra; therefore, to accomplish both these objects in view, the sûtra-kâra has made this present sutra, and so the compounding by this is *invariable*. In other words, the present sûtra sets aside the *option* of II. 2. 8. S. 702 in the case of उद्दालकपुष्प भंजिका, and the *prohibition* of. II. 2. 15 S. 709 in the case of दन्तलेखकः ॥

७१२ । पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे । २ । २ । १ ॥

अवयविना सह पूर्वादयः समस्यन्ते एकत्वसंख्याविशिष्टेनैवयवी । षष्ठीसमासापवादः । पूर्वं कायस्य पूर्वकायः । अपरकायः ॥

एकदेशिना किम् । पूर्वं नाभेः कायस्य । एकाधिकरणे किम् । पूर्वद्रुघ्नाय ग्राम ।

सर्वोऽप्येकदेशोऽह्ना समस्यते संख्याविसायेति ज्ञापकात् । मध्याह्नः । सायाह्नः । केचित्तु सर्वोऽप्येकदेशः कालेन समस्यते न त्वह्नैव । ज्ञापकस्य सामान्यापत्तेस्त्वात् । तेन मध्यरात्र । उपारताः पश्चिमरात्रगोचरा इत्यादि सिद्धमित्याहुः ॥

712. The words pûrva 'front,' apara 'near,' adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is Tatpurusha.

Note:—The word 'ekâdhikaraṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadesin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound ordained by II. 2. 9 S. 702 which would have placed the words 'pûrva' &c, last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

This is an apavâda or exception to Genitive compounding under II. 2. 8 S. 702. Thus पूर्वं + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body';

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्वं नाभेः कायस्य ॥ Why do we say 'distinguished numerically by unity'? Observe पूर्वश्छात्राणाम् 'the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (adhikaraṇa) is not unity (eka). But the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening' are correct, because the word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, as we learn this by inference from sûtra VI. 3. 110 S. 238.

Some say the rule which we have inferred from the Jñâpaka of sûtra VI. 3. 110 S. 238 is not confined to अहन् only, but applies to all words denoting *time*: as the jñâpaka is general, and not merely limited to a particular word. As a result, we get compounds like मध्य रात्रः and पश्चिमरात्रः in the examples given in the text above.

७१३ । अर्धं नपुंसकम् । २ । २ । २ ॥

समांशवाच्यर्धशब्दो नित्यं क्लीबे स प्राग्वत् ॥ एकविभक्तावधिकरणवचनम् * ॥ एकदेशिसमासविषयकोऽयमुपसर्जनसंज्ञानिषेधः । तेन षष्ठ्यर्थद्वौ इत्यादि सिद्धयति । अर्धं पिप्पल्याः अर्धपिप्पली । क्लीबे किम् । ग्रामार्धः । द्रव्यैकत्व एव । अर्धं पिप्पलीनाम् ॥

713. The word अर्धं when it signifies 'exactly equal parts *i. e.* halves,' is always neuter, and is compounded

with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vârt:—A word which has one fixed case, while the word compounded with it may vary its case, is an upasarjana, except when the case is a Genitive one. This is an exception to sûtra. I. 2. 44 S. 655. Therefore a Genitive noun denoting part, though fixed, will not be upasarjana. This prohibition of upasarjana relates to एकदेशिसमास that is, to compounds denoting *parts* of a substance, and not to a Genitive case in general. Therefore in पंचानां खट्वानां समाहारः = पंचखट्वी ॥ Here खट्वा though in the Genitive case, gets upasarjana designation, and consequently it is shortened by गोस्त्रियो &c. I. 2. 48 S. 656 The result of which is that the compound gets ङीष् ॥

But in अर्धं पिप्पल्याः = अर्धपिप्पली the word पिप्पली in the Genitive does not get upasarjana designation, as the present vârtika applies to it, because it is ekadesî; and so we have no shortening.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and इकाधिकरण are understood here. This sûtra also debars II. 2 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धं कोशातक्याः 'a half of the Kośâtakî.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village' नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadesin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धं पशोर्देवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannnot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekâdhikarana' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धं पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

७१४। द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । ३ ॥

एतान्येकदेशिना सह प्राग्वद्वा । द्वितीयं भिक्षाया द्वितीयाभिक्षा । एकदेशिना किम् । द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य । अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पूरणगुणेति निषेधं बाधित्वा पक्षे षष्ठीसमासः । । भिक्षाद्वितीयम् ॥

714. The word dvitîya, 'second,' tritîya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has

parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

Note:—This also debars II. 2 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. S. 703 also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. 705 as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयभिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sûtra II. 2. 9 S. 703we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं.

Why do we say "which signifies a thing that has parts?"

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sûtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य.

By force of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" read in this sûtra, though it was not necessary, as the same effect could have been got by the the great option (Mahâvibhâsa of sûtra II. 1. 11 S. 665), we infer that the sûtra II. 2. 11 S. 705 is set aside in the case of these words, and so we can form usual compounds also under sûtra II. 2. 8 S. 702. For these words are all ordinals, and so would have come under the prohibition of II. 2. 11 S. 705. Thus we have द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = भिक्षाद्वितीयम् by II. 2. 8. S. 702 and by the present sûtra द्वितीयभिक्षा ॥ Thus there are two forms.

७१५। प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया। २। २। ४॥

पत्ते द्वितीयाश्रितेति समासः। प्राप्तो जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकः। जीविकाप्राप्तः। आपन्नजीविकः। जीविकापन्नः। इह सूत्रे द्वितीयया अ इति छित्त्वा अकारोऽपि विधीयते। तेन जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री प्राप्तजीविका। आपन्नजीविका।

715. The words prâpta 'obtained,' and âpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadesin' and 'ekâdhikaraṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24 S. 686. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः.

In this sûtra, the word द्वितीयया is a compound of द्वितीया + अ; and the sûtra ordains अ substitution also, in case of feminine gender. Namely प्राप्ता and आपन्ना are shortened to प्राप्त and आपन्न ॥ In other words the sûtra

should be translated thus :—" The words प्राप्त and आपन्न are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case affix, and form Tat-purusha compound ; and there is the substitution of short अ for long आ if these words are in the feminine." Thus जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री = प्राप्तजीविका. Here प्राप्ता is not upasarjana, and no sûtra would have shortened this. Similarly आपन्नजीविका ॥ But if we compound it under sûtra II. 1. 24 S. 686, then we have जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री = जीविकाप्राप्ता ॥

७१६ । कालाःपरिमाणिना । २ । २ । ५ ॥

परिच्छेद्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह कालाः समस्यन्ते । मासो जातस्य यस्य स मासजातः । द्व्यहजातः । द्वयोरह्नोः समाहारो द्व्यहः । द्व्यहो जातस्य यस्य स इति विग्रहः ॥ उत्तरपदेन परिमाणिना द्विगोः सिद्धये बहूनां तत्पुरुषस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ द्वे अहनी जातस्य यस्य स द्व्यहजातः । अहोऽहइति वक्ष्यमाणोऽ हादेशः । पूर्वत्र तु न संख्यादेः समाहार इति निषेधः ॥

716. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'month old' (born a month ago.) So also सवत्सरजातः 'a year old' and द्व्यहजातः "Two days old." This is a compound of two words द्व्यह and जात, as द्व्यहो जातस्य यस्य = द्व्यहजातः ॥ The word द्व्यह itself is a Dvigu Aggregate Compound, and is thus formed द्वयोरह्नोः समाहारः = द्व्यहः ॥ Thus द्वि + अहन् + टच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) = द्वि + अह् + अ (अन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789) द्व्यहः ॥ Now this द्व्यहः is *one* word and so is compounded with जातस्य ॥

But if the analysis be द्वे अहनी जातस्य यस्य सः, then the form will be द्व्यहजातः; and here arises the difficulty of compounding more than *two* nouns at a time. For the rule is that *one* noun is compounded with *another* noun, and not that *three* nouns can be compounded simultaneously. To obviate this difficulty we have the following.

Vârtika :—Enumeration should be made of a Tat-purusha compound of more than two words, for the sake of accomplishing a Dvigu, with the third or last word denoting the thing measured. So we can compound द्वे अहनी जातस्य into द्व्यहजातः ॥ The अहन् is changed to अह by V. 4. 88 S. 790. But in the first case, we form a Samâhara compound, and so V. 4. 89 S. 793 applies, and we have no अह substitution.

———:o:———

THE LOCATIVE TATPURUSHA

७१७। सप्तमी शौण्डैः। २।१।४०॥

सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्वद्वा। अक्षेषु शौण्डः अक्षशौण्डः। अधिशब्दोऽत्र पठ्यते। अध्युत्तरपदादिति खः। ईश्वराधीनः॥

717. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words śauṇḍa 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note:—The word शौण्डैः in the sûtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with śauṇḍa.

As अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षे शौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' A word ending with अधि will take the affix ख (ईन by V. 4. 7. S. 2079) and will be a तत्पुरुष compound. Thus ईश्वराधीनः

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पटु, (or अधिपटु) 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संव्याड' 15 भव्य, and 16 समीर.

७१८। सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च। २।१।४१॥

एतैः सप्तम्यन्तं प्राग्वत्। सांकाश्यसिद्धः। आतपशुष्कः। स्थालीपक्वः। चक्रबन्धः॥

718. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in sâṅkâsya.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel.'

७१९। ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे। २।१।४२॥

ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते निन्दायाम्। तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्ष इव तीर्थध्वाङ्क्षः। तीर्थकाक इत्यर्थः॥

719. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhvâṅkṣha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थध्वांक्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' *i. e.*, a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long anywhere, so

a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

Note:—When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as तीर्थेऽम्बांक्षास्तिष्ठति. 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

७२० । कृत्यैरधमर्ण्ये । २ । १ । ४३ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कृत्यप्रत्ययान्तैः सह प्राग्वदावद्यके । मासदेयम् ऋणम् । पूर्वाह्णेगेयं साम ॥

720. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

Note:—This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix यत् and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, मासेदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' The case-affix is not elided optionally by VI. 3. 14. S. 972. Otherwise we have मासदेयं ॥

By using the word ऋण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following case also :— पूर्वाह्णेगेयं साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning.'

७२१ । संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ४४ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा प्राग्वत् संज्ञायाम् । वाक्येन संज्ञानगमान्नित्यसमासोऽयम् । अरण्येतिलकाः । वने कसेरुकाः । हलदन्तात्सप्तम्या इत्यलुक् ॥

721. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and it is called Tat-purusha samâsa

A sanjñâ is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; any thing which does not answer to one's expectation. So also वने कसेरुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.'

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance with sûtra

VI. 3. 9. S. 966. The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.

७२२ । क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः । २ । १ । ४५ ॥

अह्नो रात्र्यवयवाः सप्तम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । पूर्वाह्णकृतम् । अपररात्रकृतम् । अवयव-ग्रहणं किम् । अह्नि दृष्टम् ॥

722. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्णकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपररात्रकृतं 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अह्नि दृष्टम् 'seen in day.'

७२३ । तत्र । २ । १ । ४६ ॥

सप्तम्येतत्सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । तत्रभुक्तम् ॥

723. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10S. 1957) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.'

Note :—By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sûtra II. 1. 25. S. 687 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

७२४ । क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४७ ॥

सप्तम्यंतं क्तान्तेन प्राग्वन्निन्द्यायम् । अवतप्ते नकुलस्थितं त एतत् ॥

724. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् 'thy this work is as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground" (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

Note:—The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sûtra also. See sûtra VI. 3. 14.

७२५। पात्रेसमितादयश्च । २ । १ । ४८ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते ल्लुपे । पात्रेसमिताः । भोजनेसमवे एव संगता । नतु कार्ये । गेहेशूरः । गेहेनदी । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । चकारोऽवधारणार्थः । तेनैषां समासान्तरे घटकतया प्रवेशो न । परमाः पात्रेसमिताः ॥

725. The words like pâtre-samita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

Note:—All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by the previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udâtta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sûtra VI. 2. 81.

Thus the following is the list of the words:—पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner (time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 अवटकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदपानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीशूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गेहेशूरः, 17 गेहेनदी, 18 गेहेक्षेत्री, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याडः, 21 गेहेमही, 22 गेहेदासी, 23 गेहेदूनः, 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेतृप्तः, 26 आखनिकबकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्षेत्री 30 गोष्ठेपटुः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेडिरिडिरा, 34 कर्णेचुरचुरा ॥ The force of च in the sûtra is to restrict it to these very words. Therefore, we cannot compound परमाः पात्रेसमिताः, and it cannot form part of another compound.

७२६। पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन । २ । १ । ४९ ॥

विशेषणं विशेष्येणेति सिद्धे पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् । एकशब्दस्य विकसंख्ये संज्ञायामिति नियमबाधनार्थं च । पूर्वं स्नातः पश्चादनुलिप्तः स्नातानुलिप्तः । एकनाथः । सर्वयाज्ञिकाः । जरन्नैयायिकाः पुराणमीमांसकाः । नवपाठकाः । केवलवैयाकरणाः ॥

726. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarât 'old,' purâṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

Note:—These compounds could have been formed by the rule II. 1. 57 S. 736 but their especial enumeration here is for the sake of placing these words first in the compound. In the case of the word एक there is further object of precluding the prohibition of Sûtra II. 1. 50 S. 727.

The phrase सुप सुपा is understood here, the whole sûtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरण) or abiding in a common substratum

In the present sûtra the word-form pûrva kâla is not to be taken (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it.

As, स्नातानुलिप्तः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृष्टसमीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' दग्धप्ररूढम् 'burnt and healed.' एकनाथः 'having one master.' एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वयाज्ञिकाः "all the members of a sacrifice." सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरद्धस्ती 'old elephant.' जरन्नैयायिकाः 'old logician' जरद्वृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणमीमांसकाः old Mimansakas. पुराणावसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवपाठकाः "New students.' नवावसथम् ॥ केवल वैयाकरणाः "Only grammarians."

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः जादी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhâraya Compounds (I. 2. 42.)

७२७ । दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ५० ॥

समानाधिकरणेनेत्थाभूतपरिसमाप्तेराधिकारः । संज्ञायामेवेति नियमार्थं सूत्रम् । पूर्वेषुकामशमी । सप्तर्षयः । नेह । उत्तरा वृक्षाः । पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः ॥

727. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (sankhyâ) enter into composition with the words correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sûtras up to the end of the chapter. This sûtra makes a niyama, namely these words are compounded only then, when the whole is a Name and Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukâmaśamî-in-the-east.' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear)

But not in उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' and पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas,' because here the sense of the compounds is not that of an appellative. See IV. 2. 107.

७२८। तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च । २ । १ । ५१ ॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे च वाच्ये दिक्संख्ये प्रातिपदिके । पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः पौर्वशालः । समासे कृते दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अ इति अः ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भावः* ॥ अपरशालः। पूर्वा शाला प्रिया यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ कृते प्रियाशब्दे उत्तरपदे पूर्वयोस्तत्पुरुषः । तेन शालाशब्दे आकार उदात्तः । पूर्वशालाप्रियः । दिक्षु समाहारो नास्त्यनभिधानात् । संख्यायास्तद्धितार्थे । षण्णां मातृणामपत्यं षाण्मातुरः । पञ्च गावो धनं यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहाववान्तरतत्पुरुषस्य विकल्पे प्राप्ते ॥ द्विगुतत्पुरुषयोरुत्तरपदे नित्यसमासवचनम् * ॥

728. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) serves to represent the force of the Taddhita-affix अ) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patanjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have :—पूर्व + शाला + अ (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) = पौर्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 and VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'who is in the eastern hall,'

Vart:—The sarvnâmans become Masculine when parts of a compound or a Taddhita. The vrittis are of five kinds; Krit, Taddhita, Samâsa, Ekshesha and Sanâdyanta. Here two Vrittis only are to be taken. Similarly अपरशालः'॥

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्व शालाप्रियः or अपरशालाप्रियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarapada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

If we make a Bahuvrîhi compound of the three words पूर्वा शाला प्रिया यस्य, where the word प्रिया is the uttarapada then the first two words (पूर्वाशाला) form a Tatpurusha पूर्वशालाँ ॥ Here the आँ of शाला is udâtta by VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, and this udâtta will be retained in the Bahuvrîhi also, As पूर्वशालाँप्रियः ॥ Had the शाला and प्रिया been compounded first, and then the compound शालाप्रिय further compounded with पूर्व as a Bahuvrîhi, then by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735, पूर्वँ would have retained its accent, and the compound would have been पूर्वँशालाप्रियः ॥

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words) because the usage is against it.

The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as षाण्मातुरः "a son of six mothers," a name of Kârtikeya. Here the Taddhita affix अण् is added by IV. 1. 115 S. 1118. In compounding पंचगवीधनं यस्य as a Bahuvrîhi of three words, when we take the intermediate Tatpurusha stage, as optional by the great option II. 1. 11. S. 665, and may so consider that the Tatpurusha compound need not take place, then the following vârtika applies :—

Vart :—The compounding is nitya when a Dvandva or a Tatpuru sha is to be compounded with an uttarapada of more than two words. Therefore पंच and गावः must be *necessarily* compounded first as a samâhâra, there being no option possible here; and then the compound so formed, further compounded as a Bahuvrîhi with धनं ॥ The compound of पंच + गो gets the affix टच् by the following :—

७२९ । गोरतद्धितलुकि । ५ । ४ । ९२ ॥

गोन्तात्पुरुषाट्टच् स्यात् समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि । पञ्चगवधनः ॥

729. The affix ṭach comes after गो standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when no elision of a Taddhita affix has taken place in forming such compound.

Thus पंच + गो + टच् = पंचगवः ॥ पंचगवधनः ॥ The meaning is 'whose wealth consists of five cows.'

Note :—Why do we say "when no Taddhita affix has been elided in forming the compound"? Observe, पंचभिर्गोभिः क्रीतः = पंचगुः ॥ (Here the affix ठक् V. 1. 37 S. 1702 is elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693 and hence the samâsanta affix टच् is not added). So also दशगुः ॥

Why do we say 'when there is elision'? Merely adding a Taddhita affix in forming a Tatpurusha, will not debar the samâsânta affix: as पंचभ्यो गोभ्य आ गतं = पंचगो + टच् + रुप्य (the tach is added by this sûtra, and the taddhita रुप्य to denote तत आगतः by IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) = पंचगौरुप्यम्, पंचगौमयम्, or दशगवरुप्यम्, दशगवमयम् ॥

Thus we get above पंचगवधनः ॥ But if the option of II. 1. 11 S. 665 be applied, and पंच + गो be not compounded as a Tatpurusha, then there will be no samâsânta टच्, and the Bahuvrîhi will be पंचगोधनः ॥ This is on the view that the vârtika above given is not to be applied. Similarly with a द्वन्द्व compound, as वाक् च हृच्च प्रिये अस्य = वाग्हृदयप्रियः ॥ So also छत्रोपानहप्रियः ॥ Here वाक् and हृदय् are *invariably* compounded as a Dvandva, before becoming the first member of a Bahuvrîhi compound, and therefore it takes *always* the samâsânta टच् by V. 4. 106 S. 930.

:o:

THE DVIGU COMPOUND.

७३० । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः । २ । १ । ५२ ॥

तद्धितार्थेत्तरपदेसमाहारेचोक्तः संख्यापूर्वोद्विगुः स्यात् ॥

730. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix (तद्धितार्थे) or when an additional member comes after the compound (उत्तरपदे) or when an aggregate (समाहारे) is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or a Numeral Determinative compound.

The word taddhitârtha of sûtra II. 1. 51 S. 728 is understood here also. This defines a Dvigu compound, which is a class of Tatpurusha, where the first member is a numeral. The examples of it will be given below. They are of three sorts, namely (1) Taddhitârtha dvigu, as दशकपालः, "an offering prepared in ten cups, formed by the affix अण् of IV. 2. 16 which is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1217; 1080. (2) upapada dvigu, as, पंचनावप्रियः, and (3) samâhara dvigu, as, पंचपूली ॥ The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

७३१ । द्विगुरेकवचनम् । २ । ४ । १ ॥

द्विग्वर्थः समाहार एकवत्स्यात् । स नपुंसकमिति नपुंसकत्वम् । पञ्चानां गवां समाहारः पञ्चगवम् ॥

731. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52 S. 730) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samâhâra Dvigu *i. e.*, an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. This Samâhâra Dvigu is always Neuter by II. 4. 17 S. 821. As, पञ्चगवं 'an aggregate of five cows,' (IV. 1. 21.).

Why do we say "a *Samâhâra* Dvigu is singular"? When it is a Taddhitârtha Dvigu it is not singular. As पञ्चसु क्रपालेषु संस्कृताः = पंचकपालाः; similarly पंचभिः गोभिः क्रीताः = पंचगवः पटाः ॥

७३२ । कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः । २ । १ । ५३ ॥

कुत्स्यमानानि कुत्सनैः सह प्राग्वत् । वैयाकरणखसूचिः । मीमांसकदुर्दुरूढः ॥

732. Case inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचिः "A bad grammarian, who does not know grammar, but contemplates the heaven (ख) when asked any question." So also मीमांसकदुर्दुरूढः "an evil conducted mimânsaka," From √दुल उत्क्षेपे with the prefix दुर् and the Uṇâdi कूट ॥

Another example of such compounds is याज्ञिकाकितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore, it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोब्राह्मणः 'the bad Brâhmaṇa' &c.

७३३ । पापाणके कुत्सितैः । २ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रापवादः । पापनापितः । अणककुलालः ॥

733. The case-inflected words pâpa 'sin,' and aṇaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन); by the last sûtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sûtra, however, is so framed with regard to sûtra I. 2. 43 S. 653 and II. 2. 30, S. 654 that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकनापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुलालः 'a contemptible potter.'

७३४ । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः । २ । १ । ५५ ॥

घन इव श्यामो घनश्यामः । इह पूर्वपदं तत्सदृशे लाक्षणिकमिति सूचयितुं लौकिकविग्रहे इवशब्दः प्रयुज्यते । पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् ॥

734. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamâna; and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्यामः कृष्णः 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्येनी 'lily-white,' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding,' न्यग्रोध-परिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadattâ' or फला इव तन्दुलाः 'the rice are like fruits,' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

In analysing the above compound घनश्यामः we must use the word इव, as घन इव श्यामः, and this shows that it is merely a simile or metaphorical use of the word. This sûtra is made in order to declare a niyama rule, so that the upamâna word should stand *first*.

७३५। उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे। २। १। ५६॥

उपमेयं व्याघ्रादिभिः सह प्राग्वत्साधारणधर्मस्याप्रयोगे सति। विशेष्यस्य पूर्वनिपातार्थं सूत्रम्। पुरुषव्याघ्रः। नृसोमः। व्याघ्रादिराकृतिगणः। सामान्याप्रयोगे किम्। पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः॥

735. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that, any word expressing the common characteristic (**सामान्य**) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of last sûtra 734 by which the substantive upamâna) would have stood first; by the present, the upameya or the qualified stands first. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्रइव=पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength).

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः *i. e.*, this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, *a*

posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts *a priori*.

In the last sûtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान words, but never with सामान्य वचन ॥ Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence :—पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखपद्मम्, मुखकमलं, कराकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The foliowing is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. ऋक्ष = A bear. 4. ऋषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. तरु = A tree. 11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रुरु = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree, Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखपद्मम्
2. मुखकमलम्

} A lotus-like face.

3. कराकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः ॥

७३६ । विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् । २ । १ । ५७ ॥

भेदकं समानाधिकरणेन भेद्येन बहुलं प्राग्वत् । नीलमुत्पलं नीलोत्पलम् । बहुलमहणात्क्वचिन्नित्यम् । कृष्णसर्पः । क्वचिन्न । रामो जामदग्न्यः ॥

736. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing there by qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note—The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुलं 'diversely' it is meant that in some ceses it is imperative to make a compound (नित्यसमासः) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake,' and sometimes it is forbidden ; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jâmadagnya' ('as being the son of Jamadagni) : अर्जुनः कार्त्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional. नीलमुत्पलं or नीलोत्पलं ॥

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.' Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

७३७। पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च। २। १। ५८॥

पूर्वनिपातानियमार्थमिदम्। पूर्ववैयाकरणः। अपराध्यापकः॥ अपरस्यार्धे पश्चभावो वक्तव्यः*॥ अपरश्चासावर्धश्च पश्चार्धः। कथमेकवीर इति। पूर्वकालैकेति बाधित्वा परत्वादनेन समासे वीरैक इति हिं स्यात्। बहुलग्रहणाद्भविष्यति॥

737. The case-inflected words pûrva 'prior,' aparast,' 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost samâna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vîra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-puruhsa.

This sûtra is also a niyama rule, and made for the purpose of declaring that these words must stand first in the compound. Thus पूर्ववैयाकरणः॥ अपराध्यापकः॥

Vârt—The word पश्च is used for अपर when it is compounded with अर्ध॥ As अपर+अर्धः=पश्चार्धः॥ How do you explain the word एकवीरः where vîra stands not first, for II. 1. 49 S. 726 with regard to eka is superseded by the present sûtra with regard to vîra, and the compound ought to be वीरैकः॥ This is an illustration of the diversity of II. 1. 57 S. 736.

७३८। श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः। २। १। ५९॥

श्रेण्यादिषु च्व्यर्थवचनं कर्तव्यम्*॥ अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः श्रेणीकृताः॥

738. The case-inflected words śreṇî 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛita 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sûtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix च्वि (chvi). Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः = श्रेणिकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

Note:—The class of words called कृतादि are âkṛiti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. This Samâsa is also an invariable Samâsa by reason of sûtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (च्वि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

The aggregate of those who earn their livelihood by one art, or by selling one particular kind of commodity is called sreṇî or guild. The samâsa is nitya. As श्रेणीकृतम् The lengthening here is by VII. 4. 26 S. 2120.

७३९ । क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ । २ । १ । ६० ॥

नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तान्तेनानञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते । कृतं च तत्कृतं च कृताकृतम् ॥ शाकपार्थिवादीनां सिद्धये उत्तरपदलोपस्योपसंख्यानम् ° ॥ शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः । देवब्राह्मणः ॥

739. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ, is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta, but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done' *i. e.* partly done and partly not done.

Note :—The negative Past participle is compounded with the simple past participle, even when there is a slight difference in the forms, caused by नुट् and इट् augments.

As अशित + अनाशित = अशितानशितम् ॥ So also क्लिष्टाक्लिशितम् ॥

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' *i. e.* an era making king. So also देवब्राह्मणः = देवपूजको ब्राह्मणः "A Brâhmana who worships any deva."

७४० । सन्महत्परमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः । २ । १ । ६१ ॥

सद्वैद्यः । वक्ष्यमाणेन महत आकारः । महावैयाकरणः । पूज्यमानैः किम् । उत्कृष्टो गौः । पङ्कादुद्धृत इत्यर्थः ॥

740. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सद्वैद्यः 'a good physician. The महत् becomes महा as will be taught later on, as महापुरुषः 'a great man ;' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person ;' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person ;' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टोः गौः कर्दमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.' Here उत्कृष्ट does not mean "excellent," but "pulled out."

७४१ । वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् । २ । १ । ६२ ॥

गोवृन्दारकः ॥ व्याघ्रादेराकृतिगणत्वादेव सिद्धे सामान्यप्रयोगार्थं वचनम् ॥

741. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindâraka 'eminent,' nâga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow.' The Vyâghrâdi class (II. 1. 56 S. 735) being an Ākritigaṇa, the forms like go-vrindâraka could well have been obtained under that sûtra, the making of it a separate sûtra is for the sake of making these general compounds, and not restricted by the conditions of II. 1. 56. S. 735.

७४२ । कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने । २ । ३ । ९३ ॥

कतरकठः । कतमकलापः । गोत्रं च चरणैः सहेति जातित्वम् ॥

742. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which 'or who of many,' when used in asking questions about the jâti (IV. 1. 63. S. 518) are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As कतरकठः and कतमकलापः 'which of the two is kaṭha, and which of these kâlâpa?' Here Gotra and charaṇa, are jâti, as defined previously in IV. 1. 63. S. 518.

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिप्रश्न in the aphorism ; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions ; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification, by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase in the aphorism, shows that the word कतम has other meanings, besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jâti ; as कतरो भवतोर्देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta.' and कतमो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jâti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

७४३ । किं क्षेपे । २ । १ । ६४ ॥

कुत्सितो राजा किंराजा । यो न रक्षति ॥

743. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his sub-

jects.' किं सखा योऽभिद्रुह्यति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4 91 S. 788) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मद्रराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. S. 955 Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा ॥

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्यराजा = किं राजः 'whose king;' किंसखः ॥ Or को राजा पाटलिपुत्रे "who is king in Pataliputra?"

७४४ । पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्बष्कयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रिया-ध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः । २ । १ । ६५ ॥

744. A case-inflected word denoting a jâti, is compounded with the words poṭâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' gṛishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow *i. e.* a cow which has calved recently,'' vasâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇî 'a cow that has a full grown calf,' pravaktṛi 'an expounder,' śrotṛiya 'a learned Brâhmaṇa,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhûrta 'a cunning fellow'; and the resulting compound is called Tatpurusha.

For examples see under sûtra 746.

७४५ । तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः । १ । २ । ४२ ॥

745. A Tat-purusha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhâraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

Note:—" Karmadhâraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-purusha). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like नीलोत्पलं 'the blue lotus' परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of karmadhâraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samânâdhikaraṇa), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, परमराज्यम्, is a karamadhâraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhâraya compound, the *udâtta* accent would have fallen on the syllable रा by rule VI. 2. 130, S. 3864 (the word राज्यम् has udâtta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhâraya).

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका ॥ (VI. 3. 42. S. 746 the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhâraya) by the next sûtra :—

Note :—Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhâraya. As पाचिका + भार्या = पाचिकाभार्यः ॥ 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvrîhi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

७४६ । पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु । ६ । ३ । ४२ ॥

746. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhâraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

कर्मधारये जातीयदेशीययोश्च परतो भाषितपुंस्कात्परं ऊङ्भावो यस्मिंस्तथाभूतं पूर्वं पुंवत् । पूरणीप्रियादिष्वप्राप्तः पुंपद्भावोऽनेन विधीयते । महानवमी । कृष्णचतुर्दशी । महाप्रिया । तथा कोपधादेः प्रतिषिद्धः पुंवद्भावः कर्मधारयादौ प्रतिप्रसूयते । पाचकस्त्री । दत्तभार्या । पञ्चमभार्या । सौघ्नभार्या । सुकेशभार्या । ब्राह्मणभार्या । एवं पाचकजातीया । पाचकदेशीयेत्यादि । इभपोटा । पोटा स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणा । इभयुवतिः । अग्निस्तोकः । उक्षश्चित्स्कतिपयम् । वृष्टिः सकृत्प्रसूता, गोवृष्टिः । धेनुर्नवप्रसूतिका, गोधेनुः । वशा वन्ध्या, गोवशा । वेहत् गर्भघातिनी, गोवेहत् । वष्कयणी तरुणवत्सा, गोवष्कयणी । कठप्रवक्ता । कठश्रोत्रियः । कठाध्यापकः । कठधूर्तः ॥

This sûtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sûtras (VI. 3. 40 S. 841 &c.) Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37 S. 838). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. S. 839. Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39: S. 840 सौघ्नवृन्दारिका, सौघ्नजातीया, सौघ्नदेशिया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, S. 841 as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3, 41, S. 842 as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine. (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply to खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

This sûtra ordains masculisation, in cases where there would not have been this change because of the prohibition of the sûtras VI. 3. 34 S. 831 &c. (e. g. if the second word is an ordinal, प्रिय, &c). Thus the ordinal नवम becomes in the feminine नवमी ॥ महती चासौनवमी = महानवमी ॥ Here महती has become masculine, inspite of the prohibition of VI. 3. 34. so also कृष्णचतुर्दशी ॥ Similarly महाप्रिया ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 37 S. 838 declares "a feminine word having a penultimate क does not assume the Masculine form." The present sûtra is an exception to this prohibition also. Thus पाचकस्त्री ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 38 S. 839 teaches "the feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a name or an ordinal numeral." The present sûtra makes an exception to this also. As. दत्तभार्या, पंचमभार्या and not दत्ताभार्या &c. पंचमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 39 S. 840 ordains "the feminine is not changed into masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the vriddhi of the first syllable." The present sûtra is an exception to this also. As सौभ्रभार्या and not सौभ्रीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 40 S. 841 states "a feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of the body, does not become masculine." This sûtra makes exception to this also. As सुकेशभार्या and not सुकेशीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 41 S. 842 says "a feminine word expressing jâti does not become masculine." This sûtra makes exception to it also. As ब्राह्मणभार्या ॥

Similarly with the words जातीय and देशीय ॥ As, पाचकजातीया and पाचकदेशीया ॥

Now we shall give examples of sûtra II. 1. 65. S. 744.

As इभपोटा 'a young female elephant' पोटा is a female, having the marks of a male, such as whiskers &c. इभयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोक: 'a little fire' उदश्वित् कतिपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टि:, गोधेनु:, गोवशा:, गोवेहत, गोवष्कयणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Katha,' कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brâhmana who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापक: 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्त: प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brâhmana well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

७४७ । प्रशंसावचनैश्च । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

एतै: सह जाति: प्राग्वत् । गोमत्तल्लिका । गोमच्चर्चिका । गोप्रकाण्डम् । गवोढ्य: । गोनड्य: । प्रशस्ता गौरित्यर्थ: । मत्तल्लिकाश्वयो नियतलिङ्गा न तु विशेष्यनिघ्ना: । जाति: किम् । कुमारी मत्तल्लिका ॥

747. A case-inflected word, denoting a jâti, is compounded with a word, denoting praise, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rûdhi (रूढ़ी) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender, though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow.' गोमतल्लिका 'an excellent cow' गोमच्चर्चिका 'an excellent cow.' गवोद्धः and गोतल्लजः ॥ These words are generally used at the end of a compound, to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.' Words like प्रशस्त, शोभन, रमणीय &c, which etymologically denote praise, or specific praise words like शुचि, वृद्ध &c., are not to be taken here. In गो + उद्ध there is अवङ् ' by VI. 1. 123.

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.' Here there is no compounding. "मतल्लिका, मच्चर्चिका, प्रकाण्डं, उद्ध, तल्लज are praise denoting words." (Amarakosha).

७४८ । युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः । २ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया युवतिशब्दोऽपि समस्यते । युवा खलतिः युवखलतिः । युवतिः खलती युवखलती । युवजरती । युवत्यामेव जरतीधर्मोपलम्भेन तद्रूपारोपास्सामानाधिकरण्यम् ॥

748. The word yuvâ 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The sûtra is made in order to declare a niyama, that these words should stand first in the compound.

Note :—The word जरतीभिः is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवखलतिः ॥ So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine : 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युपपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरन् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old).

७४९ । कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या । २ । १ । ६८ ॥

भोज्योष्णम् । तुल्यश्वेतः । सदृश्वेतः । अजात्या किम् । भोज्य ओदनः । प्रतिषेधसामर्थ्याद्विशेषणसमासोऽपि न ॥

749. Words ending with a kritya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded

with words which do not denote jâti, being in the same case with them ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a jâti'? Observe भोज्य ओदनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57. S. 736.

७५० । वर्णो वर्णेन । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

समानाधिकरणेन सह प्राग्वत् । कृष्णसारङ्गः ॥

750. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope.'

७५१ । कडाराः कर्मधारये । २ । २ । ३८ ॥

कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये वा पूर्वं प्रयोज्याः । कडारजैमिनिः । जैमिनिकडारः ॥

The words kadârah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍârjaiminiḥ or Jaiminikaḍârah. 'The tawny Jaimini.' So also गडुलशाण्डिल्यः or शाण्डिल्यगडुलः ॥

७५२ । कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः । २ । १ । ७० ॥

कुमारी श्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा । इह गणे श्रमणा प्रव्रजिता गर्भिणीत्यादयः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः पठ्यन्ते । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया एतदेव ज्ञापकं बोध्यम् ॥

752. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा "a virgin ascetic".

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, गर्भिणी, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e. g. अध्यापक, अभिरूपक, पण्डित

the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.' In fact, this is the sûtra from which we infer the existence (jñâpaka) of the above paribhâshâ of लिङ्विशिष्ट &c.

श्रमणादिः ।

1. श्रमणा = Lobouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. तापसी = A hermit, "devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

७५३ । चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या । २ । १ । ७१ ॥

चतुष्पाज्जातिवाचिनो गर्भिणीशब्देन सह प्राग्वत् ॥ गोगर्भिणी ॥ * चतुष्पाज् जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी ॥

753. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhiṇî, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here :—कालाक्षि गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kâlâkshî or Svastimatî.'

Note:—Why do we say 'quadrupeds ?' Observe ब्राह्मणीगर्भिणी ॥

७५४ । मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च । २ । १ । ७२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । मयूरो व्यंसको मयूरव्यंसकः । व्यंसको धूर्तः । उदक्चावाक्च उच्चावचम् । निश्चितं प्रश्चितं च निश्चप्रचम् । नास्ति किंचन यस्य सः अकिंचनः ॥ नास्ति कुतो भयं यस्य सोऽकुतोभयः । अन्यो राजा राजान्तरं । चिरेव चिन्माचम् ॥

आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये * ॥ अश्नीत पिबतत्येव सततं यत्राभिधीयते सा अश्नीतपिबता । पचतभृज्जता । खादतमोदता ॥

एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे * ॥ एहीड इति यस्मिन्कर्मणि तदेहिडम् । एहिपचम् । उद्धर कोष्ठादुत्सृज देहीति यस्यां क्रियायां सा उद्धरोत्सृजा । उद्धमाविधमा । असातत्यार्थमिह पाठः ॥

जहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति । * ॥ जहीत्येतत्कर्मणा बहुलं समस्यते आभीक्ष्ण्ये गम्ये समासेन चैतत्कर्तारमभिधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ जहिजोडः । जहिस्तम्बः ॥

754. And the words mayûra-vyamsakâ 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक: is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक: ॥ So also उदक् चावाक्च = उदावचम् । निधिनं च प्रधिनं च = निधप्रधिनम् । नास्ति किंचन यस्य = अकिंचन: ॥

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादय: ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक ॥ 2. छात्र व्यंसक ॥ 3. कम्बोजमुण्ड ॥ 4. यवनमुण्ड ॥ 5. हस्तेगृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पादेगृह्य or पादगृह्य ॥ 7. लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलगृह्य ॥ 8. पुनर्दाय ॥

GANA SÛTRA एहीडादयो ऽन्यपदार्थे ॥

As, 1. एहीडं वर्तते ॥ 2. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 3. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) ॥ 4. अपेहिवाणिजा ॥ 5. प्रेहिवाणिजा ॥ 6. एहिस्वागता ॥ 7. अपेहिस्वागता ॥ 8. एहिद्वितीया ॥ 9. अपेहिद्वितीया ॥ 10. प्रेहिद्वितीया ॥ 11. एहिकटा ॥ 12. अपेहिकटा or अपोहकटा ॥ 13. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा ॥ 14. आहरकटा ॥ 15. प्रहिकर्षमा ॥ 16. प्रोहकर्षमा ॥ 17. विधमचूड़ा ॥ उद्धमचूड़ा ॥ 18. उद्धरचूड़ा ॥ 19. आहरचेला ॥ 20 आहर वसना ॥ 21. (आहरसेना) ॥ 22. आहरवनिता ॥ 23. (आहरविवना) ॥ 24. कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ 25. उद्धरोत्सृजा ॥ 26. उद्धरावसृजा ॥ 27. उद्धभविधमा ॥ 28. उत्पचनिपचा or विपचा ॥ 29. उत्पतनिपता ॥ 30. उदावचम् ॥ 31. उदनीचम् ॥ 32 आचोपचम् ॥ 33. आचपराचम् ॥ 34. नखप्रचम् ॥ 35. निधप्रचम् ॥ 36. अकिंचन ॥ 37. आत्याकालक ॥ 38. पीत्वास्थिरक ॥ 39. भुक्त्वासुहित ॥ 40. प्रोत्यपापीयान् ॥ 41. उत्पत्यपाकला or व्याकुला ॥ 42. निपत्यरोहिणी ॥ 43. निषण्णश्यामा ॥ 44. अपेहिप्रघसा ॥ 45. एहिविघसा ॥ 46. इहपञ्चमी ॥ 47. इहद्वितीयाँ ॥

G. S. जहिकर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ॥

1. जहिजोड़: ॥ 2. जहिजोड़म् ॥ 3. जहिस्तम्बम् ॥ 4. (जहिस्तम्ब:) ॥ 5. उज्जहिस्तबम or म्ब ॥

G. S. आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये ॥

1. अग्नीतपिबना ॥ 2. पक्वभुञ्जना ॥ 3. खादसमोदता ॥ 4. खादतवमता ॥ 5. खादताचमनी ॥ 6. आहरनिवपा ॥ 7. आहरनिष्किरा ॥ 8. आवपनिष्किरा ॥ 9. उत्पचविपचा ॥ 10. भिन्धिलवणा ॥ 11. कृन्धिविचक्षणा ॥ 12. पचलवणा ॥ 13. पचमकूटा ॥

आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1. अकुतोऽभयः ॥ 2. काण्विर्णकः ॥ 3. काण्विशीकः ॥ 4. आहोपुरुषिका ॥ 5. अहमहमिका ॥ 6. यदृच्छा ॥ 7. एहिरेयाहिरा ॥ 8. अन्मृजावमृजा ॥ 9. द्रव्यान्तरम् ॥ 10. अवश्यकार्यम् ॥

Gaṇa-sûtra :—A finite verb is compounded with another finite verb, when the continuity of the action denoted by the verbs is meant. As अग्नीतपिबता "the place where constantly is heard the cry "*eat ye*", "*drink ye.*"—a feast where people are called to eat and drink. Similarly पचतभृज्जता "cook-roast"—a kitchen. खादतमोदता ॥

Gaṇa-sûtra :—The compounds एहीड &c. are formed when they refer to some other object. Thus एहीड is the name of the sacrifice in which the words एहीड are used. So also एहिपचम् ॥ So also उद्धरोत्सृजा meaning "उद्धरकाष्ठाद् इत्सृजतेति" इति यस्यां क्रियायां ॥ So also उद्धमविधमा ॥ These are words which do not denote "constant action".

Gaṇa-sûtra :—The finite verb जहि is diversely compounded with its object, when repetition is denoted, and the whole compound refers to the agent. As जहिजोडः "He who constantly repeats jahi-joda." Similarly जहिस्तम्बः ॥

He who has fear from no one is अकुतोभयः, another kingship is राजान्तरम्; that which is purely Intelligence is called चिन्मात्रम् ॥

७५५ । ईषदकृता । २ । २ । ७ ॥

ईषत्पिङ्गलः ॥ ईषद्गुणवचनेनेति वाच्यम् * ॥

755. The word îshat 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a krit-affix; and the compound is Tatpurusha.

Vart :—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्स्कारः 'a somewhat proud.' ईषत्पिङ्गलः 'a little brownish.' ईषद्विकटः 'a little hideous.' ईषदुन्नतः 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्रक्तम् 'a little red.'

Note :—Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्यः; there is no compounding here.

७५६ । नञ् । २ । २ । ६ ॥

नञ् सुपा सह समस्यते ॥

756. The negative word nañ is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As ब्राह्मणः=अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brâhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73 : which is given below.

७३७ । नञोपो नञः । ६ । ३ । ७३ ।

नञो नस्य लोपः स्यादुत्तरपदे । न ब्राह्मणः अब्राह्मणः ॥

757. The न् of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided, when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अब्राह्मणः ॥ But if the second term begins with a vowel, then a न् is inserted after अ by the following :—

७५८ । तस्मान्नुडचि । ६ । ३ । ७४ ॥

लुप्तनकारान्नञ उत्तरपदस्याजादेर्नुडागमः स्यात् । अनश्वः । अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावेन सहार्थं विकल्प्यते । रत्नोहागमलब्धसंदेहाः प्रयोजनमिति अद्भुतायामसंहितामिति च भाष्यवार्तिकप्रयोगात् । तेनानुपलब्धिरविवादोऽविघ्नमित्यादि सिद्धम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तिङि लुपे * ॥ अपचसि त्वं जाल्म ॥ नैकधेत्यादौ तु नशब्देन सह सुप्सुपेति समासः ॥

758. After the above न्-elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुट्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनश्वः 'an animal which is not a horse.' Why do we use तस्मात् "after such a नञ्"? Otherwise नुट् would have been the augment of नञ् and not of the subsequent word, for the sûtra would have read thus नुडचि ॥ Adding नुट् to नञ् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुट् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. 1, 46). Now अन्+अजः will be अनजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 S. 134 will cause the doubling of the final न of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुट् is ordained with the second member and not with regard to अ or नञ् ॥

When the force of नञ् is that of "absence," i. e. it expresses the "absence of the object denoted by the second term," then the compound resembles Avyayî bhâva. For in an Avyayîbhâva., the sense of the first term is prominent; in a Tatpurusha the sense of the second member is predominant. Thus in the Mahâbhâshya, we find the compound असन्देहः in the sentence रत्नोहागमलब्धसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम् where he gives the reasons for studying grammar; similarly असंहितं in अद्भुतीयामसंहितं a vârtika. On the analogy of these, we can form compounds like अनुपलब्धिः, अविवादः, अविघ्नम् &c.

Vart:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that reproach is implied, as अपचसि त्वं जाल्म 'thou cookest very badly O knave.'

In the expression नैकधा &c. 'not at one time,' there is composition with the word न in accordance with II. 1. 4 S. 649.

७५९ । नभ्राण्नपान्नवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या । ६ । ३ । ७५ ॥

पादिति शब्दान्तः । वेदा इत्यसुबन्तः । न सत्या असत्याः न असत्या नासत्याः । न मुञ्चतीति नमुचिः । न कुलमस्य नकुलम् । न खमस्य नखम् । न स्त्री पुमान् नपुंसकम् स्त्री पुंसयोः पुंसकभावो निपातनात् । न क्षरतीति नक्षत्रम् । क्षीयतेः क्षरतेर्वा क्षत्रमिति निपात्यते । न क्रामतीति नक्रः । क्रमेर्डः । न अकमस्मिन्निति नाकः ॥

759. The Negative particle remains unchanged in **नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या** (dual), **नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र** and **नाक** ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sûtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative ! नभ्राजते = नभ्राड् "a dark cloud," formed by क्विप् and नभ् composition. न पाति = नपात् "a grand son." Formed by शतृ affix. न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed by असुन् ॥ सत्सु साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः "Ashvins." न मुञ्चति = न मुचिः "a demon slain by Indra." formed by किन् इन् affix (Unâdi). नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ नक्षरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ड affix. न अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

७६० । नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ७७ ॥

नग इत्यत्र नञ् प्रकृत्या वा । नगाः अगाः पर्वताः । अप्राणिष्विति किम् । अगो वृषलः शीतेन । नित्यं क्रीडिस्यतौ नित्यमित्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

760. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in **नग**, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगाः or अगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ड is added to गम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring to animate being. Observe अगो वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here. See II. 1. 17, S. 711.

In the next sûtra, the word *nitya* should be read as understood. Its anuvritti comes from II. 2. 17 S. 711.

७६१ । कुगतिप्रादयः । २ । २ । १८ ॥

एते समर्थेन नित्यं समस्यन्ते । कुत्सितः पुरुषः कुपुरुषः । गतिश्चेत्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

761. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are *invariably* compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुषः 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60 S. 23.) as, उररीकृतं 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) यवूरीकरोति ॥

Note:—So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुषः 'a bad man'; so also सु and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुषः 'honorable man'; अतिपुरुषः 'excellent man'; आ means a 'little' as आपिङ्गलः 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कोष्णं or कदुष्णम्, कवोष्णम् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आबद्धम् ॥

७६२ । ऊर्यादिच्विडाचश्च । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

एते क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञाः स्युः । ऊरीकृत्य । उररीकृत्य । शुक्लीकृत्य । पटपटाकृत्य ॥ कारिकाशब्दस्योपसंख्यानम् * । कारिका क्रिया । कारिकाकृत्य ॥

762. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with ḍâch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kṛi or अस्) are called Gati.

In this sûtra the word gati is understood from I. 4. 60 S. 23.

The affixes chvi and ḍâch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57 S. 2117 and 2128); ûri &c., being read along with chvi and ḍâch shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else, in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The word ऊरी and उररी mean 'to assent and spread.' As ऊरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 S. 761 and VII. 1 37 S. 3332).

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य "having made white what was not white."

So also the words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य "having made the sound pat."

Vârtika :—The word कारिका should also be included in the list of गति.

Thus कारिकाकृत्य ॥ Here kârikâ means "action."

७६३ । अनुकरणं चानितिपरम् । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

खाट्कृत्य । अनितिपरं किम् । खाडिति कृत्वा निरष्ठीवत् ॥

763. A word imitative of a sound is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

Note :—The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrîhi compound ; अन्-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As खाट्कृत्य "having made the sound khâṭ." खाट्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49 S. 3783), यत्खाट्करोति (VIII. 2. 71.)

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाडिति कृत्वा निरष्ठीवत्.

७६४ । आदरानादरयोः सदसती । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सत्कृत्य । असत्कृत्य ॥

764. The words sat and asat, when in composition with a verb, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य 'having honored' (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2, 49 S. 3783).

Note:—Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्वा काण्डं गतः ॥

७६५ । भूषणेऽलम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

अलंकृत्य । भूषणे किम् । अलं कृत्वौदनं गतः । पर्याप्तमित्यर्थः । अनुकरणमित्यादि क्रियायां स्वभावात्कर्मविषया ॥

765. The word alam, in composition with a verb, is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332). Why do we say 'when अलं means ornament'? Observe अलं कृत्वौदनं गतः 'he goes having eaten enough.'

This sûtra, with the two sûtras preceding it, naturally takes the auxiliary verb कृ after the words mentioned therein.

Note :—The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament.

७६६ । अन्तरपरिग्रहे । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अन्तर्हृत्य । मध्ये हृत्वेत्यर्थः । अपरिग्रहे किम् । अन्तर्हृत्वा गतः । हृतं परिगृह्य गत इत्यर्थः ॥

766. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

As अन्तर्हृत्य गृहंगतः "he went away having abandoned home."

Note :—The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means, therefore, the opposite of this, namely 'rejecting,' 'abandoning.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हृत्वा मूषिकां श्येनोगतः "the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.'

७६७ । कणेमनसी श्रद्धाप्रतीघाते । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति । मनोहृत्य । कणेशब्दः सप्तमीप्रतिरूपको निपातोऽभिलाषातिशये वर्तते । मनःशब्दोऽप्येवम् ॥

767. The words kaṇe and manas are gati, when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation.'

The word श्रद्धा-प्रतीघात means 'satisfaction of desire.' As कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति "he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied" So also मनोहृत्य पयः पिबति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (श्रद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense, we have कणे or मनोहृत्यागतः "he went away with food or mind satisfied." Here the word कण means the small particles of rice. The word कणे an apparently locative inflected noun, is really a particle, and denotes 'eager desire.' So also मनः ॥

७६८ । पुरोऽव्ययम् । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

पुरस्कृत्य ॥

768. The word purah "in front of," when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and यत् पुरस्करोति ॥ When not an indeclinable, we have पूः पुरौ, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डंगतः.

Note:—The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix असि forms पुरस्, and by I. 1. 38 S. 448 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for pûrva). The object of making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 S. 761 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 S. 3783 (3) to change the: ḥ into स् by VIII. 3. 40 S. 154.

७६६ । अस्तं च । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अस्तमिति सान्तमव्ययं गतिसंज्ञं स्यात्धातुं । अस्तंगत्य ॥

769. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I. 1. 39 S. 449); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति '(the sun) having set, rises again'; अस्तंगतानि धनानि 'riches that have vanished.' यदस्तं गच्छति, When not an indeclinable it is not gati, as अस्तं काण्डम् 'the arrow has been thrown.'

७७० । अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अव्ययमित्येव । अच्छगत्य । अच्छोद्य । अभिमुखं गत्वा उक्त्वा चेत्यर्थः । अव्ययं किम् । जलमच्छं गच्छति ॥

770. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before, in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अच्छ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभि As अच्छगत्य, and अच्छोद्य । Why do we say when an Avyaya,? Observe जलमच्छं गच्छति.

७७१ । अदोऽनुपदेशे । १ । ४ । ७० ॥

अदःकृत्य अदः कृतम् । परं प्रत्युपदेशे प्रत्युदाहरणम । अदः कृत्वा । अदः कुरु ॥

771. The word adas 'that' is called gati, when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम ॥ When used as a demonstrative pronoun, we have, अदः कृत्वा, अदः कुरु.

Note:—The word upadesa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa. That is, when it is not a demonstrative pronoun.

७७२ । तिरोऽन्तर्धौ । १ । ४ । ७१ ॥

तिरोभूय ॥

772. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disapperance,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

As **तिरोभूय**.

Note:—Why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe **तिरो भूत्वास्थितः** *i. e*, standing apart.

७७३ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिरःकृत्य । तिरस्कृत्य । तिरः कृत्वा ॥

773. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance, is optionally called gati, when the verb kṛi follows.

This is an example of **प्राप्त-विभाषा**. As **तिरः कृत्य** or **तिरस्कृत्य** (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156): **तिरः कृत्वा** or **तिरस्कृत्वा** (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156).

Note:—The change of visarga into **स** is optional VIII. 3. 42 S. 156. When not meaning disappearance, we have **तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति** 'he stands having laid aside the stick.'

७७४ । उपाजेऽन्वाजे । १ । ४ । ७३ ॥

एतौ कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञौ स्तः । उपाजेकृत्य । उपाजे कृत्वा । अन्वाजेकृत्य । अन्वाजे कृत्वा । दुर्बलस्य बलमाधायेत्यर्थः ॥

774. The words upâje and anvâje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kṛi.

As **उपाजे कृत्य** or **उपाजे कृत्वा** 'having given support.' **अन्वाजे कृत्य** or **अन्वाजे कृत्वा**.

७७५ । साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च । १ । ४ । ७४ ॥

कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥ च्व्यर्थ इति वाच्यम् * ॥ साक्षात्कृत्य । साक्षात्कृत्वा । लवणंकृत्य । लवणं कृत्वा । मान्तत्वं निपातनात् ॥

775. The words sâkshât, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kṛi.

Vârt:—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix च्वि is understood, namely, making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा; लवणंकृत्य or लवणंकृत्वा "making evident what was concealed before." The म् in लवणं &c. is an anomaly or nipâtana.

७७६ । अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी । १ । ४ । ७५ ॥

उरसिकृत्य । उरसि कृत्वा । अभ्युपगम्येत्यर्थः । मनसिकृत्य । मनसि कृत्वा । निश्चित्येत्यर्थः । अत्याधानमुपश्लेषणं तत्र न । उरसि कृत्वा पाणिं शेते ॥

776. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati, when the verb kṛi follows, provided that, they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा "having realised in the heart," मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. That is "having so determined in his mind." When it has the sense of "placing," we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते "he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast," मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति "he ponders having placed the word in his mind."

७७७ । मध्ये पदे निवचने च । १ । ४ । ७६ ॥

एते कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञाः स्युरनत्याधाने । मध्येकृत्य । मध्ये कृत्वा । पदेकृत्य । पदे कृत्वा । निवचनेकृत्य । निवचने कृत्वा । वाचं नियम्येत्यर्थः ॥

777. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kṛi follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा; पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा ॥ निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा. "Having controlled the speech."

Note:—But when it has the meaning of 'placing' we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते 'he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.'

७७८ । नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने । १ । ४ । ७७ ॥

कृञि । उपयमनं विवाहः । स्वीकारमात्रमित्यन्ये । हस्तेकृत्य । पाणौकृत्य ॥

778. The word हस्ते 'in the hand,' pâṇau 'in the

hands' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kṛi,' in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य 'having married.'

Note:—But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः 'he went out having taken in his hand a kârshâpana (a coin).

The word उपयमन means "marriage." According to others it means "merely acceptance."

७७९ । प्राध्वंबन्धने । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

प्राध्वमित्यव्ययम् । प्राध्वंकृत्य । बन्धनेनानुकूलं कृत्वेत्यर्थः । प्रार्थनादिना त्वानुकूल्यकरणे । प्राध्वं कृत्वा ॥

779. The indeclinable word prâdhvam, followed by the verb kṛi, is always called gati, when used in the sense of "binding."

The word प्राध्वम् ends in म and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati; as, प्राध्वंकृत्य "having bound properly and so made agreeable." But when not meaning to bind, we have:—प्राध्वं कृत्वा "having made agreeable, by prayer &c."

७८० । जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये । १ । ४ । ७९ ॥

जीविकामिव कृत्वा जीविकाकृत्य । उपनिषदमिव कृत्वा उपनिषत्कृत्य । औपम्ये किम् । जीविकां कृत्वा ।

प्रादिग्रहणमगत्यर्थम् । सुपुरुषः । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥

प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया* ॥ प्रगत आचार्यः॥ प्राचार्यः॥

अत्याद्यः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया*॥ अतिक्रान्तो मालामतिमालः ॥

अवाद्यः कुष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया*॥ अवकुष्टः कोकिलया अवकोकिलः ॥

पर्याद्यो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या * ॥ परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय पर्यध्ययनः ॥

निराद्यः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या * ॥ निष्क्रान्तः कौशाम्ब्या निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥

कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधः* ॥ वृक्षं प्रति ॥

780. The words jîvikâ and upanishad, followed by the verb kṛi, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकृत्य "having made it, as if it was a means of living"; उपनिषत्कृत्य—"having made it like an upanishad." Why do we say in the sense of likeness or resemblance? Observe जीविकां कृत्वा "having made his livelihood."

PRÂDI SAMÂSA

Having given above illustrations of gati-samâsas; we now take up compounds formed with the upasargas प्र &c. by II. 2. 18. S. 761. The प्र &c., as used in these examples are not gati. Thus सुपुरुषः ॥ Here सु is not gati, as it is not joined with any verb. We give the following vârtikas, which treat of Prâdi Samâsa :—

Vart:—The word प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्यः 'a former teacher'; so also प्रपितामहः "who precedes the grand-father *i. e.* a great-grand father." प्रमातामहः ॥

Vart:—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the seecond case affix. As अतिक्रान्तः खट्वाम् = अतिखट्वः (I. 2. 44 and 48 S. 655 and 656) 'without a bedstead,' अतिमालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.' So also अभिमुखः (= अभिगतो मुखं); उद्वेलः, प्रत्यक्षः ॥

Vart:—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix; as अवक्रुष्टः कोकिलया = अव कोकिलः 'what is anounced by the cuckoo' *i. e.*, the Spring. So also परिवीरुत् (= परिगतो वीरुधा), संवर्म (संनद्धो वर्मणा).

Vart:—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix; as परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय = परिग्लानः 'weary of study.' अलंकुमारिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words निर् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi'; So also निर्वाराणसिः ॥ So also उत्कुलः (=उत्क्रान्तः कुलात्) and निरङ्गुलम् (निर्गतमंगुलिभ्यः) ॥

Vart:—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वाग्वर्थाविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वासंसीइव 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma-pravachaniya'; as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

———:o:———

UPAPADA-SAMÂSAS

UPAPADA DEFINED.

७८१ । तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् । ३ । १ । ९२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते पदे कर्मणीत्यादौ वाच्यत्वेन स्थितं कुम्भादि तद्वाचकं पदमुपपदसंज्ञं स्यात्तादृशेश्च सत्येव वक्ष्यमाणः प्रत्ययः ॥

781. Here (in this Third Book of Pâṇini's Grammar referring to verbal roots), the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sûtra III. 2. 1. S. 2913 कर्मण्यण् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. (Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + अण् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.)

७८२ । उपपदमतिङ् । २ । २ । १९ ॥

उपपदं सुबन्तं समर्थेन नित्यं समस्यते । अतिङन्तश्चायं समासः । कुम्भं करोतीति कुम्भकारः । इह कुम्भ अस् कार इत्यलौकिकं प्रक्रियावाक्यम् । अतिङ् किम् । मा भवान् भूत् । माङि लुङिति सप्तमीनिर्देशान्माङूपपदम् । अतिङ्ग्रहणं ज्ञापयति सुपेस्थेतन्नेहाजूवर्तत इति । पूर्वसूत्रेऽपि गतिग्रहणं पृथक्कृत्यातिङ्ग्रहणं तन्नापकृष्यते । सुपेति च निवृत्तम् । तथा च ॥ गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक्सुबुत्पत्तेरिति सिद्धम् ॥ व्याघ्री । अश्वक्रीती । कच्छपी ॥

782. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92 S. 781), which ends with a case-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction, and this compound is not one which ends with a tense-affix. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.' The grammatical analysis will be कुम्भ + अस् (genitive) + कारः "the maker *of* pot:" for krit words govern Genitive. This is, of course, an analysis which cannot be used in actual speech.

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe मा भवान् भूत् ॥ Here the word मा is an upapada, as it is exhibited in the locative case in III. 3. 175 S. 2219, by which rule it is added to the Aorist. Had there been compounding, भवान् could not have been placed between it and its second member भूत् ॥

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुपा is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply, that we should infer that the words सुप् सुपा should not be read into this and the aphorism II. 2. 18 S. 761. The following Paribhâshâ also arises from this sûtra.

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sûtras III. 2. 18 and 19 S. 2932 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns, before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kârakas also. Thus व्याघ्री ॥ The word व्याघ्र is formed by the affix क added under III. 1. 136 S. 2898 as qualified by the vârtika under III. 1. 137 S. 2899. The compounding of वि+आङ्+घ्री is a Gati samâsa, for वि and आ are Gati with regard to the verb घ्रा ॥ Had this compounding taken place after घ्रा had become a noun घ्र and taken case-affixes, then on the parity of reasoning, the compounding would be suspended till घ्र had taken the feminine affix टाप् also, and it would not have taken ङीष् ॥ Because the word घ्र by itself does not denote any jâti. So the feminine घ्रा will be used in the compound and as it does not end in short अ, it will not take jâti ङीष् ॥ Though this result could have been obtained by the word उपपद alone in the above Paribhâshâ, yet the use of gati in it is not redundant. For when आ is compounded with the noun घ्र, we get आघ्र; then for the compounding of आघ्र with वि, the employment of Gati is necessary. The affix क being added to the घ्रा when preceded by आ, the word आ may be treated as an *upapada* (and not *gati*), but the word वि cannot be treated as an upapada by any rule. So the word *gati* is properly used in the above Paribhâshâ.

So also अश्वक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीयते सा=अश्वक्रीति; add ङीष् (IV. 1. 50 S. 506) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case ङीष् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

This word अश्वक्रीती is an example of kâraka. The compounding takes place by कर्तृकरणे कृता &c., (II. 1. 32. S. 694),

As an example of Upapada, we have कच्छपी ॥ कच्छेन पिबति = कच्छपी ॥ The affix क is added by III. 2, 4. S. 2916, by Yoga-vibhâga. Here also, had the compounding depended upon the noun प taking the case-affixes, the feminine would have taken टाप् and not ङीष् ; similarly as in व्याघ्री ॥

७८३ । अमैवाव्ययेन । २ । २ । २० ॥

अमैव तुल्यविधानं यदुपपदं तदेवाव्ययेन सह समस्यते । स्वादुङ्कारम् । नेह । कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् । कालः समयो वेला वा भोक्तुम् । अमैवेति किम् । अग्रे भोजम् । अग्रे भुक्त्वा । विभाषाग्रे प्रथमपूर्वेष्विति क्त्वाणमुलौ ॥ अमा चान्येन च तुल्यविधानमेतत् ॥

783. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम् (णमुल and खमुञ्).

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणंकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III. 4. 26) &c,

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 S. 3179 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय, or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word "*only*" is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root, with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम्, as well as another affix, is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sûtra III. 4. 24, S. 3345 declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अग्रे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it, namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अग्रेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition, because अग्रेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अग्रेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

७८४ । तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । २१ ॥

उपदंशस्तृतीयायामित्यादीन्युपपदान्यमन्तेनाव्ययेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । मूलकेनोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते । मूलकोपदंशम् ॥

784. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47 S. 3368 &c.,) is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tatpurusha.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sûtra III. 4. 47. S. 3368 and the sûtras that follow. As मूलकोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकेनोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.

Note :—For upapadas ending with other cases, see sûtra III. 4. 52 &c S. 3373 This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhâna with the अम् ; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 S. 3381 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhâshâ may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhâshâ. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

७८५ । क्त्वा च । २ । २ । २२ ॥

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्युपपदानि क्त्वान्तेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । उच्चैःकृत्य उच्चैः कृत्वा । अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेतेति क्त्वा । तृतीयाप्रभृतीनीति किम् । अलं कृत्वा । खलु कृत्वा ॥

785. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvâ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चैः कृत्य or उच्चैः कृत्वा. Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sûtra III. 4. 59 S. 3381. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute ल्यप् ; other wise not, See VII. 1. 37.

Why do we say 'an upapada ending in the 3rd case-affix'? Observe &c.? अलं कृत्वा, or खलु कृत्वा. Where there is no composition.

७८६ । तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

संख्याव्ययादेरङ्गुल्यन्तस्य तत्पुरुषस्य समासान्तोऽच् स्यात् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्य द्व्यङ्गुलम् दारु । निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो निरङ्गुलम् ॥

786. The affix ach comes after a Tatpurusha compound ending in the word aṅguli, when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes it.

Thus द्वे अंगुली प्रमाणमस्य=द्व्यंगुलम् दारु ॥ So also, when an Indeclinable precedes it : as निर्गतमंगुलिभ्यो=निरंगुलम्, अत्यंगुलम् ॥

Note :—This compounding takes place by II. 1. 51. This is a Taddhitârtha compound, the taddhita affix मात्रच् being elided by the Vârtika प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्

"there is always the elision of the affix मात्रच् denoting measure when a Dvigu compound is formed", See V. 2. 37 Vârt).

७८७ । अहःसर्वैकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याच्च रात्रेः । ५ । ४ । ८७ ॥

एभ्यो रात्रेरच् स्याच्चात्संख्याव्ययादेः । अहर्ग्रहणं द्वन्द्वार्थम् । अहश्च रात्रिश्चाहोरात्रः । सर्वा रात्रिः सर्वरात्रः । पूर्वं रात्रेः पूर्वरात्रः । संख्यातरात्रः । पुण्यरात्रः । द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारो द्विरात्रम् । अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिमतिरात्रः ॥

787. The affix अच् comes after the word râtri, when preceded by ahan, or sarva, or a word denoting a portion of night, or saṅkhyâta or puṇya, when the compound is Tatpurusha, as well as when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes the word râtri.

The anuvritti of संख्याव्ययादेः is drawn in to this sûtra by force of the word च् "and" of the sûtra. The word अहन् forms a Dvandva compound; as अहश्च रात्रिश्च = अहोरात्रः "day and night." So also सर्वरात्रः, पूर्वरात्रः 'the first part of night'. These are formed by II. 2. 1. S. 712. So also संख्याता रात्रिः = संख्यातरात्रः ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 57 S. 736. So also पुण्यरात्रिः = पुण्यरात्रः ॥ So also when compounded with a Numeral or an Indeclinable: as, द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारः = द्विरात्रः, अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिम् = अतिरात्रः ॥

७८८ । राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् । ५ । ४ । ९१ ॥

एतदन्तात्तत्पुरुषाट्टच् स्यात् । परमराजः । अतिराजी । कृष्णसखः ॥

788. The affix ṭach is added to the words râjan, ahan, and sakhi, when standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound.

Thus परमराजः; अतिराजी, कृष्णस्य सखा = कृष्णसखः ॥

Note:—Why not so here मद्राणां राज्ञी = मद्रराज्ञी instead of मद्रराजी ॥ For according to the maxim "a pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, also such a nominal stem, as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender" (प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम्), the stem राजन् would denote the feminine also. To this we reply, that the construction of the sûtra shows that the feminine राज्ञी is not to be taken. Because अहन् being a prosodially lighter word than राजन् ought to have been placed first in the compound. Its not being so placed indicates that that form राजन् only is to be taken, whose final vowel becomes lengthened into आ in compounding with अहन्; i. e. राजा + अहन्; and not राज्ञी + अहन् ॥

In fact, the above Paribhâshâ is anitya, not of universal application, and so we have **मद्रराज्ञी** ॥ See also the next sûtra.

७८९ । अहृष्टखोरेव । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एतयोरेवपरतोऽङ्गस्य टिलोपः स्यान्नान्यत्र । उत्तमाहः । द्वे अहनी भृतो ह्यहीनः क्रतुः । तद्धितार्थेद्विगुः । तमधीष्टइत्यधि कारे द्विगोर्वैरूप्यनुवृत्तौ राज्यहः संवत्सराच्चेति खः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्नेह । मद्राणां राज्ञी मद्रराज्ञी ॥

789. The **अन्** of **अहन्** is elided only before the affixes **ट** and **ख** ॥

Thus **उत्तमाहः** (V. 4. 91 S. 794 with **टच्**) ॥ **द्वे अहनी अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा = द्व्यहीनः क्रतुः** (with **ख** V. 1. 87 S. 1751).

Vart :—**ख** is added to **अहन्** in the sense of **तस्य समूहः**, when referring to a sacrifice. **अह्नां समूहःक्रतुः = अहीन :** (IV. 2. 42).

Though the **अन्** of **अहन्** would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes **ट** and **ख**, the present sûtra makes a restrictive rule : **अहन्** does not lose its final **अन्** before any other Taddhita affix, thus **अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम्** (with **ठञ्** V. 1. 79 S. 1743). The word **एव** 'only' is for the sake of perspic uity. **अहन्** alone does not lose its final **अन्** before **ट** and **ख**, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of âtman and adhvan, before **ख**, in VI. 4 169 S. 1671.

In the sub-division of **तमधीष्टः** (V. 1. 80 S. 1744) reading the anuvritti of **द्विगोर्वा** (V. 1. 86. S. 1750) in the sûtra **राज्यहः संवत्सराच्च** (V. 1. 87. S. 1751), we get the affix **ख** ॥ The Paribhâshâ relating to gender being anitya, (see 788 above) we have no **टच्** here in **मद्राणां राज्ञी = मद्रराज्ञी** ॥

७९० । अह्नोऽह्न एतेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

सर्वादिभ्यः परस्याहन्शब्दस्याह्नादेशः स्यात्समासान्ते परे ॥

790. For ahan is substituted ahna, when preceded by the words, mentioned in V. 4. 87 S. 787. (and taking the affix tach mentioned in V. 4. 91 S. 788).

Note :—When the affix **टच्** follows **अहन्**, and the latter is preceded by the words **सर्व** &c., then **अह्न** is substituted for **अहन्** ॥ By the term **एतेभ्यः** "these words", is meant the numerals (with the exception of **एक** V. 4. 90 S. 794) the In declinables, the words **सर्व**, **संख्यात** and words denoting a part of a day, for these are the words mentioned in the sûtra. V. 4. 87 S. 787. The word **अहन्** is also mentioned therein, but it is not taken here, for there can be no Tatpurusha

compound of अहन् with अहन् ॥ The word पुण्य is also excluded by V. 4. 90; S. 794 Thus द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः = द्व्यह्नः, व्यह्नः, अहरतिक्रान्तः = अत्यह्नः, निरह्नः ॥ So also सर्वाह्णः, (VIII. 4. 7 S. 791) पूर्वाह्णः, अपराह्णः, संख्याताह्नः (according to some संख्याताहः V. 4. 90).

७६१ । अह्नोऽदन्तात् । ८ । ४ । ७ ।

अदन्तपूर्वपदस्थान्नकारात्परस्याऽह्नादेशस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । सर्वाह्णः । पूर्वाह्णः । संख्याताह्नः । द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः । कालाट्ठञ् । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्य इति ठञो लुक् । द्व्यह्नः । स्त्रियामदन्तत्वाट्टाप् । द्व्याह्ना । द्व्यह्नप्रियः । अत्यह्नः

791. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन् when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change (i. e. the letter र).

Thus सर्वाह्णः पूर्वाह्णः "fore-noon"; अपराह्णः "after-noon" But in संख्याताह्नः no change.

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरह्नः, दुरह्नः ॥

The word अह्न is sustituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. The word अह्न being used in the sûtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घाह्नी शरत् ॥ The word अह्नः in the sûtra in the the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthânins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8 S. 1052), यानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samâsânta affix टच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788), and अह्न substitution by V. 4. 88.

The word दीर्घाह्नी is a Bahuvrîhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine ङीप् is added by IV. I. 28, S. 462 there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134 S. 234.

Why do we say "when meaning a collective noun"? Observe द्वयोरह्नोर्भवो = व्यह्नः, ॥ This is a Taddhitârtha Dvigu compound formed by II. 1. 51; S. 728 the affix ठञ् of कालाट् ठञ् (IV. 3. 11, S. 1381) is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080 and the final अन् of अहन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

In the Feminine, there will be टाप् as the base ends in short अ ॥ As व्याह्ना ॥ So also व्यह्नप्रियः and अत्यह्नः ॥

७६२ । क्षुभ्नादिषु च । ८ । ४ । ३६ ॥

एषु णत्वं न स्यात् । दीर्घाह्नी प्रावृट् । एवं चैतदर्थमह्न इत्यदन्तानुकरणक्लेशो न कर्तव्यः । प्रातिपदिकान्तेति णत्ववारणाय क्षुभ्नादिषु पाठस्यावश्यकत्वात् । अदन्तादिति तपरकरणान्निह । परागतमहः पराह्णः ॥

792. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

Note:—The 'not' of sûtra VIII. 4. 34 S. 2840 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभ्नाति, so also in क्षुभ्नीतः, क्षुभ्नन्ति, the substitutes of भ्रस्ज् being like the principal I. 1. 57. S. 50. So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, S. 857 and VIII. 4. 26 S. 3648 नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥ The word नृत् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥ नृत्नु, नृत्नोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्त्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287 शरनिवेशः, शरनिवासः, शराग्निः, दर्भानूपः ॥ All these are Names. After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः. आचार्यानी ॥ इरिका. तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मार followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुभ्ना (क्षुभ्नाति), 2 नृनमन; 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दन 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन, 12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्रयोजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः 23 दर्भानूपः, 24 आचार्यादणत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी) ॥ क्षुभ्ना, 25 तृन्तु, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन-यङ् नृती, 27 गिरिनदी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्य-भोगीन, 29 चतुर्हायन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम्। इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार, आकृतिगणः ॥

Thus दीर्घाह्नी प्रावृट् ॥

This being so, there is no necessity of taking the trouble of making the substitute अह्न *ahna* end in short अ for the purpose of this case. Because of the necessity of reading such examples in kshubhnâdi class, in order to prevent the ण change required by VIII. 4. 11 S. 1055.

In the sûtra VIII. 4. 7 S. 791 we read "when preceded by a word ending in short अ"; therefore, when the preceding word ends in long आ, we have no ण change; as पराह्णः (परागतमहः) ॥

७९३ । न संख्यादेः समाहारे । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

समाहारे वर्तमानस्य संख्यादेरह्नादेशो न स्यात् । संख्यादेरिति स्पष्टार्थम् । द्वयोरह्नोः समाहारो द्व्यह्नः । त्र्यह्नः ॥

793. This substitution of ahna for ahan, does not take place after a Numeral, when it forms a Collective noun, meaning a number of days taken as a unity.

This substitution is prohibited in the case of Samâhâra-Tatpurusha. Thus द्वयरह्नोः समाहारः=द्व्यह्नः, so also त्र्यह्नः ॥ Here rule V. 4. 91 applies.

There can be no samâhâra Tatpurusha compound, unless it is a Numeral compound. So the use of the word संख्यादेः in the sûtra is not absolutely necessary; but it is employed merely for the sake of clearness.

७९४। उत्तमैकाभ्यां च। ५। ४। ९०॥

आभ्यामह्नादेशो न। उत्तमशब्दोऽन्त्यार्थः। पुण्यशब्दमाह। पुण्यैकाभ्यामित्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम्। पुण्याहम्। सुदिनाहम्। सुदिनशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची। एकाहः। उत्तमग्रहणमुपान्त्यस्यापि संग्रहार्थमित्येके। संख्याताहः॥

794. And also after the word that stands last in the above list (i, e. **पुण्य**) and eka, this substitution does not take place.

The word **उत्तम** means 'last'; and refers to **पुण्य** which is the last word in V. 4. 87. S. 787. The word **उत्तम** 'last' is used instead of **पुण्य** as a वैचित्र्य; the better draft would have been **पुण्यैकाभ्याम्**॥ Thus **पुण्याहम्, सुदिनाहम्**॥ The word **सुदिन** is a term of praise. **एकाहः**॥ Some include the penultimate word **संख्यात्** also in the prohibition. According to them **संख्याताहः** is the proper form and not **संख्याताह्नः**॥

७९५। अग्राख्यायामुरसः। ५। ४। ९३॥

टच् स्यात्। अश्वानामुर इव अश्वोरसम्, मुख्योऽश्व इत्यर्थः॥

795. The affix tach comes after the word 'uras,' standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when it has the sense of 'the most excellent of its kind'.

Thus **अश्वानां उरः = अश्वोरसम्** "the most excellent of horses".

Note:—The word **अग्र** means 'the principal': as the word **उरस्** is the principal member of an animal, so by metonomy it has come to mean 'the principal'.

Why do we say "when meaning the most excellent". Observe **देवदत्तस्योरः = देवदत्तोरः** "the breast of Devadatta".

७९६। अनोऽश्मायःसरसां जातिसंज्ञयोः। ५। ४। ९४॥

टच्स्याज्जातौ संज्ञायां च। उपानसम्। अमृताश्मः। कालायसम्। मण्डूकसरसमिति जातिः। महानसम्। पिण्डाश्मः। लोहितायसम्। जलसरसमिति संज्ञा॥

796. The affix tach comes after anas, aśman, ayas, and saras, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, it denotes a jâti or a name.

Thus उपानसम्, अश्मनाश्मः, कालायसम्, and मण्डूकसरसम्, are examples of जाति words, while महानसम्, पिण्डाश्मः, लोहितायसम्, and जलसरसम् are examples of संज्ञा ॥

Note—Why do we say "when meaning a jâti or a saṁjñâ? Observe सदनः, सदश्मा:, सत्सरः ॥

७९७। ग्रामकौटाभ्यां च तक्षणः। ५। ४। ९५ ॥

ग्रामस्य तक्षा ग्रामतक्षः। साधारण इत्यर्थः। कुत्सां भवः कौटः स्वतन्त्रः। सचासौ तक्षा च कौटतक्षः ॥

797. The affix ṭach comes after taksha, when preceded by grâma and kaṇṭa, in a Tatpurusha compound.

The anuvritti of jâti and saṁjñâ does not run into this sûtra. Thus ग्रामस्य तक्षा=ग्रामतक्षः, बहूनां साधारणः 'the public carpenter of all.' कुत्सां भवः=कौटः "independent." कौटः तक्षा=कौटतक्षः meaning स्वतन्त्रः कर्मजीवी, न कस्यचित्प्रातिबद्धः 'and independent artisan, not particularly bound under engagement to any one'.

७९८। अतेः शुनः। ५। ४। ९६ ॥

अतिश्वो वराहः। अतिश्वा सेना ॥

798. The affix ṭach comes after the word śvan preceded by ati, in a Tatpurusha compound.

Thus अतिक्रान्तः श्वानम्=अतिश्वो वराहः "the boar that surpasses the dog" i. e. जववान् "very swift". So अतिश्वा सेना "the dog-surpassing soldier i. e. more devoted to his master than a dog" or "a servile army, as mean as a dog."

७९९। उपमानादप्राणिषु। ५। ४। ९७ ॥

अप्राणिविषयकोपमानवाचिनः शुनष्टच्स्यात्। आकर्षः श्वेव आकर्षश्वः। अप्राणिषु किम्। वानरः श्वेव वानरश्वा ॥

799. The affix ṭach comes after the word śvan ending in a Tatpurusha compound, when another thing not being a living object is compared with it.

Thus आकर्षः श्वेव=आकर्षश्वः 'a dog-like bow.' This compounding takes place by II. 1. 56. S. 735.

Why do we say "when the thing compared is not a living being"? Observe वानरः श्वेव=वानरश्वा "a dog-like monkey".

८००। उत्तरमृगपूर्वाच्च सक्थ्नः। ५। ४। ९८ ॥

चादुपमानात्। उत्तरसक्थम्। मृगसक्थम्। पूर्वसक्थम्। फलकमिव सक्थि फलकसक्थम्॥

800. The affix tach comes after sakthi, when preceded by uttara, mriga, and pûrva, in a Tatpurusha compound, as well as when a thing is compared with it.

By the force of the word च in the sûtra, we read in the word उपमानात् also. Thus उत्तरसक्थम्, मृगसक्थम्, पूर्वसक्थम्॥ So also in फलकमिव सक्थि = फलकसक्थम्॥

८०१। नावो द्विगोः। ५। ४। ९९॥

नौशब्दान्ताद्द्विगोष्टच् स्यान्न तु तद्धितलुकि। द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतः द्विनावरूप्यः। द्विगोर्लुगनपत्य इत्यत्र अचीत्यस्यापकर्षणाद्धलादेर्न लुक्। पञ्चनावप्रियः। द्विनावम्। त्रिनावम्। अतद्धितलुकीति किम्। पञ्चभिर्नौभिः क्रीतः पञ्चनौः॥

801. The affix tach comes after the word nau, when at the end of a Dvigu compound, but not so, when the Taddhita affix is elided.

Thus द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतं = द्विनावरूप्यम्, द्विनावमयम् (IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) The elision of IV. 1. 88 S. 1080 does not apply here, as that rule is restricted by the word अचि of IV. 1. 89 S. 1081 and so it does not apply to affixes beginning with a consonant.

So also द्वे नावौ समाहृते = द्विनावम्, so also त्रिनावम्॥ Thus द्विनावधनम्, पंचनावप्रियः are also formed.

Why do we say 'when in a Dvigu compound'? Observe राजनौः "the king's ship". The phrase अतद्धितलुकि "when a Taddhita affix is not elided" of sûtra V. 4. 92 S. 729 applies here also. Therefore टच् does not apply in पंचभिर् नौभिः क्रीतः = पंचनौः, दशनौः॥

८०२। अर्धाच्च। ५। ४। १००॥

अर्धान्नावष्टच् स्यात्। नावोऽर्धम्। अर्धनावम्। क्लीबत्वं लोकात्॥

802. The affix tach comes after the word nau, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound.

Thus नावा अर्द्धं = अर्द्धनावम्॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2, 2. S. 713. The compound is of neuter gender, and does not take the gender of the term, as required by II. 4. 26 S. 812; for gender is regulated by usage, more than any grammatical rules (लोकाश्रयत्वं लिंगस्य)॥

८०३ । खार्याः प्राचाम् । ५ । ४ । १०१ ॥

द्विगोर्धार्थे खार्यांष्टच्वा स्यात् । द्विखारम् । द्विखारि । अर्धखारम् । अर्धखारि ॥

803. To the word khârî, at the end of a Dvigu compound, and to the same, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound, the affix ṭach is added, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians.

The words द्विगोः and अर्धात् are both understood here. Thus द्वे खार्यौ समाहृते = द्विखारम् or द्विखारि ॥ So also अर्धे खार्याः = अर्धखारम् or अर्धखारि ॥

८०४ । द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलेः । ५ । ४ । १०२ ॥

टच्वा स्यात् द्विगौ । द्व्यञ्जलम् । द्व्यञ्जलि । अतद्धितलुकीत्येव । द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतो द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥

804. The affix ṭach is added to the word añjali, when preceded by dvi or tri, in a Dvigu Tatpurusha compound.

Thus द्वावञ्जली समाहृतौ = द्व्यञ्जलम्, so also त्र्यञ्जलम् ॥ The word द्विगोः is understood here also, so that when the compound is not a Dvigu, the rule does not apply. Thus द्वयोरञ्जलिः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ The phrase "when a Taddhita is not elided (V. 4. 92 S. 729)." is understood here also. Therefore the affix टच् does not apply here : द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ (V. 1. 28).

Note :—The phrase "according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians" V. 4. 101 S. 803 is to be read into this sûtra. Thus in the alternative we have द्व्यञ्जलिप्रियः ॥

८०५ । ब्रह्मणो जानपदाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १०४ ॥

ब्रह्मान्तात्तत्पुरुषाट्टच् स्यात्समासेन जानपदत्वमाख्यायते चेत् । सुराष्ट्रे ब्रह्मा सुराष्ट्रब्रह्मः ॥

805. The affix ṭach comes after the word brahmaṇa in a Tatpurusha compound, when the compound denotes a person belonging to a certain country.

The word जानपदः is equivalent to जनपदेषु भवः 'belonging to a country.' This affix comes after that Tatpurusha, the first member of which is a word denoting a country. Thus सुराष्ट्रेषु ब्रह्मा = सुराष्ट्रब्रह्मः, and अवन्तिब्रह्मः "a Brâhmaṇa of Surashṭra or Avanti." This is an example of Locative Tatpurusha compound.

Note:—Why do we say "when referring to the name of a country"? Observe देवब्रह्मा नारदः 'Narada the bard of the gods'

८०६ । कुमहद्भ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

आभ्यां ब्रह्मणो वा टच् स्यात् तत्पुरुषे । कुत्सितो ब्रह्मा कुब्रह्मः । कुब्रह्मा ॥

806. The affix tach comes optionally after the word brahman preceded by the words कु and महत्, in a Tatpurusha compound.

Thus कुब्रह्मः or कुब्रह्मा, 'a bad Brahmana'. The word ब्रह्मन् is a synonym of ब्राह्मण "a Brâhmana".

८०७ ।आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

महत आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्समानाधिकरणे उत्तरपदे जातीये च परे । महाब्रह्मः । महाब्रह्मा । महादेवः । महाजातीयः । समानाधिकरणे किम् । महतः सेवा महत्सेवा । लाक्षणिकं विहाय प्रतिपदोक्तः सन्महदिति समासे ग्रहीष्यते इति चेत् महाबाहुर्न स्यात् । तस्माल्लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्येति परिभाषा नेह प्रवर्तते । समानाधिकरणग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् ।

आदिति योगविभागादात्वम् । प्रागेकादशभ्य इति निर्देशाद्वा । एकादश । महतीशब्दस्य पुंवत्कर्मधारयेति पुंवद्भावे कृते आत्वम् । महाजातीय ॥

महदात्वे घासकरविशिष्टेषूपसंख्यानं पुंवद्भावश्च * ॥ असामानाधिकरण्यार्थमिदम् । महतो महत्या वा घासो महाघासः । महाकरः । महाविशिष्टः ॥

अष्टनः कपाले हविषि * ॥ अष्टाकपालः ॥

गवि च युक्ते * ॥ गोशब्दे परे युक्त इत्यर्थे गम्येऽष्टन आत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ अष्टागवं शकटम् । अष्टौ प्रस्थान्वहेत्यत्राजिति योगविभागाद्बहुव्रीहावप्यच् । अष्टानां गवां समाहारः अष्टगवम् । तद्युक्तत्वाच्छकटमष्टागवमिति वा ॥

807. For the final of महत् is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महाब्रह्मः or महाब्रह्मा, महादेवः, महाजातीयः ॥ Why do we say 'before a word which is in apposition with it'? Observe महतः सेवा=महत्सेवा "the service of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. Obj. We shall explain the compound महत्सेवा by saying that the rule of आ substitution applies to those compounds only of महत् which are ordained specially by II. 1. 61 S. 740 and not to the general compounding of महत् with any noun.

And as महतःसेवा can not be compounded under II. 1. 61 S. 740 so there will be no आ substitution here.

Ans.—Not so ; for how then you explain the आ in महाबाहुः which is also not a compound under II. 1. 61 S. 740 but a Buhuvrîhî, and which according to your explanation ought to be महद्बाहुः ॥

Therefore, we come to this conclusion that the Pratipadokta Paribhâshâ does not apply here, and this because the word समानाधिकरण is employed in the sûtra. Therefore, the present sûtra applies to all compounds of महत्, where it is in apposition with the second word.

How do you explain the lengthening in एकादश? Either by yoga-vibhâga, taking आत् as a separate sûtra ; or because Pâṇini himself uses it in V. 3. 49 S. 1995.

In महती + जातीया, the feminine महती is first changed into the masculine महत् by VI. 3. 42 S. 746; and then the त् is changed to आ by the present sûtra, and thus we get महाजातीया॥

The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61 S. 740. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrîhis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact, this is the object of using the word samânâdhikaraṇa in this sûtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurusha compounds of mahat, taught under II. 1. 61 S. 740, but not to Bahuvrihis like महाबाहुः ॥ In महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vârt :—आ is substituted for the final महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्याः करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vârt :—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As- अष्टाकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe, अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vârt :—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked.' As, अष्टागवेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टगवं ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in अत् is for the sake of distinctness.

The affix अच् of V. 4. 75 S. 943 is made applicable here by the method of yoga-vibhâga ; though the compound is Bahuvrîhi ; अष्टन् - गो = अष्ट + गो + अच् ॥ The aggregate of eight cows is अष्टगवम् (Samâhâra Dvandva). The chariot is also called अष्टगवम् because they are yoked there to.

८०८। द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः। ६। ३। ४७॥

आत्स्यात्। द्वौ च दश च द्वादश। द्व्याधिका दशेति वा। द्वाविंशतिः। अष्टादश। अष्टाविंशतिः। अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः किम्। द्विन्नाः। द्व्यशीतिः॥ प्राक्शतादिति वक्तव्यम्* ॥ नेह। द्विशतम्। द्विसहस्रम्॥

808. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrîhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादश (=द्वौ च दश च or द्वि अधिका दश). द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशत्, अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशत् ॥

Wh do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्विन्नाः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम् अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

८०९। त्रेस्त्रयः। ६। ३। ४८॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयस् स्यात्पूर्वविषये। त्रयोदश। त्रयोविंशतिः। बहुव्रीहौ तु त्रिदंश त्रिदशाः। सुजर्थे बहुव्रीहिः। अशीतौ तु त्र्यशीति। प्राक् शतादित्येव। त्रिशतम्। त्रिसहस्रम्॥

809. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrîhi or before अशीति ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रिदशाः which is a Bahuvrîhi. (II. 2. 25 S. 843) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred: not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

८१०। विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम्। ६। ३। ४९॥

द्व्यष्टनोरेव प्रागुक्तं वा स्याच्चत्वारिंशदादौ परे। द्विचत्वारिंशत्। द्वाचत्वारिंशत्। अष्टचत्वारिंशत्। अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्। त्रिंशत्चत्वारिंशत्। त्रयस्त्रिंशत्। एवं पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्ततिनवतिषु ॥

810. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रयः पञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत् अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This is also before hundred: as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

So also with पंचाशत्, षष्टि, सप्तति and नवति ॥

८११। एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक्। ६। ३। ७६॥

एकादिनिम् प्रकृत्या स्यादेकस्य च अदुगागमश्च। नञो विंशत्या सह समासे कृते एकशब्देन

सह तृतीयेति योगविभागात्समासः । अनुनासिकाविकल्पः । एकेन नविंशतिः एकान्नविंशतिः । एकोनविंशतिः । एकोनविंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

षष उत्वं दृतृदृशधासूत्तरपदादेः डूत्वं च धासु वेति वाच्यम् ॥ षोडन् । षोडश । षोढा । षड्धा ॥

811. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with **एक**, and of this **एक**, there is the augment **अदुक्** (**अद्**).

Thus **एकेन नविंशतिः = एकान्नविंशतिः, एकान्नविंशत्** ॥ These are Instrumental compounds formed under II. 1. 30 S. 692 by the method of yoga-vibhâga taking **तृतीया** as a separate sûtra. The nasal is optional, so we have **एकादूनविंशतिः** also, meaning "nineteen." The augment **अदुक्** is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms **एकात् न विंशतिः** and **एकान् न विंशति** by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116.

Vârt:—The final of **षष्** is changed to **ड** before **दृतृ**, **दृश**, and **धा** (meaning 'location'): and the first letter of the second member is changed to **ड** or **ढ** ॥ Thus **षड् दन्ता अस्य = षोडन्**; so **षोडश**; **षड्धा** or **षोढा कुरु** ॥ The addition of **ड** is optional here. The putting of **धासु** in the plural number indicates that **धा** has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (**नानाधिकरण**). In fact, it has the force of an affix here. The rule, therefore, does not apply to these:—**षट् दधाति** or **धयति = षड्धा** ॥

:o:

THE GENDER OF COMPOUNDS.

८१२ । परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः । २ । ४ । २६ ॥

एतयोः परपदस्येव लिङ्गं स्यात् । कुक्कुटमयूर्यावमे । मयूरीकुक्कुटावमौ । अर्धपिप्पली ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालंपूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः पञ्चकपालः पुरोडाशः । प्राप्तो जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकः । आपन्नजीविकः । अलं कुमार्यै अलंकुमारिः । अत एव ज्ञापकात्समासः । निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥

812. The gender of a Dvandva or a Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to an Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction. As **कुक्कुटमयूर्यावमे** 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' **मयूरीकुक्कुटावमौ** 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samâhâra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in a Tat-purusha compound, not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As **अर्धपिप्पल्याः**, **अर्धपिप्पली** 'half a pippali.'

Vârt:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with प्राप्त,आपन्न and, अलं. and (3) compounds with Gati words *i. e.* Prâdi compounds; as, पंचकपालः 'Purodâsa prepared in five cups'; प्राप्त जीविकः (प्राप्त+जीविका) 'has obtained living.' आपन्नजीविकः ॥ अलंकुमारिः 'who is a suitable match for the girl.' There is no special rule of Pâṇini by which अलं can be so compounded. We *infer* such a rule, by the implication (jñâpaka) of this vârtika. निष्कौशाम्बिः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.'

८१३। पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ। २। ४। २७॥

द्विवचनमतन्त्रम्। अश्ववडवौ। अश्ववडवान्। अश्ववडवै: ॥

813. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vaḍava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4, 12. S. 916, in that case it will be neuter. अश्ववडवावितौ; अश्ववडवान्, अश्ववडवैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

८१४। रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि। २। ४। २९॥

एतदन्तौ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषौ पुंस्येव। अनन्तरत्वात्परत्वाच्छिन्नतापवादोऽप्ययं परत्वात्समहारनपुंसकतां बाधते। अहोरात्रः। रात्रेः पूर्वभागः पूर्वरात्रः। पूर्वाह्णः। द्व्यहः ॥ संख्यापूर्वं रात्रं क्लीबम् ॥ द्विरात्रम्। त्रिरात्रम्। गणरात्रम् ॥

814. The Dvandva and Tatpursha compound ending with râtra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

This debars the neuter gender of Samâhâra even (II. 4. 17 S. 821) because it is a subsequent sûtra to that in the order of Pâṇini and thus it serves double purpose, being read immediately after II. 4. 26 S. 812 it debars the gender of the subsequent, and also the Neuter of II. 4. 17. S. 821. Thus अहोरात्र: ॥

These words refer to kṛit and Samasânta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि+अच् (V. 4. 87 S. 787) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 S. 790 and अह by V. 4. 91. S. 788. The general rule II. 4. 26 S. 812 also does not apply here.

पूर्वरात्रः; द्विरात्रः त्रिरात्रः, 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्णः, अपराह्णः, मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon,' द्व्यहः 'two days' त्र्यहः, 'three days.'

Vârt:—The word रात्र preceded by a numeral is always neuter, as द्विरात्रम् &c., गणरात्रम् ॥ गणानां बहूनां रात्राणां समाहारः = गणरात्रम् ॥

८१५। अपथं नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ ३० ॥

तत्पुरुष इत्येव । अन्यत्र तु अपथो देशः । कृकृसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नेह । अपन्थाः ॥

815. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

The word "Tat-purusha" only is understood in this sûtra and not Dvandva.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road.' But अपथोदेशः (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrîhi, the word is masculine; so also अपंथाः where the rule does not apply, because the sûtra has exhibited the form अपथम् with the samâsânta affix. So where there is no samâsânta affix, the form is अपन्थाः also. The samâsânta is *opitonal* by V. 4. 72 S. 957.

८१६। अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च । २ । ४ । ३१ ॥

अर्धर्चादयः शब्दाः पुंसि क्लीबे च स्युः । अर्धर्चः । अर्धर्चम् । ध्वजः । ध्वजम् । एवं तीर्थ, शरीर, मण्ड, पीयूष, देह, अङ्कुश, कलश इत्यादि ॥

816. The words 'ardharcha' &c., may be masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' ध्वजः or ध्वजम् 'a flag'. So also तीर्थः or तीर्थम् 'a place of pilgrimage; शरीरः 'the body;' मण्डः 'a shed;' पीयूषः 'nectar;' देहः 'the body,' अङ्कुशः 'a goad for an elephant'; कलशः 'a jar' &c.

Note:—These twofold genders sometimes, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मम् 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

८१७। जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ५८ ॥

एकोऽप्यर्थो वा बहुवद्भवति । ब्राह्मणाः पूज्याः ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः ॥

817. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

Note:—The words of this sûtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jâti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sûtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvritti of asishyam does not go further ॥ Thus ब्राह्मणः पूज्याः or ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः

Note:—It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्ना यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववयसो ब्रह्मणाः प्रत्यूत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jâti in this sûtra? For this aphorism does not apply to proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jâti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of kâsyapa may also be called kâsyapa; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as व्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley:' the rule does not apply.

An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको व्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति.

८१८। अस्मदो ङयोश्च। १।२।५९॥

एकत्वे द्वित्वे च विवक्षितेऽस्मदो बहुवचनं वा स्यात्। वयं ब्रूमः। पक्षेऽहं ब्रवीमि। आवां ब्रूव इति वा॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधः * ॥ पटुरहं ब्रवीमि॥

818. The plural of the pronoun asmad, 'I', is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां ब्रूवः 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूमः 'we speak.'

Vârt:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as पटुरहं ब्रवीमि. 'I Patu am speaking.' Here we cannot use the plural.

८१९। फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे। १।२।६०॥

द्वित्वे बहुत्वप्रयुक्तं कार्यं वा स्यात्। पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ। पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः। पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे। पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः। नक्षत्रे किम्। फल्गुन्यौ माणविके॥

819. And the dual of Phalgunî and Proshṭhapadâ, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛitti of the word द्वय: from the last. Of the stars phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual) ; or उदिता: पूर्वा: फल्गुन्य: (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वा: प्रोष्ठपदा: ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sûtra ordains plural optionally.

Why do we say 'when signifying asterisms'? Because if phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number: as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

८२० । तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् । १ । २ । ६३॥

बहुत्वं द्वित्वव ज्ञवति । तिष्यश्च पुनर्वसू च तिष्यपुनर्वसू । तिष्येति किम् । विशाखानुराधा: । नक्षत्रेति किम् । तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवका: ॥

820. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, the dual invariably comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसूदृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'

Why do we say 'Tishya, and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखानुराधा: 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars, but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवका:, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Note:—There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number.

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sûtra, when the previous sûtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasû. As तिष्यपुनर्वसू, पुष्यपुनर्वसू सिद्धपुनर्वसू ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrîhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasû."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इक्षमिति.

This sûtra indicates by implication (jñâpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular"; for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sûtra would be superfluous.

The word 'invariably' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sûtra and does not extend further.

८२१। स नपुंसकम्। २। ४। १७॥

समाहारे द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च नपुंसकं स्यात्। परवल्लिङ्गापवादः। पञ्चगवम्। दन्तोष्ठम्॥

अकारान्तोत्तरपदो द्विगुः स्त्रियामिष्टः* ॥ पञ्चमूली॥

आबन्तो वा * ॥ पञ्चखट्वी। पञ्चखट्वम्॥

अनो नलोपश्च वा द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् * ॥ पञ्चसत्त्री। पञ्चसत्त्वम्॥

पात्राद्यन्तस्य न * ॥ पञ्चपात्रम्। त्रिभुवनम्। चतुर्युगम्॥

पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामहः क्लीबतेष्टा * ॥ पुण्याहम्। सुदिनाहम्।

पथः संख्याव्ययादेः* ॥ संख्याव्ययादेः परः कृतसमासान्तः पथशब्दः क्लीबमित्यर्थः। त्रयाणां पन्थानामिदम् त्रिपथम्। विरूपः पन्थाः विपथम्। कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नेह सुपन्थाः। अतिपन्थाः।

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् * ॥ मृदु पचति। प्रातः कमनीयम्॥

821. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules (see II. 4. 1. S. 731 and II. 4. 2. S. 906) is always a neuter gender.

Note:—This sûtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26. S. 812.

As, पञ्चगवम् 'an aggregate of five cows,' दन्तोष्ठम् 'the teeth and lips' शिरोग्रीवम् 'head and neck.'

Vârt:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चमूली.

Vârt:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चखट्वम् or पञ्चखट्वी.

Vârt:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अन्, is optionally feminine and the न is elided; as, पञ्चचर्मम् or पञ्चचर्मी.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रम्; चतुर्युगम्; त्रिभुवनम्.

Vârt:—The Neuter gender is employed after the word अह्न preceded by पुण्य or सुदिन; as पुण्याहम् 'sacred day'; सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day.'

Vârt:—The word पथ ending with the samâsânta affix (V. 4. 72 S. 957) is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as त्रिपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्. But not so in सुपन्था and अतिपन्थाः where the samâsânta has not been added, because of the prohibition of V. 4. 69 S. 954.

Vârt:—The Neuter is employed when the application is general, and no particular gender is meant.

As मृदु पचति 'he cooks soft' (anything in general that he does cook), प्रातः कमनीयम् 'in the morning it is pleasant.'

:o:

८२२। तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः। २। ४। १६॥

अधिकारोऽयम्॥

822. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadhâraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sûtras.

Note:—This is a governing sûtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be Neuter.

८२३। संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु। २। ४। २०॥

कन्यान्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं स्यात्सा चेदुशीनरेदशोत्पन्नायाः कन्थायाः संज्ञा। सुशमस्यापत्यानि सौशमयः। तेषां कन्था सौशमिकन्थम्। संज्ञायां किम्। वीरणकन्था। उशीनरेषु किम्। दाक्षिकन्था॥

823. When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that, it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Usînaras.

As, सौशमिकन्यम् 'the town of Sauśamis, the descendents of Śûshama."

Why do we say 'when donoting an appellative'? Observe वीरणकन्या. Why do we say 'if the town is situated in the country of the Uśînaras? Observe दाक्षिकन्या.

Note:—This debars the rule (II. 4. 25. S. 828) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

८२४। उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् । २ । ४ । २१ ॥

उपज्ञान्त उपक्रमान्तश्च तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् तयोरुपज्ञायमानोपक्रम्यमाणयोरादिः प्राथम्यं चेदाख्यातुमिष्यते । पाणिनेरुपज्ञा पाणिन्युपज्ञं ग्रन्थः । नन्दोपक्रमं द्रोणः ॥

824. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñâ' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work, which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञंग्रन्थः 'the book *i. e.* the grammar which is Pâṇini's invention'; नन्दोपक्रमं द्रोणः 'the measure Droṇa first introduced by the king Nanda.'

Note:—Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिदश्लोकाः 'the slokas invented by Valmiki.'

८२५। छाया बाहुल्ये । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात्पूर्वपदार्थबाहुल्ये । इक्षूणां छाया इक्षुच्छायम् । विभाषासेनेति विकल्पस्यायमपवादः । इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य इति तु आसमन्तान्निषादिन्य इत्याङ्प्रश्लेषो बोध्यः ॥

825. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyâ 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade *i. e.*, groves of sugarcane.'

The sûtra II. 4. 25 S. 828 gives *optional* neuter; this rule enjoins *invariable* neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness. In the sentence "इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्यः" there is also shortening, there is आ between ikshuchâya and nishâdinyah. Another reading is इक्षुच्छाय निषादिन्यः ॥

८२६ । सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा । २ । ४ । २३ ॥

राजपर्यायपूर्वोऽमनुष्यपूर्वश्च सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् ॥

पर्यायस्येवेष्यते * ॥ नेह । राजसभा । चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ।

अमनुष्यशब्दो रूढ्या रक्षःपिशाचादीनाह । रक्षःसभम् । पिशाचसभम् ॥

826. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter ; provided that, it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court.' ईश्वरसभम् 'the Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' and चन्द्रगुप्तसभा the word is not neuter ; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा ; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68. S. 25.

So also रक्षःसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas.' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Piśâchas.' The word is neuter. The word non-human has a technical significance meaning "a Râkshasa or a monster &c."

८२७ । अशाला च । २ । ४ । २४ ॥

संघातार्थो वा सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं स्यात् । स्त्रीसभम् स्त्रीसंघात इत्यर्थः । अशाला किम् । धर्मसभा । धर्मशालेत्यर्थः ॥

827. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies.' Why do we say when it does not mean 'house.'? Observe धर्मसभा ; here सभा means a house or an institution.

८२८ । विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् । २ । ४ । २५ ॥

एतदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं वा स्यात् । ब्राह्मणसेनम् । ब्राह्मणसेना । यवसुरम् । यवसुरा । कुड्यच्छायम् । कुड्यच्छाया । गोशालम् । गोशाला । श्वनिशम् । श्वनिशा । तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारय इत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दृढसेनो राजा । असेना । परमसेना ॥

828. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army,' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' śâlâ 'house' and niśâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of

that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनम् 'the Brâhmaṇa army,' यवसुरम्, यवसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुड्यच्छायम्, कुड्यच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालम्, गोशाला 'the cow house,' श्वनिशम् श्वनिशा 'tomorrow night.' But दृढसेनोराजा। असेना 'non-army,' परमसेना good army,' the former being a negative and the latter a karmadhâraya compound. For II. 4. 19 S. 822 applies here also.

Here ends the Chapter on Tatpurusha Compounds.

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अथ बहुव्रीहि समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIX.

BAHUVRÎHI COMPOUNDS.

८२९ । शेषो बहुव्रीहिः । २ । २ । २३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । द्वितीयाश्रितेत्यादिना यस्य त्रिकस्य विशिष्य समासो नोक्तः सः शेषः प्रथमान्तमित्यर्थः ॥

829. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrîhi.

Note :—A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above i. e. from S. 686 downwords will be Bahuvrîhi. This is a governing aphorism.

This is an adhikâra sûtra. A triad (of singular, dual and plural) whose compounding has not been taught in the previous sûtras 686 and the rest, is the śesha or "remainder." Now the compounding of all the triads beginning with the Accusative and ending with the Locative have been taught in the preceding sûtras. The only case that remains is the Nominative. The compounding of nouns, both of which are in the Nominative case, is therefore governed by this sûtra, and gives rise to Bahuvrîhi.

Note :—Under sûtra I. 4. 79 S. 780 there is the vârtika **प्रादयो गत्याद्यर्थे प्रथमया** ॥ It teaches the compounding with the Nominatve case. But it is a vârtika and not a sûtra. Moreover according to Kâsikâ, the *sesha* refers to "all where no other compounding is ordained, the words which do not give rise to compounds like avyayîbhâva &c. will form Bahuvrîhis."

The Bahuvrîhis like **कण्ठेकालः** are exceptional.

८३० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे । २ । २ । २४ ॥

अनेकं प्रथमान्तमन्यस्य पदस्यार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स बहुव्रीहिः । अप्रथमाविभक्त्यर्थे बहुव्रीहिरिति समानाधिकरणानामिति च फलितम् । प्राप्तमुदकं यं प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः । ऊढरथोऽनड्वान् । उपहृतपशू रुद्रः । उद्धृतौदना स्थाली । पीताम्बरो हरिः । वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः । प्रथमार्थे तु न । वृष्टो देवे गतः । व्यधिकरणानामपि न । पञ्चाभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्य वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः * ॥ प्रपतितपर्णः । प्रपर्णः ॥
नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः * ॥ अविद्यमानपुत्रः । अपुत्रः ॥
अस्तीति विभक्तिप्रतिरूपकमव्ययम् । अस्तिक्षीरा गौः ॥

830. Two or more words, ending in the First case-affix, form a compound, denoting, another new thing, not connoted by those words individually ; and the compound is called Bahuvrîhi.

The Bahuvrîhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first ; as प्राप्तमुदकं ग्रामं=प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊढरथोऽनड्वान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशुरुद्रः 'Rudra to whom cattle is offered.' उद्धृतौदना स्थाली 'a vessel in which rice is placed,' पीताम्बरोहरिः 'Hari wearing yellow garments.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

The Bahuvrîhi compound is not formed with tne sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

The Bahuvrîhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded ; as पंचाभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

Vart:—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य=प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.'

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य=अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभार्य्यः wife-less.'

Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrîhi. As अस्ति-क्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brâhmaṇî having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.'

Note:—Why have we used the word "*anya*" in the sûtra ? So that the difference of the scopes of the Tatpurusha and the Bahuvrîhi may be indicated. A Tatpurusha denotes the very thing or object expressed by the words of the compound, (स्वपदार्थं हि सावकाशं तत्पुरुषं); while a Bahuvrîhi always denotes another object, not denoted by the words of the compound.

८३१। स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु। ६।३।३४॥

भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् ऊङोऽभावो यस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः निपातनात्पञ्चम्या अलुक्। षष्ठ्याश्च लुक्। तुल्ये प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ते यदुक्तपुंस्कं तस्मात्पर ऊङोऽभावो यत्र तथाभूतस्य स्त्रीवाचकशब्दस्य पुंवाचकस्येव रूपं स्यात्समानाधिकरणे स्त्रीलिङ्गे उत्तरपदे। नतु पूरण्यां प्रियादौ च परतः। गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वः।

चित्रा गावो यस्येति लौकिकविग्रहे चित्रा अस् गो अस् इत्यलौकिकविग्रहे । चित्रगुः । रूपवद्भार्यः । चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्येति विग्रहे अनेकोक्तैर्बहूनामपि बहुव्रीहिः ।

अत्र केचित् । चित्राजरतीगुः । जरतीचित्रागुर्वा । एवं दीर्घातन्वीजङ्घः । तन्वीदीर्घाजङ्घः । त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ प्रथमं न पुंवत् । उत्तरपदस्य मध्यमेन व्यवधानात् । द्वितीयमपि न पुंवत् । पूर्वपदत्वाभावात् । उत्तरपदशब्दो हि समासस्य चरमावयवे रूढः । पूर्वपदशब्दस्तु प्रथमावयवे रूढइति वदन्ति ।

वस्तुतस्तु नेह पूर्वपदमाक्षिप्यते । आनङ् ऋत इत्यत्र यथा । तेनोपान्त्यस्य पुंवद्भाव । चित्राजरद्गुरित्यादि । अत एव चित्राजरत्यौ गावौ यस्येति इन्नुगभेऽपि चित्राजरद्गुरिति भाष्यम् । कर्मधारयपूर्वपदे तु द्वयोरपि पुंवत् । जरच्चित्रगुः । कर्मधारयोत्तरपदे तुचित्रजरद्गवीकः ।

स्त्रियाः किम् । ग्रामणि कुलं दृष्टिरस्य ग्रामणिदृष्टिः ।

भाषितपुंस्कात्किम् । गङ्गाभार्यः ।

अनूङ् किम् । वामोरूभार्यः ।

समानाधिकरणे किम् । कल्याण्याः माता कल्याणीमाता ।

स्त्रियां किम् । कल्याणी प्रधानं यस्य स कल्याणीप्रधानः । पूरण्यां तु ॥

831. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ् and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c. (see under 835 for the list of Priyâdi words).

Note:—The words of this sûtra require some analysis for better comprehension. स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the masculine," i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspondence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आयाम) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously, while the whole compound is in the genitive case, the affix being elided anomalously, Of such a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a समानाधिकरण i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus चित्रगुः "He who has brindled cows." Here गो is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. The ordinary analysis of this word is चित्रागावो यस्य; while its grammatical analysis is चित्रा + अस (Pl) + गो + अस् (Pl). Here चित्रा becomes masculine चित्र; and गो is shortened to गु॥ Similarly रूपवद्भार्यः॥

Similarly there may be compounding of more than two words as चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्य॥ Here according to some we have either चित्रा-जरतीगुः or जरतीचित्रागुः॥ So also दीर्घातन्वीजङ्घः or तन्वीदीर्घाजङ्घः॥ "The first member retains its gender in a Bahuvrîhi of three words, because the first word is separated from the last by an intermediate word. The second word also does not become masculine, because it is not the *first* word in the compound. The word उत्तरपद 'last word" is the technical name of the last member of a compound; while पूर्वपद "first word," is similarly confined to the first member of a compound. Therefore in a compound of three words or more, the second term though an uttarapada in relation to the first, is not called uttarapada; similarly this second term though a pûrva-pada with relation to the third, is not called purva-pada" Thus say some grammarians.

But as a matter of fact, there is not in the sûtra any such word as pûrva-pada; and the word should not be inserted in it. For if पूर्वपद qualified this sûtra, it would similarly qualify VI. 3. 25 S. 921, and therefore though we could form होतापोतारौ by आनङ्; we could not form होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः, but नेष्टृ + उद्गातारः॥ But in the Mahâbhâshya we find नेष्टोद्गातारः॥ Therefore, the penultimate word will become masculine; and the proper form is चित्राजरद्गुः &c. Therefore in चित्राजरत्यौ गावौ यस्य "he who has one brindled and one old cow" though it is a portion of a dwandva compound, we have चित्राजरद्गुः only. This is in the Mahâbhâshya. But when the first member is a Karmadhâraya compound, then both terms become masculine, as जरच्चित्रगुः 'He who has an old brindled cow." The compounding here is by II. 1. 49 S. 726. But when the last term is a Karmadhâraya compound, we have चित्रजरत्वीकः॥ First we combine जरती and गौ in a karmadhâraya compound, जरती चासौ गौश्च = जरत्वी which is formed by adding the feminine affix ङीप् to the word जरत्व formed by the samâsânta affix टच् (V. 4. 92 S. 729). Then we form the Bahuvrîhi चित्रा and जरत्वी यस्य = चित्राजरत्वीकः the affix कप् is added by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

So also दर्शनीयभार्यः (= दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य) Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix आ; it is follwed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class; hence this

word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also श्लक्ष्णचूडः, दीर्घजङ्घः ॥

Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe ग्रामणि ब्राह्मणकुलंदृष्टिरस्य = ग्रामणिदृष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe गङ्गाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding musculine of गङ्गा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानाभिधानाकृतौ"? Observe द्रौणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्रोण has not the same significance as द्रोणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe वामोरूभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यामाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyâṇî." Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानं यस्य स = कल्याणीप्रधानः ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? The next sûtra applies to ordinals.

८३२ । अप्पूरणीप्रमाण्योः । ५ । ४ । ११६ ॥

पूरणार्थप्रत्ययान्तं यत् स्त्रीलिङ्गं तदन्तात्प्रमाण्यन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहेरप् स्यात् । कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां रात्रीणां ताः कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः । स्त्री प्रमाणी यस्य स स्त्रीप्रमाणः । पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधोऽप्रत्ययश्च प्रधानपूरण्यामेव । रात्रिः पूरणी वाच्या चेत्युक्तोदाहरणे मुख्या । अन्यत्र तु ॥

832. The affix ap comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound, ending in a feminine ordinal Numeral or in the word pramâṇî.

The word पूरणी means words in the feminine gender ending in an ordinal affix (V. 2. 48 S. 1849 &c). प्रमाणी means 'a witness, 'a principal'. Thus कल्याणी पंचमी यासां रात्रीणां = कल्याणीपंचमा रात्रयः "the nights, the fifth of which is auspicious." कल्याणीदशमा रात्रयः ॥ So also स्त्रीप्रमाणी एषां = स्त्रीप्रमाणाः कुटुम्बिनः meaning भार्याप्रधानाः "having a woman for authority".

The affix अप् and the prohibition of masculine substitution apply when the Ordinal Numeral is the principal (pradhâna) member in a compound. When the Ordinal enters fully into another object, and is not merely wrapped up as it were in another object in a secondary way, there the Ordinal is the principal. The prohibition of puṁvad-bhâva—the change of feminine into masculine ordained by VI. 3. 34 S. 831—, applies also to the Ordinal when it is pradhâna. Therefore, the affix is not added here. कल्याणपंचमीकः पक्षः = कल्याणी पंचमी अस्मिन् पक्षे ॥

But when it is not so ; then instead of अप् we have कप् as by the next sûtra.

८३३ । नद्यृतश्च । ५ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नद्यन्तरपशदन्तोत्तरपदाच्च बहुव्रीहेः कप्स्यात् । पुंवद्भावः ॥

833. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrîhi, the last member of which is a (feminine word ending in long ई or ऊ defined as a) nadî word, or which ends in a short ऋ ॥

Note :—The word नदी is defined in I. 4 3. S. 266. Thus बहुकुमारीको देशः (बह्व्यः कुमार्योऽस्मिन्देशे), बहुब्रह्मबन्धूकः ॥ बहुकर्तृकः ॥ The त in ऋत is for the sake of euphony.

There is punvad-bhâvá (masculine substitution) in such compounds.

Thus कल्याणी + पंचमी + कप् ॥ Now at this stage, the next sûtra requires that the long ई be shortened.

८३४ । केऽणः । ७ । ४ । १३ ॥

के परेऽणो ह्रस्वः स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

834. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

Note :—As ज्ञका, (VII. 3. 47 S. 466) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only ? Observe गोका, नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Unâdi diversity. with the affix क added to रा and धा (Un III. 40) By the following sûtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप् ; it therefore implies that कन् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kâtyâyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the krit क of the Unâdi, as राका, धाका ; but Unâdi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sûtra.

Therefore कल्याणी + पंचमी + कप् = कल्याणी + पंचमि + कप ॥ But the shortening is prevented by the next sûtra.

८३५ । न कपि । ७ । ४ । १४ ॥

कपि परे ह्रस्वो न स्यात् । कल्याणपंचमीकः पक्षः । अत्र तिरोहितावयवभेदस्य पक्षस्यान्यपदार्थतया रात्रिरप्रधानम् । बहुकर्तृकः । अप्रियादिषु किम् । कल्याणीप्रियः ।
प्रिया । मनोज्ञा । कल्याणी । सुभगा । दुर्भगा । भक्तिः । सचिवा । स्वसा । कान्ता । क्षान्ता । क्षमा । चपला । दुहिता । वामा । अबला । तनया ॥

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥ दृढं भक्तिर्यस्य स दृढभक्तिः । स्त्रीत्वविवक्षायां तु दृढाभक्तिः ॥

835. But before the samâsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrîhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As कल्याणपंचमीकः पक्षः ॥ बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 S. 656 even does not operate when कप् follows. Here रात्रि: is not principal, but secondary; because पक्ष is another thing altogether in which all distinctions of members (such as nights that constitute a paksha) have disappeared.

Note :—For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sûtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sûtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sûtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48 S. 656; namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुयवागूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prâtipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore. I. 2. 48, S. 656 does not apply, because the pratipadika now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

Similarly बहुकर्तृकः ॥

The ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपंचमीकः पक्षः ॥ The samâsânta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as secondary word: and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वमा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

When the word दृढ is used without any reference to its gender, but merely to denote want of weakness then it is Neuter, as दृढं भक्तिर्यस्य = दृढभक्तिः ॥ But when feminine nature is intended to be expressed then we have दृढाभक्तिः ॥ And therefore भक्ति is read in this list,

८३६ । तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुचः । ६ । ३ । ३५ ॥

तसिलादिषुआकृत्वसुजन्तेषु परेषु स्त्रियाः पुंवत्स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । अव्याप्त्यतिव्याप्तिपरिहाराय । त्रतसौ । तरप्तमपौ । घरड्जातीयरौ । कल्पब्देशीयरौ । रूपप्पाशपौ । थाल् । तिलथ्यनौ बह्वीषु बहुत्व । बहुतः । दर्शनीयतरा । दर्शनीयतमा

घरूपेति वक्ष्यमाणो ह्रस्वः परस्वात्पुंवद्भावं बाधते । पट्वितरा । पट्वितमा । पटुचरी । पटुजातीया । दर्शनीयकल्पा । दर्शनीयदेशीया । दर्शनीयरूपा । दर्शनीयपाशा । बहुया । प्रशस्ता वृकी वृकातिः । अजाभ्यो हिता अजथ्या ॥

शासि बह्वल्पार्थस्य पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः*॥ बह्वीभ्यो देहि बहुशः । अल्पाभ्यो देहि अल्पशः ॥ स्वतलोर्गुणवचनस्य * ॥ शुक्लाया भावः शुक्लत्वम् । शुक्लता । गुणवचनस्य किम् । कर्त्र्या भावः कर्त्रीत्वम् । शरदः कृतार्थतेत्यादौ तु सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥

भस्याढे तद्धिते * ॥ हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकम् । अढे किम् । रौहिणेयः । स्त्रीभ्यो ढगिति ढोऽत्र गृह्यते । अग्नेर्ढगिति ढकि तु पुंवदेव । अग्नायी देवताऽस्य स्थालीपाकस्याग्नेयः । सपत्नीशब्दस्त्रिधा । शत्रुपर्यायात्सपत्नशब्दाच्छार्ङ्गरवादित्वात् ङीन्येकः । समानः पतिर्यस्या इति विग्रहे विवाहनिबन्धनं पतिशब्दमाश्रित्य नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गो द्वितीयः । स्वामिपर्यायपतिशब्देन भाषितपुंस्कस्तृतीयः । आद्ययोः शिवाद्यण् । सपत्न्या अपत्यं सापत्नः । तृतीयात्तु लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया पत्युत्तरपदलक्षणो ण्य एव । न स्वण् । शिवादौ रूढयोरेव ग्रहणात् । सापत्न्यः ।

ढक्छसोश्च * ॥ भवत्यिच्छात्रा भावत्काः भवदीयाः ।

एतद्वार्तिकमेकतद्धिते चेति सत्रं च न कर्तव्यम् । सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भाव इति भाष्यकारेष्टया गतार्थत्वात् । सर्वकाम्यति । सर्विकाभार्या यस्य स सर्वकभार्यः । सर्वप्रिय इत्यादि । पूर्वस्यैवेदम् । भस्त्रैषाट्टेति लिङ्गात् । तेनाकचि एकशेषवृत्तौ च न । सर्विका । सर्वाः ॥

कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डादिषु * ॥ कुक्कुट्या अण्डं कुक्कुटाण्डम् । मृग्याः पदं मृगपदम् । मृगक्षीरम् । काकशावः ॥

836. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c. (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17. S. 2085).

We must enumerate these affixes, lest we should include too many or too few. The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: च and तस्, तरप्, and तमप्, चरट्, जातीयर्, कल्पप्, (देश्य), देशीयर्, रूपप्, पाशप्, (थम), थाल्, (दा and र्हिल), तिल्, थ्यन् (तातिल) ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender.

Thus (1) च=बहुषु, (2) तस्=बहुतः both with the force of locative बह्वीषु ॥ (3—4) तरप् and तमप्, as दर्शनीयतरा and दर्शनीयतमा ॥ These affixes are called घ and so the rule VI. 3. 43 S. 985 causes shortening and this shortening being subsequent prevents the masculine substitution even. Thus not पटुतरा and पटुतमा, (as given in some texts); but पट्वितरा and पट्वितमा ॥ (5) चरट् (V. 3. 53. S. 1999) as पटुचरी ॥ (6) जातीयर् (V. 3. 69 S. 2024) as पटुजातीया ॥ (7) कल्पप्, as दर्शनीयकल्पा ॥ (8) देशीयर् as दर्शनीयदेशीया ॥ (9) रूपप् (V. 3. 66 S. 2021) as दर्शनीयरूपा ॥ (10) पाशप् (V. 3. 47. S. 1993) as दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ (11) थाल् (V. 3. 23 S. 1971) as बहुधा ॥ (12) तिल् (V. 4. 41 S. 3505) as वृकातिः (=प्रशस्ता वृकी) ॥ (13) थ्यन् (V. 1. 8. S. 1669) as, अजथ्या (=अजाभ्योहिताः) ॥

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प and their synonyms are changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस्:—as बहुभ्यो देहि=बहुशो देहि; अल्पाभ्यो देहि=अल्पशोदेहि॥ See V. 4. 42. S. 2109.

Vârt:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine, before the affixes त्व and तल्॥ शुक्लाया भावः=शुक्लत्वम् so also शुक्लता॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कन्यया भावः=कन्यात्वम्॥ In the example "निरीक्ष्य मेने शरदः कृतार्थता," the word कृतार्थ is Neuter in the generic significance. For though शरद is feminine, the word is not कृतार्थीता॥

Vârt:—The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ढ, when the word gets the designation of भ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः=हास्तिकम् by ठक् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256). Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being asiddha (VI. 4. 22. S. 2183) and also by I. 1. 57 S. 50 sthânivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144 S. 679 ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हास्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम्॥ Why do we say' with the exception of ढ'? Observe रौहिनेयः the masculine being रोहित॥ To रोहित is added ङीप् and त् changed to न by IV. 1, 39 S. 496 and we have रोहिणी॥ Had there been punvad bhâva, रौहितेयः would have been the form. The ढ taken here is the ढ of the sûtra IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 and not the ढक् of IV. 2. 33 S. 1236. Thus आग्नेयः (=अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य)॥

The word सपत्नी has three meanings. (1) Formed by adding ङीन् under शार्ङ्गरवादि class to सपत्न meaning 'an enemy.' सपत्नी 'a female enemy.' (2) a co-wife, समानः पतिर्यस्याः। It shows marital relation, and is *always* feminine, having no corresponding masculine. (3) where पति means 'lord' (not *husband*): and that सपत्नी has a corresponding masculine. It means a female servant of the same master. The first two take the अण् of शिवादि As सपत्न्या अपत्यं=सापत्नः 'the son of a female-enemy or of a co-wife." In the case of the third, the affix will be ण्य, and not अण् because शिवादि अण् applies to rudhi words only, and not to the yougika word. Its form will be सापत्न्यः॥

Vârt:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes ठक् and छस्॥ As भवत्या श्छात्रा=भावत्काः, भवदीयाः॥ This Vârtika and the sûtra एकतद्धितेच (VI. 3. 62 S. 1000) need not have been made. Because the result obtained by these could be got by the general rule (*ishti*) of the Bhâsyakâra (Patanjali): "there is masculation of sarvanamans whenever they take part in any grammatical function." As (1) सर्वमयः (2) सर्वकाम्यति, (3) सर्वकाभार्या यस्य स=सर्वकभार्यः In spite of VI. 3. 37 S. 838. (4) सर्वप्रियः &c. In the first the

affix is मयट् which is not included in Tasilâdi class of this sûtra, and yet it causes masculation. The third would not have become masculine by VI. 3. 34 because VI. 3. 37 S. 838 would have prevented it.

So also सर्वप्रियः in spite of the exception of VI. 3. 34 S. 881 with regard to प्रिय &c. That exception finds its scope in examples like रूपवतीप्रियः &c

If a sarvanâman always becomes masculine in every grammatical function, it ought to be so when it stands as a second member of a compound, as in तदितरा and तदन्या ॥ Here इतरा and अन्या ought to become masculine. But it is not so, because the rule applies to the first (pûrva) member of the compound. When a pronominal is a *first* member of a compound then it becomes masculine and not when it is the last term. This we infer from the implication of VII. 3. 47 S. 466. That sûtra contains two pronominals एषा and इहा and if they were to become masculine even in Taddihta function (i. e. when क is added), there would have been no scope for the इ of that sûtra. Hence there is this inference that a sarvanama does not necessarily become masculine before अकच् or in ekasesha; as सर्विका with akach; and सर्वाः plural being eka-śesha.

Vârt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c. become masculine before अण्ड &c: as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्याः पदं = मृगपदम्, मृग्याः क्षीरं = मृगक्षीरम्, काक्याः शावः = काकशावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

८३७ । कयङ्मानिनोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतयोः परतः पुंवत् । एनीवाचरति एतायते । श्येनीवाचरति श्येतायते । स्वभिन्नां कांचिद्दर्शनीयां मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी । दर्शनीयां स्त्रियं मन्यते दर्शनीयमानी चैत्रः ॥

837. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed in to masculine before the Denominative कयङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, श्येनी—श्येतायते ॥ मानिनः—दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः "He esteems her as handsome". दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः) "She esteems her (some one else other than herself) as handsome." The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non- feminine words :—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तां = दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यज्ञदत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

Note :—The affix कयङ् is added under III. 1. 11 S. 2665. Thus in एनीवाचरति, श्येनीवाचरति, the feminine words एनी and श्येनी become एत and श्येत ॥ The lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 25 S. 2298. and we have एता and श्येता ॥

The word मानिन् is separately used in the sûtra, in order to indicate that the rule applies even to non appositional words, and non-feminine (masculine) words ; which was not the case under the last sûtra.

८३८ । न कोपधायाः । ६ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः न पुंवत् । पाचिकाभार्यः । रसिकाभार्यः । मद्रिकायते । मद्रिकामानिनी ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे तद्धित इत्यहणम् * नेह । पाका भार्या यस्य स पाकभार्यः ॥

838. A Feminine word having a penultimate क, does not assume the Musculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, रसिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी ॥ This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36: and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vârt:—The rule applies to the क of the affix वु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः (पाकाभार्या यस्य) ॥ The word पाका means "young" and is formed by the Uṇâdi affix क (Uṇ V. 53). This is neither a Taddhita क nor a क of वु affix.

८३९ । संज्ञापूरण्योश्च । ६ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनयोर्न पुंवत् ।दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी । दानक्रियानिमित्तः स्त्रियां पुंसि च संज्ञाभूततोऽयमिति भाषितपुंस्कत्वमस्ति । पञ्चमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा ॥

839. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी ॥ The word दत्ता is a Bhâshita punsa word, for both men and women can become objects, of the verb दा 'to give'; so दत्ता has a corresponding masculine noun दत्त; though both may be proper Names. So also पञ्चमीभार्यः and पञ्चमीपाशा ॥ Here the affix पाशप् is added by याप्येपाशप् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993).

८४० । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे । ६ । ३ । ३९ ॥

वृद्धिशब्देन विहिता या वृद्धिस्तद्धेतुर्यस्तद्धितोऽरक्तविकारार्थस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सौम्नीभार्यः । माथुरीयते । माथुरीमानिनी । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य किम् । मध्यमभार्यः । तद्धितस्य किम् । काण्डलावभार्यः । वृद्धिशब्देन किम् । तावञ्जार्यः ॥ रक्ते तु ॥ काषायी पन्था अस्य स काषायपन्थः । विकारे तु हैमी शुद्धिका यस्येति हैमशुद्धिकः । वृद्धिशब्देन वृद्धिं प्रति फलोपधानाभावादिह पुंवत् । वैयाकरणभार्यः । सौवश्वभार्यः ॥

840. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the

Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, by its own force by the employment of the term Vṛiddhi, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'.

Thus सौन्नीभार्यः, माथुरीयते, and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vriddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्यः ॥ मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8. S. 1378 which does not cause Vṛiddhi. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति = काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्मण्यण्) and ङीप् ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made there of'? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी कन्या यस्य = काषायकन्यः, हेमस्य विकारोहैमी, हैमीमुद्रिका = हैममुद्रिकः (IV. 3. 140 S. 1520). What do we mean "by the phrase by the employment of the term वृद्ध" ? The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or ञ् or क् &c which causes Vriddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावद्भार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य) ॥ Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 S. 1840 added to तद् does not cause Vriddhi by using the word Vriddhi, but by VI. 3. 91. S. 430 which says "आ is substituted for the final of a pronoun before वत्" ॥ Though आ is a Vriddhi letter, it is ordained here not by employing the term Vriddhi, but simply as आ ॥

But in वैयाकरणभार्यः "He whose wife is a grammarian", and सौवश्वभार्यः "whose wife is the daughter of a good horseman." there is masculine substitution, because there is absence of the result of Vriddhi by using the word Vriddhi. The word निमित्त in the sûtra denotes "causing or producing the result or fruit." Now when तदधीते तद्वेदं अण् (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) is added to व्याकरण, and तस्यापत्यं अण् (IV 1. 92 S. 1088) is added to स्वश्व, there would be Vriddhi of the first syllable, but that is debarred by VII. 3. 3 S. 1098 which says :—"Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् the Vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semivowels." Thus though the Taddhita अण् would cause Vriddhi, the fruit is not actually produced, hence the rule does not apply in व्यैयाकरणी भार्या यस्य, and सौवश्वी भार्या यस्य ॥

८४१ । स्वाङ्गाच्चेतः । ६ । ३ । ४० ॥

स्वाङ्गाद्य ईकारस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सुकेशीभार्यः । स्वाङ्गस्किन् । पटुभार्यः । ईतः किम् । अकेशभार्यः ॥ अमानिनीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सुकेशमानिनी ॥

841. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine.

Thus सुकेशीभार्यः । Why do we say 'the name of a part of body'? Observe पटुभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member). Why do we say 'a feminine in ई'? Observe अकेशभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई) ॥

Vârtika :—There is an exception when the word मानिन follows. Thus सुकेशमानिनी ॥

८४२ । जातेश्च । ६ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातेः परो यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तं न पुंवत् । शूद्राभार्यः । ब्राह्मणी भार्यः ॥ सौचस्यैवायं निषेधः । तेन हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र + भस्याढे—इति तु भवत्येव ॥

842. A feminine noun expressing jâti (and ending in a feminine affix) does not become masculine.

Thus शूद्राभार्यः, ब्राह्मणीभार्यः ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् for the prohibition applies to the feminines formed by affixes, and not to Taddhitas. Here the vârtika भस्याढे given under VI. 3. 35 S. 836. will apply of course.

८४३ । संख्याया ऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये । २ । २ । २५ ॥

संख्येयार्थया संख्ययाऽव्ययादयः समस्यन्ते स बहुव्रीहिः । दशानां समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपदशाः । नव एकादश वेत्यर्थः । बहुव्रीहौ संख्येयेति वक्ष्यमाणो डच् ॥

843. Indeclinable words and the words âsanna 'near,' adûra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyâ (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyâ word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyâ. The compound is Bahuvrîhi.

Thus उपदशाः (V. 4. 73 S. 851) those who are near ten *i. e.* nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142 S. 844).

By V. 4, 73. S. 851, the affix इच् comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound denoting numeral.

८४४ । ति विंशतेर्डिति । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

विंशतेर्भस्य तिशब्दस्य लोपः स्याद्डिति । आसन्नविंशाः । विंशतेरासन्ना इत्यर्थः । अदूरविंशा । अधिकचत्वारिंशाः । द्वौ वा त्रयो वा द्वित्राः । द्विरावृत्ता दश द्विदशाः । विंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

844. Of the Bha stem विंशति, before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided.

Thus आसन्नविंशाः 'nineteen or twentyone'; अदूराविंशा 'twenty-nine or thirty one; अधिकचत्वारिंशाः 'forty-one.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विकाः 'two or' three.' द्विंशाः 'twenty.'

८४५ । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले । २ । २ । २६ ॥

दिशो नामान्यन्तराले वाच्ये प्राग्वत् । दक्षिणस्याः पूर्वस्याश्च दिशोऽन्तरालं दक्षिणपूर्वा । नामग्रहणाद्यौगिकानां न । ऐन्द्र्याश्च कौबेर्याश्चान्तरालं दिक् ॥

845 Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrîhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakshiṇa-pûrvâ, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sûtra in order to indicate that no compounding takes place, when the words denoting direction are derivative words, whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्र्याश्चकौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

८४६ । तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे । २ । २ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते ग्रहणविषये सरूपे पदे तृतीयान्ते च ग्रहणविषये इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थे समस्येते कर्मव्यतिहारे द्योत्ये स बहुव्रीहिः । इतिशब्दादयं विषयविशेषो लभ्यते ॥

846. Two homonymous words both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case, are compounded, the sense being 'this happens, therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrîhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति ॥ The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of *seizing*; and the word is exhibited

in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of *striking* ; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्धः ॥ Now applies the following sûtra :—

८४६ क । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ॥

दीर्घ इत्यनुवर्तते । इच्चि कर्मव्यतिहारे बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदान्तस्य दीर्घः । इच् समासान्तो वक्ष्यते । तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतिष्विच्प्रत्ययस्य पाठादव्ययीभावत्वमव्ययत्वं च । केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वेदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं केशाकेशि । दण्डैर्दण्डैश्च प्रहृत्येदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं दण्डादण्डि । मुष्टीमुष्टि ॥

846 A. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

(This sûtra is taught in S. 3539 also).

The word *dîrgha* is understood in this sûtra from the preceding Ashṭâdhâyî sûtra VI. 3. 111. The final of the prior member in a Bahuvrîhi compound is lengthened, before the samâsânta affix इच् when reciprocity of action is meant. The sâmâsânta इच् will be taught later on (V. 4. 127 S. 866). The इच् affix is read in the Tiṣhṭhadga class (II. 1.17. S. 671) and so these compounds are Avyayîbhâvas and Indeclinables.

As केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धंप्रवृत्तं = केशाकेशि 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair' ; दण्डैश्च दण्डैश्च प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धंप्रवृत्तं = दण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave ;' so also मुष्टी मुष्टि ॥

८४७ । ओर्गुणः । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणः स्यात्तद्धिते । अवादेशः । बाहूबाहवि । ओरोदिति वक्तव्ये गुणोक्तिः संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति ज्ञापयितुम् । तेन स्वायम्भुवमित्यादि सिद्धम् । सरूपे इति किम् । हलेन मुसलेन ॥

847. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाहूबाहवि "hand to hand." Instead of making the sûtra simpler by saying ओरोत् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sûtra is, therefore, anitya. and we have forms like स्वायंभुवः from स्वयंभू without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

Why do we say in the preceding sûtra S. 846 सरूपे 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following : हलैश्च मुसलैश्च प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम् ॥

८४८ । तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे । २ । २ । २८ ॥

तुल्ययोगे वर्तमाने सहेत्येतत्तृतीयान्तेन प्राग्वत् ॥

848. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrîhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह+पुत्रेण ॥ Now applies the next sûtra by which सह is changed to स ॥

८४९ । बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य सहस्य सः स्याद्वा । पुत्रेण सह सपुत्रः सहपुत्रो वा आगतः । तुल्ययोगवचनं प्रायिकम् । सकर्मकः । सलोमकः ॥

849. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrîhi is such a compound; because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood; Thus पुत्रेणसह = सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, आगतः ॥

Note:—Why do we say of a Bahuvrîhi? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrîhi like सहकृत्वाप्रियः or सहयुद्धप्रियः ॥

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपक्षकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचनं प्रायिकं) ॥

Note:—Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छात्रः 'accompannied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

८५० । प्रकृत्याशिषि । ६ । । ३ । ८३ ॥

सहशब्दः प्रकृत्या स्यादाशिषि । स्वस्ति राज्ञे सहपुत्राय सहामात्याय ॥ अगोवत्सहलेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ सगवे । सवत्साय । सहलाय ॥

850. The word सह retains its original form, when the sentence denotes benediction.

Thus स्वस्ति राज्ञे सहपुत्राय, सहामात्याय ॥

Vârtika :—But optionally so when it is गो, वत्स or हलः—as, स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सहवत्साय, सहहलाय, or सहलाय ॥

८५१ । बहुव्रीहौ संख्येये डजबहुगणात् । ५ । ४ । ७३ ॥

संख्येये यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्माड्डच् स्यात् । उपदशाः । अबहुगणात्किम् । उपबहवः । उपगणाः । अत्र स्वरे विशेषः ॥ संख्यायास्तत्पुरुषस्य वाच्यः * ॥ निर्गतानि त्रिंशतो निस्त्रिंशानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य । निर्गतस्त्रिंशतोऽङ्गुलिभ्यो निस्त्रिंशः खड्गः ॥

851. The affix ḍach comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound denoting numeral, except when the last term of such compound is bahu and gaṇa.

This Bahuvrîhi is formed by rule II. 2. 25. S. 843. Thus उपदशाः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting a numeral'? Observe चित्रगुः, शबलगुः ॥

Why do we say 'not after bahu and gaṇa"? Observe, उपबहवः, उपगणाः ॥ The difference here is in the accent, for had डच् been added, it would have made the final of उपगण acute by चित् accent (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710) but it not being so, the first member retains its accent, namely acute on the first.

Vârt:— The Tatpurusha compounds of numerals like निस्त्रिंश &c, take also the affix डच् ॥ Thus निर्गतानि त्रिंशतः = निस्त्रिंशानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य 'Chaitra is more than thirty years old' निर्गतस्त्रिंशतांगुलिभ्यः = निस्त्रिंशः खड्गः 'the sword is more than thirty fingers long.'

८५२ । बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात्षच् । ५ । ४ । ११३ ॥

व्यत्ययेन षष्ठी । स्वाङ्गवाचिसक्थ्यक्ष्यन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेः षच् स्यात् । दीर्घे सक्थिनी यस्य स दीर्घसक्थः । जलजाक्षी । स्वाङ्गात्किम् । दीर्घसक्थि शकटम् । स्थूलाक्षा वेणुयष्टिः । अक्ष्णोऽदर्शनादित्यच् ॥

852. The affix shach comes after the words sakthi and akshi, final in a Bahuvrîhi compound and denoting a portion of one's body.

Thus दीर्घे सक्थिनी यस्य = दीर्घसक्थः, so also जलजाक्षी Why do we say "when denoting a part of the body?" Observe दीर्घसक्थि शकटम् । स्थूलाक्षा वेणुयष्टिः ॥ The affix अच् is added by V 4. 76 S. 944.

Note :—The word सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः is genitive dual, while it ought to be ablative. Why do we say "in a Bahuvrîhi compound"? Observe परमसक्थिः, परमाक्षिः ॥ Why do we say "after sakthi and akshi? Observe दीर्घजानुः, सुबाहुः ॥

The new affix टच् is employed instead of टच् for the sake of the accent. Thus चक्रसक्थी स्त्री, दीर्घसक्थी स्त्री ॥ By sûtra IV. I. 41. S. 498 the feminine of words ending in an affix having an indicatory ष् is formed by ङीष् and not ङीप् ॥ Had the affix here been टच्, then the feminine would have been formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), which is anudâtta (III. 1. 4). Now by rule VI. 2.198 S. 3932 the second term 'saktha' has *optionally* udâtta accent, on the final in a Bahuvrîhi. When therefore, it is not oxytone, then by adding ङीष् the final of दीर्घसक्थी would have been anudâtta, so that the feminine in one case would be oxytone. in the other not, which would be anomalous. But when ङीष् is added, it is *always* udâtta, which is desired : and removes the anomaly. The anuvrîtti of Bahuvrîhi extends up to the end of the chapter.

८५३ । अङ्गुलेर्दारूणि । ५ । ४ । ११४ ॥

अङ्गुल्यन्ता बहुव्रीहेः षच् स्याद्दारुण्यर्थे । पञ्चाङ्गुलयो यस्य तत्पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु । अङ्गुलिसदृशावयवं धान्यादिविक्षेपणकाष्ठमुच्यते । बहुव्रीहेः किम् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्या द्व्यङ्गुला यष्टिः । सङ्ख्यातार्थे तत्पुरुषे तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेरित्यच् । दारुणि किम् । पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

853. The affix shach comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in the word anguli, when the compound means "a piece of wood."

Thus पञ्चांगुलं दारु ॥ This is the name of a wooden fork, of the figure of five fingers by which barley &c are scattered.

Why do we say "in a Bahuvrîhi"? Observe द्व्यङ्गुलायष्टिः = द्वे अंगुली प्रमाणमस्या ॥ It is a Tatpurusha compound formed by V. 4. 86 S. 786 by adding अच as samâsânta affix, the anguli meaning here *size* and not *figure*. Why do we say "when meaning a wood"? Observe पञ्चांगुलिर्हस्तः ॥

८५४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां ष मूर्द्धभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां मूर्धन् षः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । द्विमूर्धः । त्रिमूर्धः ॥ नेतुर्नक्षत्रे अहस्तक्रतोः * मृगो नेता यासां ताः मृगनेत्रा रात्रयः । पुष्यनेत्रः ॥

854. The affix sha comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in mûrdhan, and preceded by dvi and tri.

Thus द्विमूर्धः । त्रिमूर्धः ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीष and the accent is regulated by VI. 2. 197.

Note :—Why do we say "preceded by dvi and tri ?" Observe द्वयोर्मूर्धा ॥

Vart:—The affix अप् comes after नेतृ when preceded by a word denoting asterism. As मृगनेत्रा रात्रयः = मृगो नेता यासां रात्रीणां "the night whose leader is the asterism mriga"; so also पुष्यनेत्राः ॥

Note—Why do we say "an asterism" ? Observe देवदत्तनेतृकाः ॥

८५५ । अन्तर्बहिर्भ्यां च लोम्नः । ५ । ४ । ११७ ॥

आभ्यां लोम्नोऽप्स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । अन्तर्लोमः । बहिर्लोमः ॥

855. The affix ap comes after a Bahuvrîhi ending in loman and preceded by antar and bahis.

Thus अन्तर्गतानि लोमान्यस्य = अन्तर्लोमः प्रावारः 'a cloak having the hairy surface inside'. Similarly बहिर्लोमः पटः ॥

८५६ । अच् नासिकायाः संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलात् । ५ । ४ । ११८ ॥

नासिकान्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरच् स्यात् नासिकाशब्दश्च नसं प्रामोति नतु स्थूलपूर्वात् ॥

856. The affix ach is added to the word nâsikâ final in a Bahuvrîhi, when it expresses a Name, where by nas is substituted for nâsikâ, but not so when the word sthûla precedes the word nâsikâ.

Thus द्रु + नासिका = द्रु + नासिका + अच् = द्रु + नस् + अच् ॥ Now applies the following sûtra by which न is changed to ण ॥

८५७ । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः । ८ । ४ । ३ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नस्य णः स्यात्संज्ञायां नतु गकारव्यवधाने । द्रुरिव नासिकाऽस्य द्रुणसः । खरणसः । अगः किम् । ऋचामयनं ऋगयनम् । अणृगयनादिभ्य इति निपातनात् णत्वाभावमाश्रित्य अग इति प्रत्याख्यातं भाष्ये । अस्थूलात्किम् स्थूलनासिकः । खुरखराभ्यां वा नस् * ॥ खुरणाः । खरगाः ॥ पक्षे भजपीष्यते ॥ खुरणसः खरणसः ॥

857. So also, न is replaced by ण, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that, the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

Thus द्रुरिव नासिकाऽस्य = द्रुणसः । खरणसः ॥

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, ऊर्ध्वनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न्'? Observe; ऊर्गयनम् ॥

In the Mahâbhâshya, Patanjali has shown that the word अग्रः is superfluous in the sûtra, for the non-change of न to ण in ऊर्गयनं can be established by the nipâtana of IV. 3. 73. S. 1452, where Pâṇini himself has used the word ऊर्गयन showing that न is not changed to ण ॥

Why do we say in 856 'not after स्थूल?" Observe स्थूलनासिको वराहः ॥

Vart:—After the words खुर, and क्षुर; for नासिका is substituted नस् but no affix is added; as, खुरणाः, क्षरणाः ॥

Vârtika:—In the alternative affix अच् is added, as खुरणसः, क्षरणसः ॥

Ishti:—The forms शितिनाः, अर्चनाः and आहिनाः are valid in the Revelation (the Vedas).

८५८। उपसर्गाच्च। ५। ४। ११९ ॥

प्रावेर्यो नासिकाशब्दस्तदन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरच् नासिकाया नसादेशश्च। असंज्ञार्थं वचनम्। उन्नता नासिका यस्य स उन्नसः। उपसर्गादनोत्पर इति सूत्रं तङ्कृत्वा भाष्यकार आह ॥

858. The affix ach comes after the word nâsikâ final in a Bahuvrîhi, when an upasarga precedes it, and नस् is substituted for नासिका ॥

This rule applies where the word is not a sañjñâ, as it was in the last. Thus उन्नता नासिकाऽस्य = उन्नसः ॥

The next sûtra is not the sûtra as given by Pâṇini. His sûtra is उपसर्गादनोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण्" ॥ There being several objections to this rule, the following is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahâbhâshya.

Note:—For ओत्परः may have two meanings:—(1) ओकारात् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओकारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण change would be required in प्रनो मुञ्चतं; in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणावनिर्देवना ॥

In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

८५९ । उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् । ८ । ४ । २८ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नसो नस्य णः स्याद्बहुलम् । प्रणसः ॥ वैर्मो वक्तव्यः * ॥ विगता नासिकाऽस्य विमः ॥ ख्यश्च * ॥ विख्यः । कथं तर्हि विनसा हतबान्धवेति भट्टिः । विगतया नासिकयोपलक्षितेति व्याख्येयम् ॥

859 The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणसः

Vart:—The म is substituted for नासिका when वि precedes it, As, विगतानासिकाऽस्य = विमः ॥ *Vârt*:—So also विख्यः in the same sense.

How do you explain the form विनसा in the following line of Bhatti :—"विनसा हतबान्धवाः" It should be explained as विगतया नासिकयोपलक्षिता ॥ Here विनसा is not in the Nominative case, but is Instrumental singular of विनस् where नस् is substituted for नासिका by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Thus प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take place, as, प्र नो मुञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also, as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं मुखं ॥ The word छन्दसि does not govern this sûtra.

In प्रणसं मुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose.' See V. 4. 119. S. 858

८६० । सुप्रातसुश्वसुदिवशारिकुक्षचतुरश्रैणीपदाजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः । ५ । ४ । १२० ॥

एते बहुव्रीहावच्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते । शोभनं प्रातरस्य सुप्रातः । शोभनं श्वोऽस्य सुश्वः । शोभनं दिवाऽस्य सुदिवः । शारिरिव कुक्षिरस्य शारिकुक्षः । चतस्रोऽश्रयोऽस्य चतुरश्रः । एण्या इव पादावस्य एणीपदः । अजपदः । प्रोष्ठौ गौः तस्येव पादावस्य प्रोष्ठपदः ॥

860. The following Bahuvrîhis are irregularly formed by adding ach :—śu-prâta, su-śva, sudiva, śârikukṣha, chaturaśra, eṇi-pada, aja-pada, and proshṭha-pada.

In some of the above compounds the दि (syllable) is elided. शोभनं प्रातरस्य = सुप्रातः, शोभनं श्वोऽस्य = सुश्वः, शोभनं दिवाऽस्य = सुदिवः ॥ शारेरिव कुक्षिरस्य = शारिकुक्षः, चतस्रोऽश्रयोऽस्य = चतुरश्रः, एण्या इव पादावस्य = एणीपदः, So अजपदः; गौर्ङी means 'cow' तस्येव पादावस्य = गौङ्पदः "whose feet are like cows."

८६१ । नञ्दुःसुभ्यो हलिसक्थ्योरन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १२१ ॥

अच् स्यात् । अहलः । अहलिः । असक्थः । असक्थिः । एवं दुःसुभ्याम् । शक्त्योरिति पाठान्तरम् । अशक्तः । अशक्तिः ॥

861. The affix ach comes optionally after the words hali and sakthi, final in a Bahuvrîhi, when preceded by a Negative particle or by the words dus and su.

Thus अविद्यमानो हलिरस्य = अहलः or अहलिः, दुर्हलः or दुर्हलिः, सुहलः or सुहलिः ॥ So also असक्थः, असक्थिः, दुःसक्थः or दुःसक्थिः, सुसक्थः or सुसक्थिः ॥

Some read the text as हलिशक्त्योः ॥ According to this reading we have अशक्तिः or अशक्तः, दुःशक्तिः or दुःशक्तः (विरूपा शक्तिरस्य), सुशक्तिः or सुशक्तः ॥

८६२ । नित्यमसिच् प्रजामेधयोः । ५ । ४ । १२२ ॥

नञ्दुःसुभ्य इत्येव । अप्रजाः । दुष्प्रजाः । सुप्रजाः । अमेधाः । दुर्मेधाः । सुमेधाः ॥

862. The affix asich (अस्) comes invariably after prajâ and medhâ, final in a Bahuvrîhi, when the above particles नञ्, सु and दुस् precede them.

Thus अविद्यमाना प्रजाऽस्य = अप्रजाः, so also दुष्प्रजाः, सुप्रजाः, अमेधाः, दुर्मेधाः सुमेधाः ॥

Note:—The word "invariably" (नित्य) shows that the anuvritti of the word "optionally" of the last sûtra does not run here. The word nitya also indicates that the affix *ach* comes after prajâ and medhâ even when preceded by other words. As the word अल्पमेधसः in the following.

श्रोत्रियस्यैव ते राजन्नन्नकस्याल्पमेधसः ।
अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्नैषा तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनी ॥

Note:—The अ of असिच् is for the sake of pronunciation and to make the stem before it भ ॥ Therefore in सुप्रजसौ the आ is elided by वस्येति च (VI. 4. 148. S. 311). According to Kâsikâ the base is अप्रजस्, &c.

८६३ । धर्मादनिच्केवलात् । ५ । ४ । १२४ ॥

केवलात्पूर्वपदात्परो यो धर्मशब्दस्तदन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरनिच् स्यात् । कल्याणधर्मा । केवलादिकम् । परमः स्वो धर्मो यस्येति विपदे बहुव्रीहौ स्व भूत् । स्वशब्दो हीह न केवलं पूर्वपदं किंतु मध्यमस्त्वाश्रयेणेति केचित् । संदिग्धसाध्यधर्मेत्यादौ तु कर्मधारयपूर्वपदौ बहुव्रीहिः । एवं तु परमस्वधर्मेत्यपि साध्वेव । निवृत्तिधर्मा अनुच्छित्तिधर्मेत्यादिवत् । पूर्वपदं तु बहुव्रीहिणात्तिप्यते ॥

863. The affix anich (अन्) comes after the word dharma, when it is the last member of a Bahuvrîhi compound, and (is itself the only word without any other word joined with it or) when the first member is a single word.

Thus कल्याणो धर्मोऽस्य = कल्याणधर्मन् nom. sin. कल्याणधर्मा ॥ Why do we say केवलात् "when it alone is the last member"? Observe परमः स्वो धर्मोऽस्य = परमस्वधर्मः ॥ Here the word स्व is not alone a pûrvapada but a middle term; also it is not an independent word; it is not a pûrvapada and pûrvapada only, but something else also. The word केवलात् according to some qualifies the word पूर्वपद and according to others the uttarapada also. That is the first member must be *one* word though a *compound* word, and they explain such forms as संदिग्धसाध्यधर्मा; निवृत्तिधर्मा; अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा (e. g. अविनाशी वा अरंडयमारमाऽनुच्छित्तिधर्मा) as valid. According to Kaumudi the purvapadas like संदिग्धसाध्य are Karmadhâraya. In this view परमस्वधर्मा is also valid and correct, like the words निवृत्तिधर्मा, अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा ॥ According to Prasâdakâra केवलात् qualifies both the words धर्मात् and पूर्वपदात् ॥

Note:—The necessity of अ in अनिच् is not very apparent. The affix निच् would have served the purpose equally well: for धर्म + निच् = धर्मन् ॥ But others say, that the word is not धर्म ending with a vowel, but धर्म् ending with a consonant. It is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to the Denominative of the root derived from the noun धर्म by तत्करोति &c. S. 2573 √कृञ् ॥ Therefore परमो धर्म् यस्य सः परमधर्मा ॥ The word धर्म् though defective in one limb, is the same as धर्म for grammatical purposes, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् ॥ When in a Bahuvrîhi compound, the last member is धर्म and the first member is a single word, then the affix अनिच् is added. The word केवलात् qualifies the first member. But the ancient Grammarians have made the last term also qualified by केवलात्॥ The author of Prasada also has explained Kevalât as an adjective qualifying both the word dharma and the pûrvapada or the first member. But both these are very problematic: for there is no proof that the word kevalât should be so repeated as to qualify both the first term and the word dharma. Moreover there is no necessity that the word dharma should be qualified by this term Kevalât. For it cannot

be said that the word kevalât should qualify Dharma, in order to prevent the last term from being a compound word *ending* in dharma. For in such a case, the word dharma does not stand as a member of a Bahuvrîhi compound. Therefore the word kevalât qualifies the purvapada only. The purvapada must be a *single* word: and not two or more words. Therefore in परमःस्वो धर्मो यस्य the Bahuvrihi will not be governed by this rule. Because the word स्व is not here the only pûrvapada, but being in the middle is relative.

८६४। जम्भा सुहरितृणसोमेभ्यः। ५। ४। १२५॥

जम्भोति कृतसमासान्तं निपात्यते। जम्भो भक्ष्ये दन्ते च। शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य सुजम्भा। हरितजम्भा। तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य तृणमिव दन्ता यस्येति वा तृणजम्भा। सोमजम्भा। स्वादिभ्यः किम्। पतितजम्भः॥

864. The word "jambhan" stands at the end of a Bahuvrîhi, when preceded by su, harita, tṛiṇa, and soma.

The जम्भन् is a word that has already taken the samâsânta affix अन् irregularly, and means 'food' or 'tooth.' Thus सुजम्भन्, as (शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य), सुजम्भा देवदत्तः so also हरितजम्भा, तृणजम्भा, (तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य) सोमजम्भा॥ When it means 'tooth,' the compound should be analysed as, तृणमिव or सोममिव जम्भोऽस्य॥ Why do we say when preceded by su &c.? Observe पतितजम्भः॥

८६५। दक्षिणेर्मा लुब्धयोगे। ५। ४। १२६॥

दक्षिणे ईमं व्रणं यस्य दक्षिणेर्मा मृगः। व्याधेन कृतव्रण इत्यर्थः॥

865. The form "dakshiṇerman" is an irregularly formed Bahuvrîhi, when used in conjunction with a hunter.

The word लुब्ध means व्याध or a fowler, a hunter. Thus दक्षिणमीर्मस्य = दक्षिणेर्मा मृगः 'a stag wounded by the hunter on the right flank.'

Note:—But in the following verse:—बाली हेमाङ्गमाली गुणनिधिरिषुणानिर्मितो दक्षिणेर्मा, it denotes merely hunting. The word ईर्मम् means 'a wound.' Why do we say 'in reference to a hunter'? Observe दक्षिणेर्मम् शकटम्॥

८६६। इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे। ५। ४। १२७॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्मादिच् स्यात्समासान्तः। केशाकेशि। मुसलामुसलि॥

866. The affix इच् comes after a Bahuvrîhi when the compound denotes the reciprocity of an action.

The compound denoting reciprocity of action is formed by II. 2. 27.
S. 684 Thus केशाकेशि = केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं॥ So also मुसलामुसलि॥

The affix इच् forms also avyayîbhâva compounds, as it occurs in the list of तिष्ठद्गु words II. 1. 17. S. 671.

८६७। द्विदण्डयादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १२८ ॥

तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थ्येषा । एषां सिद्धयर्थमिच् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । द्वौ दण्डौ यस्मिन्प्रहरणे तद् द्विदण्डि प्रहरणम् । द्विमुसलि । उभाहस्ति । उभयाहस्ति ॥

867. The words dvidaṇḍi &c., are valid forms in ich.

The word द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यः is in the dative case, and not the Ablative case. The dative here has the force of "for the purpose of that" (II. 1. 37 S. 698). This word is therefore equal to द्विदण्ड्यर्थमिच् प्रत्ययो भवति "the affix इच् comes for the sake of the words dvidaṇḍi &c," *i. e.* it comes in such a way, as to form the words dvidaṇḍi.&c. These words are used in fixed senses. Thus द्विदण्डि प्रहरति, द्विमुसलि प्रहरति, but not here, द्विदण्डा शाला ॥

Note:—Though the context is that of Bahuvrîhi, yet some of these words are Tatpurusha: as निकुञ्च कर्णौ धावति = निकुञ्चकर्णि धावति ॥ प्राञ्चपादौ हस्तिनं वाहयति = प्राञ्चपादि हस्तिनं वाहयति ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72.

1 द्विदण्डि, 2 द्विमुसलि, 3 उभाञ्जलि, 4 उभयाञ्जलि, 5 उभाक्षन्ति, 6 उभयाक्षन्ति, 7 उभाहस्ति, 8 उभयाहस्ति, 9 उभाकर्णि, 10 उभयाकर्णि, 11 उभापाणि, 12 उभयापाणि, 13 उभाबाहु, 14 उभयाबाहु, 15 एकपदि, 16 प्राच्यपदि, 17 आच्यपदि, (प्राच्यपदि), 18 सपदि, 19 निकुञ्चकर्णि, 20 संहतपुच्छि, 21 अन्तेवासि ॥

८६८। प्रसंभ्यां जानुनोर्ज्ञुः । ५ । ४ । १२९ ॥

आभ्यां परयोर्जानुशब्दस्योर्ज्ञुरादेशः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । प्रगते जानुनी यस्य प्रज्ञुः । सज्ञुः ॥

868 After the words pra and sam, there is the substitution of jñu for jânu, when forming the Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus प्रगते जानुनी यस्य = प्रज्ञुः, So also संज्ञुः ॥

८६९। ऊर्ध्वाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १३० ॥

ऊर्ध्वज्ञुः । ऊर्ध्वजानुः ॥

869. The substitution of jñu for jânu is optional, when the word ûrdhva precedes it.

Thus ऊर्ध्वे जानुनी अस्य = ऊर्ध्वज्ञुः or ऊर्ध्वजानुः ॥

८७०। धनुषश्च । ५ । ४ । १३२ ॥

धनुरन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् । शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

870. The 'anaṅ' is the substitute of the final of 'dhanus' in a Bahuvrîhi.

As शार्ङ्ग धनुरस्य = शार्ङ्गधन्वन् nom. s. शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

८७१ । वा संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३३ ॥

शतधन्वा । शतधनुः ॥

871. The substitution of अनङ् does not optionally take place when the Bahuvrîhi is a Name.

This declares an option, where the last sûtra had made the substitution compulsory. As शतधनुः or शतधन्वा, । दृढधनुः or दृढधन्वा ॥

८७२ । जायाया निङ् । ५ । ४ । १३४ ॥

जायान्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निङादेशः स्यात् ॥

872. For the final of जाया is substituted निङ् in a Bahuvrîhi.

Thus युवति र्जायाऽस्य = युवति + जाया = युवति + जाय् + नि ॥ Now applies the following sûtra, by which य is elided before नि ॥

८७३ । लोपो व्योर्वलि । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

वकारयकारयोर्लोपः स्याद्वलि । पुंवद्भावः । युवतिर्जाया यस्य युवजानिः ॥

873. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

Thus युवतिर्जाया यस्य = युवजानिः (जाया + निङ् = जाय् + निङ् = जा + नि, the य् being elided by the present rule.) So also वृद्धजानिः ॥ There is punvad-bhâva also by which युवति (feminine) is changed to युव (masculine).

Note :—The final व् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c., beginning with a झल् consonant *i. e.* any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिव् + वस् (III. 2. 107) = दिव् + दिव् + वस् = दिदिवस् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवांसौ, दिदिवांसः ॥ Thus उय् + त = ऊतः, 'spun,' कूय् + त = कूतं 'made a noise.' So also the affix ढक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129 S. 1135). Of the affix ढक्, ढ is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus गोधा + एय् + र = गौधेरः (the य् of the *affix* being even elided before र)॥ So also in पचेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102 S. 2255) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105 S. 2256). So also व is elided in the following :—from जीव—ऑरवानुः (by Uṇâdi affix जीवे रदानुक्) from ष्ठिव्—अस्ठेमाणम् formed by the Uṇâdi

affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Unâdi affixes (III. 3. 1 S. 3169), there is not ऊठ् substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except य ?" Observe ऊय्यते, क्ष्णूय्यते when व् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprikta व् taught in the next sûtra. Thus कण्डूय+क्विप् = कण्डूय् and व् (VI. 4. 48 S. 2308) = कण्डू+व्=कण्डू: ॥ So लोलूय×क्विप्=लोलूः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasârana, and चव्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasârana, and the elision of र् by हलादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

८७४ । गन्धस्येदुत्पूतिसुसुरभिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १३५ ॥

एभ्यो गन्धस्य इकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात् । उद्गन्धिः । पूतिगन्धिः । सुगन्धिः । सुरभिगन्धिः ॥ गन्धस्येत्वे तदेकान्तग्रहणम् * ॥ एकान्त एकदेश इव अविभागेन लक्ष्यमाण इत्यर्थः । सुगन्धि पुष्पं सलिलं च । सुगन्धिर्वायुः । नेह :—शोभना गन्धाः द्रव्याण्यस्य सुगन्ध आपणिकः ॥

874. For the final of गन्ध is substituted इ, when preceded by उत्, पूति, सु and सुरभि in a Bahuvrîhi.

Thus the अ of गन्ध is replaced by इ, as उद्गन्धिः, पूतिगन्धिः, सुगन्धिः, सुरभिगन्धिः ॥

Note :—Why after these only? Observe तीव्रगन्धा वातः ॥

Vârt:—The word गन्ध is a material noun as गन्धान् विनष्टि, and an adjective, as चन्दनगन्धः 'having the scent of sandal.' The rule of substitution applies when it is used as an attribute. सुगन्धि पुष्पं सलिलं च, सुगन्धिर्वायुः ॥ But, not here, शोभना गन्धाद्रव्याणि अस्य=सुगन्ध आपणिकः 'a shopkeeper having many sweet perfumes for sale.'

Note:—The त् of इत् is for the sake of pronunciation only. Some hold that इत् is an affix, and not a substitute (âdeśa). In this view the final of गन्ध will be elided by यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). The word *ekânta* in the vârtika means "a portion," in short the rule applies when gandha is an attributive and not when it is a substantive. Some explain *ekânta* by "natural;" *i. e.* when an object *naturally* possesses scent, and not when artificially scented. Therefore not here: आघ्राति वान् गन्धवहः सुगन्धः ॥

८७५ । अल्पाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३६ ॥

सूपस्य गन्धो लेशो यस्मिंस्तत् सूपगन्धि भोजनम् । घृतगन्धि । गन्धो गन्धक आमोदे लेशे संबन्धगर्वयोरिति विश्वः ॥

875. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrîhi compound, when गन्ध means 'a little.'

Thus सूपोऽल्पोऽस्मिन् = सूपगन्धि भोजनम् "food with a little broth." So घृतगन्धि "food with a little—a mere scent-of ghee.' Here गन्ध is a synonym of अल्प ॥

According to Viśwakosha, Gandha means 'sulphur,' 'delight' (*i. e.* scent), 'a little particle,' 'connection or relationship,' and 'pride' or 'arrogance.'

८७६ । उपमानाच्च । ५ । ४ । १३७ ॥

पद्मस्येव गन्धोऽस्य पद्मगन्धिः ॥

876. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrîhi, when preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared.

As पद्मस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = पद्मगन्धिः, उत्पलगन्धिः ; करीषगन्धिः ॥

८७७ । पादस्य लोपोऽहस्त्यादिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १३८ ॥

हस्त्यादिवर्जितादुपमानात्परस्य पादशब्दस्य लोपः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । स्यानिद्धरिणाय सनासान्तः । व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य व्याघ्रपात् । अहस्त्यादिभ्यः किम् । हस्तिपादः । कुसूलपादः ॥

877. The final अ of पाद् is elided when it is at the end of a Bahuvrîhi compound, preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared, but not so when such word is हस्ति &c.

The word उपमानात् is understood here. The लोप substitution is a samâsânta affix in a way. Thus व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य = व्याघ्रपात्, Why do we say not so when such a word is हस्ति ? Observe हस्तिपादः, कुसूलपादः ॥

1 हस्तिन्, 2 कुद्दाल*, 3 अश्व*, 4 काशिक*, 5 कुरुत, 6 कटोल, 7 कटोलक*, 8 गण्डोल, 9 गण्डोलक, 10 कण्डोल*, 11 कण्डोलक*, 12 अज*, 13 कपोत*, 14 जाल*, 15 गण्ड*, 16 महेला, (महिला), 17 दासी, 18 गणिका, 19 कुसूल. ॥

Note :—This elision is a samâsânta. For if it were not a samâsânta, then by the rule आदेः परस्य (I. 1. 54 S. 44) the elision would have been of the first letter of the word पाद, namely, of प. ॥ Moreover there would have been added the śaishika कप् ॥

८७८ । कुम्भपदीषु च । ५ । ४ । १३९ ॥

कुम्भपद्यादिषु पादस्य लोपो ङीप् च निपात्यते स्त्रियाम् ॥ पादः पत् ॥ कुम्भपदी । स्त्रियां किम् । कुम्भपादः ॥

878. The words kumbhapadî &c., have been formed by the similar elision of the अ of पाद्, in the Feminine.

The forms कुंभपदी &c, are formed by eliding the final अ of पाद and then substituting पद् for पात् before the feminine affix ई by VI. 4. 130. S. 414. Why do we say 'that this substitution takes place only before the feminine affix ङीप्, and no where else.'? Observe कुम्भपादः ॥

Note :—Those words in the list, the first members of which denote an object of comparison or a numeral, would have elided अ by V. 4. 138 or V. 4. 140. In their case, this sûtra teaches the invariable affixing of ङीप् to such words ; so that the optional rule IV. 1. 8 S. 457 does not apply to them.

1 कुम्भपदी, 2 एकपदी, 3 जालपदी, 4 शूलपदी,* 5 मुनिपदि, 6 गुणपदी,* 7 शतपदी, 8 सूत्रपदी, 9 गोधापदी*, 10 कलशीपदी, 11 त्रिपदी,* 12 तृणपदी*, 13 द्विपदी, 14 त्रिपदी*, 15 षट्पदी*, 16 दासीपदी 17 क्षितिपदी*, 18 विष्णुपदी*, 19 सुपदी, 20 निष्पदी, 21 आर्द्रपदी, 22 कुंणिपदी, (कुणपदी), 23 कृष्णपदी, 24 शुचिपदी*, 25 द्राणपदी, (द्राणीपदी), 26 द्रुपदी, 27 सूकरपदी, 28 शकृत्पदी, 29 अष्टापदी; 30 स्थूलपदी, (स्थूलपदी), 31 अपदी*, 32 सूचीपदी, 33 मालापदी, 34 गोपदी, 35 घृतपदी, 36 सूपपदी, 37 पंञ्चपदी, 38 अर्वपदी, 39 स्तनपदी, 40 कलहंसपदी, 41 विषपदी ॥

८७९ । संख्यासुपूर्वस्य । ५ । ४ । १४० ॥

पादस्य लोपः स्यात्समासान्तौ बहुव्रीहौ । द्विपात् । सुपात् ॥

879. The final अ of पाद् is elided by samâsânta lopa, also when a Numeral or the word सु precedes it, in a Bahuvrîhi.

Thus द्वौ पादावस्य = द्विपात्, त्रिपात्, so also शोभनौ पादावस्य = सुपात् ॥

८८० । वयसि दन्तस्य दतृ । ५ । ४ । १४१ ॥

संख्यासुपूर्वस्य दन्तस्य दतृ इत्यादेशः स्याद्वयसि । द्विदन् । चतुर्दन् । षट् दन्ता अस्य षोडन् । सुदन् । सुदती । वयसि किम् । द्विदन्तः करी । सुदन्तः नटः ॥

880. For दन्त is substituted दत् as a samâsânta in a Bahuvrîhi, when a Numeral or सु precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life *i. e.* an age.

Thus द्वौ दन्तावस्य = द्विदन् "a child of the age in which two teeth have appeared." So also त्रिदन्, चतुर्दन् षोडन् । See vârtika under VI. 3. 76 S. 881 for

षोडन् ॥ शोभनादन्ताश्चस्य समस्ता जाताः = सुदन् कुमारः "a boy of the age in which all his teeth have appeared beautifully." So also सुदती. Why do we say denoting 'age'? Observe द्विदन्तः करी । सुदन्तो नटः ॥

Note:—The ऋ of दृ is indicatory, making rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 applicable, by which a nasal is added before त् in declining these words in sarvanâmasthâna cases: and rule IV. 1. 6 S. 455 also applies to them. All rules relating to ङगित् apply to these.

८८१ । स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १४३ ॥

दन्तस्य दत् स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ अयोदती । फालदती । संज्ञायां किम् । समदन्ती ॥

881. For danta is substituted "dat" as a samâsânta in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is in the feminine gender, denoting a name.

Thus अयोदती, फालदती ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Name"? Observe समदन्ती, स्निग्धदन्ती ॥

८८२ । विभाषा श्यावारोकाभ्याम् । ५ । ४ । १४४ ॥

दन्तस्य दत् वा बहुव्रीहौ । श्यावदन् । । श्यावदन्तः । अरोकदन् । अरोकदन्तः

882. Optionally "dat" is substituted for "danta," in a Bahuvrîhi compound, when it is preceded by the words śyâva and aroka.

Thus श्यावदन्तः or श्यावदन्, अरोकदन्तः or अरोकदन् ॥ अरोक means 'dark,' "without holes or spaces."

Note:—The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sûtra governs this also, so that when the compound is not a Name, the substitution does not take place; as श्यावदन्तः, अरोकदन्तः ॥

८८३ । अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहेभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एभ्यो दन्तस्य दत् वा । कुड्मलाग्रदैन् । कुड्मलाग्रदन्तः ॥

883. The substitution of "dat" for "danta" is optional in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is preceded by a word ending in अग्र or by शुद्ध, भ्र , वृष and वराह ॥

The word "optionally" is understood here also. Thus कुड्मलाग्रदन्, or कुड्मलाग्रदन्तः, so also शुद्धदन्तः or शुद्धदन्; शुभ्रदन्तः or शुभ्रदन्; वृषदन्त or वृषदन्, वराहदन्त or वराहदन् ॥

Note:—The च of the sûtra indicates that the substitution optionally takes place in other cases not enumerated: as अहिदन्तः or अहिदन्, मूषिकदन्त or मूषिकदन्, गर्दभदन्तः or गर्दभदन्, शिखरदन्तः or शिखरदन्॥

८८४। ककुदस्यावस्थायां लोपः। ५। ४। १४६॥

अजातककुत्। पूर्णककुत्॥

884. The final letter of kakuda is dropped in a Bahuvrîhi, when it denotes age or condition of animals.

The word अवस्था means the changes which things undergo by lapse of time, such as age &c. Thus अजातं ककुदमस्य = अजातककुत् = बालः "the young of an animal." पूर्णककुत् = मध्यमवया "middle-aged animal"!: उन्नतककुत् = वृद्धवया "old"; स्थूलककुत् बलवान् 'strong,' यष्टिककुत् = नातिस्थूलो नातिकृशः॥

Note:—Why do we say when denoting a condition? Observe श्वेतककुदः॥

८८५। त्रिककुत्पर्वते। ५। ४। १४७॥

त्रीणि ककुदान्यस्य त्रिककुत्। संज्ञेषा पर्वतविशेषस्य। त्रिककुदोऽन्यः॥

885. The Bahuvrîhi word Trikakud, formed by the elision of the final अ of kakuda, is the name of a mountain.

त्रीणिककुदान्यस्य = त्रिककुत् "a three-peaked hill, the peaks having the shape of a hump." All three-peaked hills are not so called, it is the name of a particular hill. When not denoting a hill we have त्रिककुदः॥

८८६। उद्विभ्यां काकुदस्य। ५। ४। १४८॥

लोपः स्यात्। उत्काकुत्। विकाकुत्। काकुदं तालु॥

886. After ut and vi, the final of kâkuda is elided in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus उद्गतंकाकुदमस्य = उत्काकुत्, so also विकाकुत्॥ The word काकुद means 'palate.'

८८७। पूर्णाद्विभाषा। ५। ४। १४९॥

पूर्णकाकुत्। पूर्णकाकुदः॥

887. After pûrṇa, the final of kâkuda is optionally elided in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus पूर्णं काकुदमस्य = पूर्णकाकुत् or पूर्णकाकुदः॥

८८८ । सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः । ५ । ४ । १५० ॥

सुदुर्भ्यां हृदयस्य हृद्भावो निपात्यते । सुहृन्मित्रम् । दुर्हृदमित्रः । अन्यत्र सुहृदयः । दुर्हृदयः ॥

888. The words suhṛit and durhṛit are irregularly formed Bahuvrîhi compounds, denoting "a friend" and "a foe" respectively.

The word सुहृत् is derived from सु + हृदय, the अय of हृदय being elided in the Bahuvrîhi. It means one whose heart is favourably disposed towards another. So also दुर्हृत् is derived from दुर् + हृदय, he whose heart is evil.

Why do we say "when meaning a friend and a foe respectively"? Observe सुहृदयः कारुणिकः 'the kind-hearted, merciful,' दुर्हृदयश्चोरः "the evil hearted thief."

८८९ । उरः प्रभृतिभ्यः कप् । ५ । ४ । १५१ ॥

व्यूढोरस्कः । प्रियसर्पिष्कः । इह पुमान्, अनड्वान्, पयः, नौः, लक्ष्मीरिति एकवचनान्तानि पठ्यन्ते । द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तेभ्यस्तु शेषाद्विभाषा इति विकल्पेन कप् । द्विपुमान् । द्विपुंस्कः ॥ अर्थान्नञः* ॥ अनर्थकम् । नञः किम् । अपार्थम् । अपार्थकम् ॥

889. The affix कप comes after uras &c., final in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus व्यूढोरस्कः = व्यूढमुरोऽस्य (VIII. 3. 38 S. 152). So also प्रियसर्पिष्कः (VIII. 3. 39 S. 153) अवसुक्तोपानत्कः ॥

The words पुमान्, अनड्वान्, पयः, नौः and लक्ष्मीः are exhibited in the list of Urasâdi words as nominative singular, and not in their crude-forms as is the case with other words. The reason of this is, that the singular number of these words take the affix कप्, and not their dual and plural numbers. With regard to the dual and plural of these, the affix कप् is optionally added by force of sûtra V. 4. 154 S. 891. Thus द्विपुमान् or द्विपुंस्कः, बहुपुमान् or बहुपुंस्क ॥

1 उरस्, 2 सर्पिस्, 3 उपानह्, 4 पुमान्, 5 अनड्वान्, 6 पयस्, 7 नौः, 8 लक्ष्मीः, 9 सचि 10 मधु, 11 शालि, 12 अर्थान्नञः ॥ (The affix कप् is added to अर्थ when preceded by the Negative particle नञ्, as अनर्थकम्) । Why do we say when preceded by the Negative particle नञ ? Observe अपार्थम् or अपार्थकम् ॥

८९० । इनः स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । १५२ ॥

बहुदण्डिका नगरी ॥ अनिनसन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ बहुवाग्मिका । स्त्रियां किम् ॥ बहुदण्डी बहुदण्डिको ग्रामः ॥

890. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrîhi the last member of which ends in इन्, when a feminine word is denoted.

Thus बहवो दण्डिनोऽस्यां नगर्याम्=बहुदण्डिका नगरी ॥ So also बहुवाग्मिका सभा ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting a feminine'? Observe बहुदण्डी or बहुदण्डिको ग्रामः॥ The latter form is derived by adding कप् optionally under V. 4. 134 S. 891.

Paribhâshâ:—Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar, denote by I. 1. *72*; S. 26 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस् and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning. ('Meaning,' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning,' *viz.* the meaning which grammarions assign to the affixes अन् &c.)

Therefore the rule applies to वाग्मिन् also. As बहुवाग्मिका सभा ॥

८६१ । शेषाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासान्ताच्छेषाधिकारस्थाद्बहुव्रीहेः कप् वा स्यात् । महायशस्कः । महौयशाः । अनुक्तेत्यादि किम । व्याघ्रपात् । सुगन्धिः । प्रियपथः । शेषाधिकारस्थात्किम् । उपबहवः । उत्तरपूर्वा । सपुत्रः । तन्त्रादिना शेषशब्देोऽर्थद्वयपरः ॥

891. After all other Bahuvrîhi compounds formed under II. 2. 23 S. 829, and not covered by the foregoing samâsânta rules, may optionally be added the affix कप् ॥

Thus महायशस्कः or महायशाः

Why do we say "after the rest"? Observe व्याघ्रपात्; सुगन्धिः; प्रियपथः, Here these words are formed by special samâsânta rules given before *e.g.* 874, 877 and 940.

The word शेष denotes all those Bahuvrîhis about which no special rule has been given above. How do you explain the forms अनृक्कं साम, बहृक्कं सूक्तं, in which the affix कप् is added, though these words are governed by the general rule V. 4. 74, S. 940 and ought to have taken the samasânta affix अ? The affix अ is added to ऋक् when the compound has a special meaning; such as अनृचः means 'a boy', बह्वृचः 'a charana.'

Why have we used the words "*seshâdhikârasthât*" in explaining the sûtra? These words mean "after a Bahuvrîhi falling under the scope of the rules of *Seshô* Bahuvrîhih' II. 2. 23 S. 829." Observe उपबहवः ॥ This is

a Bahuvrîhi not formed under the śesha rule II. 2. 23 S. 829, but by a special rule II. 2. 25 S. 843 : and hence it does not take कप् ॥ So also उत्तरपूर्वा a Bahuvrîhi formed by II. 2. 26 S. 845, and सपुत्रः formed by II. 2. 28 S. 848. In fact the word शेषः of II. 2. 23 S. 829 governs only II. 2. 24 S. 830 and not the remaining sûtras like 843, 846, 848 &c.

The word शेषात् of this sûtra is thus equivocal. It means *first* "after all those Bahuvrîhis for which no samâsânta has been taught:" *secondly* "after those Bahuvrîhis which are formed under "sesho Bahuvrîhi" rule." The word शेषात् thus conveys a double meaning. There are two views on this point: one school holds that for every *thought*, a separate word must be used. Their motto is अर्थभेदेन शब्दभेदः ॥ According to this view we should use the word शेषात् twice in this sûtra (âvritti.) But according to the other view, one word may express two ideas. Their motto is सत्यर्थ्यर्थभेदे शब्दस्याभेदः ॥ This gives rise to तन्त्र or stretching the meaning of a word. The Tantra view may be taken here, or the आवृत्ति view.

८९२। आपोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ४ । १५ ॥

कप्यावन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । बहुमालाकः । बहुमालकः । कबभावे बहुमालः ॥

892. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुमालाकः or बहुमालकः 'one who has many garlands' ॥ When कप् is not added, then बहुमालः ॥

८९३। न संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १५५ ॥

शेषादिति प्राप्तः कप् न स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । विश्वे देवा अस्य विश्वेदेवः ॥

893. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrîhi when a Name is meant.

This debars कप् ordained by V. 4. 154 S. 891 last. Thus विश्वेदेवा अस्य = विश्वेदेवः ॥

८९४। ईयसश्च । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

ईयसन्तोत्तरपदात्र कप् । बहवः श्रेयांसोऽस्य बहुश्रेयान् । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वे प्राप्ते ॥ ईयसो बहुव्रीहेर्नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ बह्वयः श्रेयस्योऽस्य बहुश्रेयसी । बहुव्रीहेः किम् । अतिश्रेयासिः ॥

894. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrîhi, the last member of which ends in the affix ईयस् ॥

This debars all the previous rules *i. e.* both the compulsory and the

optional कप् ॥ Thus बहवः श्रेयांसोऽस्य = बहुश्रेयान्. (V. 3. 57 S. 2005) Here rule V. 4. 154 S. 891 is debarred. बहव्यः श्रेयस्योऽस्य = बहुश्रेयसी, here rule V. 4. 135 S. 833 is prohibited. By rule I. 2. 48 S. 656 the long final ई ought to have been shortened, but this is not done by considering it as a masculine by the following Vârtika.

Vart:—In Bahuvrîhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Why do we say 'of a Bahuvrîhi'? Observe अतिश्रेयसि ॥

८९५। वन्दिते भ्रातुः। ५। ४। १५७ ॥

पूजितेऽर्थे यो भ्रातृशब्दस्तदन्तात्र कप् स्यात्। प्रशस्तो भ्राता यस्य प्रशस्तभ्राता। न पूजनादीति निषेधस्तु बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोरित्यतः प्राग्वेति वक्ष्यते। वन्दिते किम्। मूर्खभ्रातृकः ॥

895. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrîhi ending in the word bhrâtṛi, when it means 'praised.'

The word वन्दितः means 'praised,' 'respected' &c. Thus शोभना भ्राता अस्य = सुभ्राता 'one having a good brother.' As a general rule, samâsânta affixes are not added, when respect is meant. See V. 4. 69 S. 954. But the prohibition of that sûtra has its scope only upto V. 4. 113 S. 852, and not on sûtras after that. Hence the necessity of the present sûtra. Why do we say when it means "praised"? Observe मूर्खभ्रातृकः, दुष्टभ्रातृकः ॥

८९६। नाडीतन्त्र्योः स्वाङ्गे। ५। ४। १५९ ॥

स्वाङ्गे यौ नाडीतन्त्रीशब्दौ तदन्तात्कप् न स्यात्। बहुनाडिः कायः। बहुतन्त्रीर्ग्रीवा। तन्त्रीर्धमनी स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्नत्वाभावाद्ङीर्न। स्वाङ्गे किम्। बहुनाडीकः स्तम्भः। बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥

896. The affix कप् does not come after the words nâḍî, and tantrî final in a Bahuvrîhi, when they mean organs of body.

Thus बहवो नाडोऽस्य = बहुनाडिः कायः, बहुतन्त्रीर्ग्रीवा ॥ बहुतन्त्रीर्धमनी. The word तन्त्री means 'an artery.' Why do we say meaning "parts of body"? Observe, बहुनाडीकः स्तम्भः, बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥ The word नाडी is a feminine word formed by ङीप् that comes after jâti; तन्त्री is formed by the Uṇâdi affix ई (Uṇâdi III. 158). In बहुनाडिः the long ई is shortened as being an upasarjana (I. 2. 48 S. 655); but the ई of तन्त्री is not shortened' as ई here is not a feminine affix, but a kṛit affix (कृत् स्त्रियाः प्रतिषेधः; See I. 2. 48 S. 656 also).

८९७। निष्प्रवाणिश्च । ५ । ४ । १६० ॥

कबभावोऽत्र निपात्यते । प्रपूर्वाद्वयतेर्ल्युट् । प्रवाणी तन्तुवायशलाका । निर्गता प्रवाण्यस्य निष्प्रवाणिः पटः । समाप्तवानः नव इत्यर्थः ॥

897. The word निष्प्रवाणि is irregularly formed, without adding the affix कप्, though the last word is a Nadî word.

The word प्रवाणी means either प्रीयतेऽस्यां or प्रवयन्ति तया ॥ Here ल्युट् is added to the root वि 'to weave': and denotes the instrument of weaving *i. e.* 'a shuttle.' निर्गता प्रवाणी अस्य = निष्प्रवाणिः पटः, निष्प्रवाणिः कम्बलः = अपनीतशलकः "a new unbleached cloth or blanket," from which the shuttle has not yet been extracted, fresh from the loom. The न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 29. S. 2835.

८९८। सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ । २ । २ । ३५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं प्रयोज्यम् । कण्ठेकालः । अत एव ज्ञापकाद्व्यधिकरणपदो बहुव्रीहिः । चित्रगुः ॥

सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ सर्वश्वेतः ॥ द्विशुक्लः ॥

मियोऽन्ययेः समासे संख्या पूर्वम् । शब्दपरविप्रतिषेधात् ॥ द्व्यन्यः ॥

संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः* ॥ द्वित्राः

द्वन्द्वेऽपि । द्वादश ॥

वा प्रियस्य * ॥ गुडप्रियः । प्रियगुडः ॥

गडुरादेः परा सप्तमी * ॥ गडुकण्ठः । क्वचिन्न । वहेगडुः ॥

898. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrîhi compound.

In a Bahuvrîhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' From the jñâpaka of this sûtra, we infer the existence of the Vyadhikaraṇa Bahuvrîhi—a Bahuvrîhi compound, the first member of which is not in apposition to the second or stands in a different case relation to the second, in the dissolution of the compound, as चक्रपाणिः, चंद्रमौलिः &c. So also उरसिलोमा, चित्रगुः, शबलगुः.

Vârt:—The sarvanamas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः द्विशुक्लः.

Vârt:—In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanâma words with a sankhyâ word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयन्यः.

Vârt:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as त्रिद्वाः 'two and three,'

Vârt:—Also in a Dvandva compound (the numeral which is less in value is placed first); thus द्वादश 'two and ten, that is twelve.'

Vârt:—The word प्रिय may optionally stand first; as गुडप्रियः or प्रियगुडः.

Vart:—After the words गडु &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गडुकण्ठः 'a hemp-necked'; गडुशिराः &c.

How is then the word वहेगडुः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vârtika.

८९९। निष्ठा। २। २। ३६॥

निष्ठान्तं बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं स्यात्। कृतकृत्यः॥ जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परा निष्ठा वाच्या *॥ सारङ्गजग्धी। मासजाता। सुखजाता। प्रायिकं चेदम्। कृतकटः। पीतोदकः॥

899. What ends with a Nishṭhâ (I. 1. 26 S. 3012) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus कृत्यकृत्यः॥

So also युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकटः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jâti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, सारङ्गजग्धी, मासजातः and सुखजातः &c.

This rule is not of universal application, as we have words like कृतकटः and पीतोदकः also.

९००। वाहिताग्न्यादिषु। २। २। ३७॥

आहिताग्निः। अग्न्याहितः। आकृतिगणोऽयम्॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यः परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ *॥ अस्युद्यतः। दण्डपाणिः॥ क्वचिन्न। विवृतासिः॥

900. In the compounds âhitâgni and the like, the Nishṭhâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

This आहिताग्नि class is âkṛitigaṇa ; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishṭhâ or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्युद्यतः 'ready with sword'; दण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.' But some times not so, as in विवृतासिः "drawn-sword."

Here end Bahuvrîhi compounds.

:o:

अथ द्वन्द्व समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XX.

THE DVANDVA COMPOUNDS.

९०१ । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । २ । २ । २९ ॥

अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स द्वन्द्वः । समुच्चयान्वाचयेतरेतरयोगसमाहाराश्चार्थाः । परस्परनिरपेक्षस्यानेकस्य एकस्मिन्नन्वयः समुच्चयः । अन्यतरस्यानुषङ्गिकत्वेऽन्वाचयः । मिलितानामन्वय इतरेतरयोगः । समूहः समाहारः । तमेश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्वेति समुच्चये, भिक्षामट गां चानयेत्यन्वाचये च, न समासोऽसामर्थ्यात् । धवखदिरौ । संज्ञापरिभाषम् । अनेकोक्तेर्द्वौ द्वावेव द्वन्द्वोद्गातारः । द्वयोर्द्वयोर्द्वन्द्वं कृत्वा पुनर्द्वन्द्वे तु होतापोतानेष्टोद्गातारः ॥

901. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and,' the set is optionally made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meaning that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतरयोगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *viz.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1 S. 647). Composition is enjoined, therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and aggregation. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामट गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्त्वचम्, वाग्दृषदम्, संज्ञापरिभाषम् ॥

1. When two or more independent words not related with each other, are grammatically in the same case, their conjunction, will be samuchchaya. As ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व "reverence God and Guru." Here there can be no compounding, as there is no sâmarthya. In this example, two *things* (dravya) have been collected under one verb (kriyâ). Similarly in राज्ञो गजाश्वम् "the elephant and the horse of the king." Here there is samuchchaya of two things under one thing. पटः शुक्लो रक्तश्च "The picture is white and red." Here two *attributes* are brought under *one* substantive. रक्तः पटः, कुण्डलं च

"Red picture and ornament." Here two substances are collected under one attribute.

2. When one action, is used as collateral to a principal action, it gives rise to the union called anwâchaya: as, भिक्षामट; गां चानय "Go for alms and bring the cow." Here he might not bring the cow, if he does not see it, though his begging will not be stopped. But if he does not go out a begging, he cannot bring the cow. So going out a begging is the principal action.

Therefore, in भिक्षामट गां चानय, there is no compounding, because the words are not directly related to one another. The want of sâmarthya here is want of ekârthîbhâva.

In धवखदिरौ "the Mimosea and the Grislea," संज्ञापरिभाषम् "an appellative and a maxim of interpretation," there is compounding, as itaretara and samâhâra, respectively.

The Dvandva compound of the four words होतृ, पोतृ, नेष्टृ and उद्गातृ may be either होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः or होतापोतानेष्टोद्गातारः॥ The first denotes many hotṛis, potṛis &c. The second is an example where hotṛi and potṛi are first compounded as a Dwandva, and then नेष्टृ and उद्गातृ as another Dvandva. Then these two compound words are again compounded as a larger Dvandva.

In the first example, there is not आनङ् substitution for the final of होतृ and पोतृ (VI. 3. 25 S. 921) because there is no uttarapada after them. See S. 921 and 831.

६०२। राजदन्तादिषु परम्। २। २। ३१॥

एषु पूर्वप्रयोगार्हं परं स्यात्। दन्तानां राजा राजदन्तः। धर्मादिष्वनियमः* ॥ अर्थधर्मौ। धर्मार्थौ। दम्पती। जम्पती। जायापती। जायाशब्दस्य जम्भावो दम्भावश्च वा निपात्यते। आकृतिगणोऽयम् * ॥

902. The upasarjana is to be put last in the words Râjadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) 'a chief of teeth' (*i. e.*, an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. अग्नेवणम्. 3. लिप्तवासितम्. 4. नग्नमुषितम्. 5. सिक्तसंसृष्टम्. 6. सृष्टलुञ्चितम्. 7. अवक्लिन्नपक्वम्. 8. अर्पितोप्तम्. 9. (अर्पितोप्तम्). 10 उप्तगाढम्. 11. उलूखलमुसलम्. 12. तण्डुलक्विण्वम्. 13. हृषदुपलम्. 14. आरुद्धा

यनि. 15. (आरग्वायनबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथवाल्हीकम्. 17. अवन्त्यश्मकम्. 18. शद्वार्थम्. 19. ज्ञातकराजानौ. 20. विश्वकसेनार्जुनौ. 21. अक्षिध्रुवम्. 22. शारगवम् 23. शब्दार्थौ. 24. धर्मार्थौ. 25. कामार्थौ. 26. अर्थशब्दौ. 27. अर्थधर्मौ. 28. अर्थकामौ. 29. वैकारिमतम्. 30. गोजवाजम्. 31. गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालिधानपूलासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूलासम्). 34. पूलासकारण्डम्. 35. पूलासककुरण्डम्). 36. स्थूलासम. 37. (स्थूलपूलासम्). 38. उशीरबीजम. 39. (जिज्ञास्थि). 40. सिञ्जास्थम्. 41. (सिञ्जइवत्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति). 44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49. पुत्रपशू. 50. केशदमश्रू or दमश्रुकेशौ. 51. शिरोविजु. 52. शिरोवीजम्. 53. शिरोजानु. 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिषी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तादी. 58. गुणवृद्धी. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

Vârtika:—"In regard to the words धर्म and the like, there is no fixed rule. Thus अर्थधर्मौ or धर्मार्थौ 'wealth and virtue' or 'virtue and wealth.' So also दम्पती, जम्पती or जायापती. The word जाया is changed to जम् or दम् irregularly. These belong to âkritigaṇa.

Note:—दम्पती is really a compound of दम "home" and पति 'master or mistress' दम is the same word as the Latin domus "home," as in "domestic." दम्पती means "the two masters of the house—*i. e.* the husband and wife."

९०३। द्वन्द्वे घि। २। २। ३२॥

द्वन्द्वे घिसंज्ञं पूर्वं स्यात्। हरिश्च हरश्च हरिहरौ॥ अनेकप्राप्तावेकत्र नियमोऽनियमः शेषे*॥ हरिगुरुहराः। हरिहरगुरवः॥

903. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called घि (1. 4. 7 S. 243) stand first.

As हरिहरौ 'Hari and Hara.'

Vârtika:—Where there are more than one such घि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest do not follow any fixed rule. As हरिगुरुहराः or हरिहरगुरवः

Note:—Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्पष्टपटुः which is a Tat-purusha.

९०४। अजाद्यदन्तम्। २। २। ३३॥

इदं द्वन्द्वे पूर्वं स्यात्। इशकृष्णौ।*

बहुष्वनियमः*। अश्वरथेन्द्राः। इन्द्राश्वरथाः॥*

ध्यन्तादजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन*॥ इन्द्राग्नी॥

904. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, ईशकृष्णौ 'Iśa and Krishṇa.'

Vart:—When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule. As अश्ववरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्राश्वरथा : ॥

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds, the घि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजाद्यदन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी. Here अग्नि though घि, does not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2 S. 175.)

Note:—Why do we say 'अत् with a तृ' (I. 1. 70 S. 50.)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषौ or वृषाश्वे.

९०५ । अल्पाच्तरम् । २ । २ । ३४ ॥

शिवकेशवौ ॥

ऋतुनक्षत्राणां समाक्षराणामानुपूर्व्येण * ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः । कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ । समाक्षराणां किम् । ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ ॥

लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वम् * ॥ कुशकाशम् ॥

अभ्यर्हितं च ° ॥ तापसपर्वतौ ॥

वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण * ॥ ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविट्शूद्राः ॥

भातुर्ज्यार्थसः * ॥ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ ॥

905. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus शिव + केशव = शिवकेशवौ ॥

Note:—When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखदुन्दुभि-वीणाः or वीणाशंखदुन्दुभयः.

Vârt:—Names of seasons and stars when they consist of equal number of syllables, should be arranged in the compound, according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ.

Why do we say 'when they consist of equal syllables?' Observe ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ, Here the shorter has been placed first.

Vârt:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first.

As, कुशकाशं ; 'a bundle of Kuśa and Kâśa grasses.' कुश and काश are two kinds of grass.

Vârt:—The more honorable of the two is placed first ; as तापस पर्वतौ "Tâpasa and Parvata." वासुदेवार्जुनौ "Vâsudeva and Arjuna" (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478).

Vârt:—The castes are placed according to their order : as ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिय विट् शूद्राः 'Brâhmaṇa-Kshatriya-Vaiśya and Śudra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vârt:—The name of the elder brother is placed first ; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna.'

९०६ । द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् । २ । ४ । २ ॥

एषां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । पाणिपादम् । मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाश्वारोहम् ॥
समाहारस्यैकत्वाद्वैकत्वे सिद्धे नियमार्थं प्रकरणम्; प्राण्यङ्गादीनां समाहार एव यथा स्यात् ॥

906. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal boby, members of a band of players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोग्रीवं 'the head and neck' मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् 'the players on the mṛidaṅga and paṇava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' वीणावादकपरिवादकम्, रथिकपाशतम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samâhâra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only ; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29 S. 901) A Samâhâra would have been naturally singular, because it denotes unity, the present rule is, therefore, a niyama or a restrictive rule. That is, the samâhâra compound of limbs is only singular, and other kind of compound of members of living body &c., need not be singular.

Note :—In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional ; (II. 4. 12. S. 916). The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samâhâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14 S. 918). are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva ; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12 S. 916) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva.

९०७ । अनुवादे चरणानाम् । २ । ४ । ३ ॥

चरणानां द्वन्द्वः एकवस्त्यास्त्रिषूद्भस्योपन्यासे ॥

स्थेणोर्लुङीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ उद्गात्कठकालापम् । प्रत्यष्ठात्कठकौथुमम् ॥

907. A Dvandva compound of words signifiying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools, when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

Note:—The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and here means students or pupils who belong to a particular school and study that particular branch. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvâda. Another meaning of this word is "the recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt as distinguished from learning them the first time."

Vârt:—This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इण् only; as उद्गात् कठकालापम् (इहयदा कठेषु कालापेषु च प्रतिष्ठितेषु चावाभ्यां यत्र गन्तव्यमिति संकेतयित्वा तत् संकेतं विस्मृत्यासीनं प्रतीदमुच्यते) ॥ प्रत्यष्ठात् कठकौथुमम् 'kaṭha and kauthuma established again.'

Note:—Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उद्युः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यष्ठुः कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इण् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उद्यन्ति कठकालापाः ॥

Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.'

९०८ । अध्वर्युक्रतुरनपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ४ ॥

यजुर्वेदे विहितो यः क्रतुस्तद्वाचिनामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवस्त्यात् । अर्काश्वमेधम् । अध्वर्युक्रतुः किम् । इषुवज्रौ सामवेदे विहितौ । अनपुंसकं किम् । राजसूयवाजपेये ॥ अर्धर्चादी ॥

908. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided that, they are never used in the neuter gender.

As अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices ? Observe इषुवज्रौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies.' These sacrifices are ordained in the Sâma-Veda.

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Râjasûya and Vâjapeya sacrifices.' अधर्चादी (II. 4. 31 S. 816).

Note :—Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासौ ? Because the word क्रतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifice in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamâsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

६०६ । अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् । २ । ४ । ५ ॥

अध्ययनेन प्रत्यासन्ना आख्या येषां तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । पदक्रमकम् ॥

909. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement.

Note :—Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवैयाकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

६१० । जातिरप्राणिनाम् । २ । ४ । ६ ॥

प्राणिवर्ज्यजातिवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । धानाशष्कुलि । प्राणिनां तु विट्शूद्राः । द्रव्यजातीयानामेव । नेह । रूपरसौ । गमनाकुञ्चने । जातिप्राधान्य एवायमेकवद्भावः । द्रव्यविशेषविवक्षायां तु बदरामलकानि ॥

910. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jâti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus धानाशष्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Note :—Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Pânchajanya.' These are Sanjña words or Proper Names.

When denoting living beings then विट्शूद्राः (and not विट्शूद्रम्) 'Vaisyas and Sudras.' Here there is plural number by I. 2. 58. S. 817, though the words are jâti denoting.

This rule applies to the jâti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jâti names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसौ 'colour, and savour,' गमनाकुञ्चने 'going and contraction.'

Even with jâti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however. the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, बदरामलकानि 'in this bowl are the badari and âmalaki fruits.' Here there is elision of the Taddhita affix by IV. 3. 163 S. 1541. The feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49. S. 1408. See also II. 4. 12 S. 916.

Note :—The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jâti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscidity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

९११ । विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः । २ । ४ । ७ ॥

ग्रामवर्ज्यनदीदेशवाचिनां भिन्नलिङ्गानां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्। उद्धश्च इरावती च उद्धेरावति। गङ्गा च शोणश्च गङ्गाशोणम्। कुरवश्च कुरुक्षेत्रं च कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रम्। भिन्नलिङ्गानां किम्। गङ्गायमुने मद्रकेकयाः। अग्रामाः किम्। जाम्बवं नगरम्। शाकुनिनौ ग्रामः। जाम्बवशाकुनिन्यौ ॥

911. A samâhara Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and of countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus उद्धेरावति "The Uddhya and Irâvatî," The Uddhya is a river (nada).

So also. गंगाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.'

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गंगायमुने 'the Ganges and the Yâmuna.' Both being feminine gender; so also मद्रकेकयाः ॥ But the rule does not apply to गङ्गाकुरुक्षेत्रे for one is a river and the other a country.

The word विशिष्ट of the sûtra is derived from the root शिषि meaning "to separate, differentiate," with क्त ॥ It means separate.

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुक्कुटमयुरौ 'the hen and the peahen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशालूकिन्यौ 'Jâmbaba (a city) and Sâlukinî (a village)' which are the names of a village and a town.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलाशगन्धमादने 'the Kailâsa and the Gandhamâdana.

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grâma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रे 'the cities of Mathura and Pâtaliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

९१२। क्षुद्रजन्तवः। २। ४। ८॥

एषां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्। यूकालिक्षम्। आनकुलाक्षुद्रजन्तवः॥

912. A Samâhara Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिक्षम् 'the louse and the nit.'

Note:—The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size.

All below the mongoose are kshudrajantu.

९१३। येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः। २। ४। ९॥

एषां प्राग्वत्। आहिनकुलम्॥ गोव्याघ्रम्॥ काकोलूकमित्यादौ परस्माद्विभाषा वृक्षमृगेति प्राप्तं चकारेण बाध्यते॥

913. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only, among whom there is permanent enmity (i. e. natural antipathy or quarrel), is singular.

The word विरोधः means enmity: and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, आहिनकुलं 'the snake and the mongoose.' गोव्याघ्रम् 'the cow and the tiger.' काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

Note:—Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालंकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupâli and Sâlankâyana are quarrelling.' देवासुरैरमृतमम्बुनिधिर्मन्थे ॥ The enmity between the Devas and Asuras is not permanent, for they co-operated in churning the ocean.

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus the rule II. 4. 12 S. 916 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4, 2. S. 175) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as गोव्याघ्रम् 'the tiger and the cow' काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

९१४। शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम्। २। ४। १०॥

अबहिष्कृतानां शूद्राणां प्राग्वत्। तक्षायस्कारम्। पात्राद्बहिष्कृतानां तु चण्डालमृतपाः॥

914. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Śûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तक्षायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith.'

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपाः 'the Chandâla and the Mritapa.'

Note:—The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish). This shows that there was interdining between the Śûdras and the twice-born in the days of Pâṇini.

A Śûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvâsita Śûdra.

९१५। गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि च। २। ४। ११॥

यथोक्तानि साधूनि स्युः। गवाश्वम्। दासीदासमित्यादि॥

915. The word gavâśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also दासीदासम्॥ Here the elision of the first member required by I. 2. 67 S. 933 does not take place. These compounds are valid only so far as enumerated by Pâṇini specifically in the subjoined list.

1. गवाश्वम् ॥ 2. गवाविकम् ॥ 3. गवैडकम् ॥ 4. अजाविकम् ॥ 5. अजैडकम् ॥ 6. कुब्जवामनम् ॥ 7. कुब्जकैरातकम् ॥ 8. पुत्रपौत्रम् ॥ 9. श्वचण्डालम् ॥ 10. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ 11. दासीमाणवकम् ॥ 12. शाटीपिच्छकम् ॥ 13. उष्ट्रखरम् ॥ 14. उष्ट्रशशम् ॥ 15. मूत्रशकृत् ॥ 16. मूत्रपुरीषम् ॥ 17. यकृन्मेदः ॥ 18. मांसशोणितम् ॥ 19. दर्भशरम् ॥ 20. दर्भपूतीकम् ॥ 21. अर्जुनशिरीषम् ॥ 22. तृणोलपम् ॥ 23. दासीदासम् ॥ 24. कुटीकुटम् ॥ 25. भगवतीभागवतम् ॥

Vart:— In this list, the forms as given, are singular ; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वौ ॥ In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

९१६। विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् । २ । ४ । १२ ॥

वृक्षादीनां सप्तानां द्वन्द्वः । अश्ववडवेत्यादि द्वन्द्वत्रयं च प्राग्वद्वा । वृक्षादौ विशेषाणामेव ग्रहणम् । प्लक्षन्यग्रोधम् । प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः । रुरुपृषतम् । रुरुपृषताः । कुशकाशम् । कुशकाशाः । व्रीहियवम् । व्रीहियवाः । दधिघृतम् । दधिघृते । गोमहिषम् । गोमहिषाः । शुकबकम् । शुकबकाः । अश्ववडवम् । अश्ववडवौ । पूर्वापरम् । पूर्वापरे । अधरोत्तरम् । अधरोत्तरे ॥

फलसेनावनस्पतिमृगशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानां बहुग्रकृतिरेव द्वन्द्वः एकवदिति वाच्यम् * ॥ बदराणि चामलकानि च बदरामलकम् । जातिरप्राणिनामित्येकवद्भावः । नेह बदरामलके । रथिकाश्वारोहौ । प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ इत्यादि । विभाषावृक्षेति सूत्रे यऽप्राणिनस्तेषां ग्रहणं । जातिरप्राणिनामिति नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थम् । पशुग्रहणं हस्त्यश्वादिषु सेनाङ्गत्वान्नित्ये प्राप्ते । मृगाणां मृगैरेव शकुनीनां तैरेवोभयत्र द्वन्द्वः । अन्यैस्तु सहेतरेतरयोग एवेति नियमार्थं मृगशकुनिग्रहणम् । एवं पूर्वापरमधरोत्तरमित्यपि । अश्ववडवग्रहणं तु पक्षे नपुंसकत्वार्थम् । अन्यथा परत्वात्पूर्ववदश्ववडवाविति स्यात् ॥

916. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of 1. trees, 2. wild animals, 3. grass 4. corn, 5. condiment, 6. domestic beasts and 7. birds, and the compounds, 1. aśva-vaḍava, 2. purvâ-para and 3. adharottara, are optionally singular.

Thus, प्लक्षन्यग्रोधम् or प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes' ; कुशकाशम् or कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kâśa grass'; व्रीहियवम् or व्रीहियवाः 'the rice and the barley' दधिघृतम् or° ते 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or षाः 'the cow and the buffalo'; शुकबकम् or° काः 'the parrot and the crane birds'; अश्ववडवम् or° वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or° रे 'the first and the last ; अधरोत्तरम् or° रे 'the upper and lower.'

Vart:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is

singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively. When they are each in Plural number, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as बदराणि चामलकानि = बदरामलकम् Here there is singular number by II. 4. 6 S, 910. But not so in the following बदरामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an âmalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाश्वारोहौ 'a charioteer and a horseman'; प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुपृषतौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाकौ 'a Hansa and a Chakravâka bird.'; यूकालिक्षे 'a louse and a nit'; व्रीहियवौ 'a brîhi and yava grain'; कुशकाशौ 'the kuśa and kâśa grass., In this sûtra, those words which denote non-animate beings such as trees, and corn &c., would have taken compulsory singular by II. 4. 6. S. 910; the present sûtra ordains optional singular in their case. In the case of domestic animals like elephants and horses, the singular would have been compulsory under II. 4. 2. S. 906, because they form component parts of an army corps. This sûtra ordains option. Why are the words मृग, शकुनि mentioned separately in the sûtra; when they would have taken general Dvandva by the general rule II. 2, 29 S. 901? It is so taken in order to indicate that मृग words are compounded with मृग words only, and शकुनि with शकुनि for the purposes of this rule. With others they will form Itaretara dvandva, and not samâhâra.

Thus this is a niyama or restrictive rule. Beasts and birds cannot be mutually compounded into a samâhâra Dvandva. Beasts with beasts, and birds with birds will form a samâhâra; but beasts with birds will form Itaretara Dvandva only.

So also is the case with पूर्वापरम् and अधरोत्तरम् ॥

The compound अश्ववडवम् is read in the sûtra in order to indicate, that in the alternative it is neuter. For अश्व and वडव being both पशु would have come under the scope of this rule, without specific mention. Their separate mention makes a particular rule regarding them. Therefore when we use अश्ववडवं in the singular, the rule II. 4. 27 S. 813 is debarred, the compound does not take the gender of the first, but is governed by II. 4. 17. S. 821 and is Neuter. In fact, the *subsequent* sûtra II. 4. 27 S. 813 is set aside by the prior sûtra II. 4. 17 S. 821 because the singular अश्ववडवम् is a pratipada vidhâna samâsa.

९१७। विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि। २। ४। १२ ॥

विरुद्धार्थानामद्रव्यवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वा स्यात्। शीतोष्णम्। शीतोष्णे। वैकल्पिकः समाहारद्वन्द्वश्चार्थे द्वन्द्व इति सूत्रेण प्राप्तः स विरुद्धार्थानां यदि भवति तर्हि अद्रव्यवाचिनामेवेति नियमार्थमिदम्। तेन द्रव्यवाचिनामितरेतरयोग एव। शीतोष्णे उदके स्तः। विप्रतिषिद्धं किम्। नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ। इह पात्तिकः समाहारद्वन्द्वो भवत्येव ॥

917. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of material substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. The word *adhikaraṇa* means material things a dravya. च indicates the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sûtra. By sûtra II. 2. 29 S. 901, the samâhâra Dvandva is optional; for that sûtra is governed by the great option of II. 1. 11 S. 665. When there is such an optional compounding of antinomes, it can be of those antinomes only which do not denote a substance. Thus the present sûtra creates a niyama or restriction, of substance-denoting antinomes, where we have Itaretara Dvandva only and not samâhâra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ which are not of contrary significations. Here there certainly will take place in the other alternative the optional samâhâra Dvandva also.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances, and therefore their compound is Itaretara Dvandva and optionally samâhâra also.

९१८। न दधिपयआदीनि। २। ४। १४॥

एतानि नैकवत्स्युः। दधिपयसी। इध्मबर्हिषी। निपातनादीर्घः। ऋक्सामे। वाङ्मनसे॥

918. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayas' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; इध्मबर्हिषी 'the fuel and the ghee.' The short अ of इध्म is lengthened irregularly. So also ऋक्सामे 'the Rig and the Sâma-Veda"; वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind."

Note:—With this sûtra begins prohibition of singular number, which the previous sûtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी॥ 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिषी॥ 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती॥ 4. शिववैश्रवणौ॥ 5. स्कन्दविशाखौ॥ 6. परिव्राट्कौशिकौ॥ 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसदौ॥ 8. शुक्लकृष्णौ॥ 9. इध्मबर्हिषी॥ निपातनादीर्घः॥ 10. दीक्षातपसी॥ 11. अक्षौतपसी॥ 12. मेधातपसी॥

13. अध्ययनतपसी ॥ 14. उलूखलमुसले ॥ 15. आद्यावसाने ॥ 16. श्रद्धामेधे ॥ 17. ऋक्सामे ॥ 18. वाङ्मनसे ॥

९१९ । अधिकरणैतावत्त्वे च । २ । ४ । १५॥

द्रव्यसंख्यावगमे एकवद्वेवेति नियमो न स्यात् । दश दन्तोष्ठाः ॥

919, A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etâvatva) of material things (adhikarana) is not singular.

There is no general rule (niyama) that such a compound should be singular.

As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; Compare II. 4. 2.

९२० । विभाषासमीपे । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य सामीप्येन परिच्छेदे समाहार एवेत्येवंरूपो नियमो वा स्यात् । उपदशं दन्तोष्ठम् । उपदशाः दन्तोष्ठाः ॥

920. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of material objects is optionally singular.

There may be a general rule (niyama) that such a compound shall be a samâhara only.

Thus उपदशदन्तोष्ठम् or उपदश दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten i. e. nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips.'

९२१ । आनङ् ऋतोद्वन्द्वे । ६ । ३ । २५ ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिनामृदन्तानां द्वन्द्वे आनङ् स्यादुत्तरपदे परे । होतापोतारौ । होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः । मातापितरौ । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामित्यतो मण्डूकप्लुत्या पुत्रे इत्यनुवृत्तेः पितापुत्रौ ॥

921. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expresssing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोद्गातारौ, but होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः ॥ Here the आनङ् replaces the ऋ of नेष्टृ only which is followed by the uttarapada उद्गातृ, and not the ऋ of होतृ and पोतृ which are not followed by an uttarapada. प्रशास्तृप्रतिहर्तारौ मातापितरौ, The anuvritti of पुत्रे is understood here, from VI. 3. 21 S. 980 so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also; though

it does not end in ऋ ॥ As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥ यातानन्तरौ ॥ The anuvṛitti of पुत्र is read in this sûtra by the method of frog leap.

The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a र comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of ऋ ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ'? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥

९२२। देवताद्वन्द्वे च। ६। ३। २६॥

इहोत्तरपदे परे आनङ्। मित्रावरुणौ ॥

वायुशब्दप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधः * ॥ अग्निवायू । वाय्वग्नी । पुनर्द्वन्द्वग्रहणं प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यस्य परिग्रहार्थम्। तेन ब्रह्मप्रजापती इत्यादौ नानङ् । एतद्धि नैकहविर्भागित्वेन श्रुतं नापि लोके प्रसिद्धं साहचर्यम् ॥

922. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devatâs.

Thus मित्रावरुणौ ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वाय्वग्नी ॥

The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sûtra, in spite of its anuvṛitti from the last, shows that the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापती शिववैश्रवणौ ॥ These Devatâs are not joint in participating in a common oblation, nor are they known among people to always go to-gether. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

९२३। ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः। ६। ३। २७॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे इत्येव ॥

923. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नि + सोम = अग्नी + सोम ॥ Now applies the next sûtra by which स is changed to ष ॥

९२४। अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः। ८। ३। ८२॥

अग्नेः परेषामेषां सस्य षः स्यात्समासे । अग्निष्टुत् । अग्निष्टोमः । अग्नीषोमौ । अग्नीवरुणौ ॥

924. ष् is substituted for the स् of स्तुत्, स्तोम and सोम, when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निष्टुत्, अग्निष्टोमः, अग्नीषोमौ। अग्निवरुणौ ॥

Ishti:—The इ of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened ई, that the स of सोम is changed to ष, otherwise not. As अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ ॥ So also अग्निसोमौ तिष्ठतः (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोमः ॥

The word अग्निष्टुत् is formed by क्विप्, the *sacrifice* in which Agni is praised (स्तूयते) is so called. अग्निष्टोमः is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (संस्था) of the Soma-yâga. अग्नीषोमः is a देवता-द्वन्द्वः so where there is no Devatâ-Dvandva, the ष change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Aśvalâyana there is lengthening and ष change in the last case also, as. अग्नीषोमौ प्रणेष्यामि ॥

६२५। इदूवृद्धौ। ६। ३। २८॥

वृद्धिमत्युत्तरपदे अग्नेरिदादेशः स्याद्देवताद्वन्द्वे। अग्नामरुतौ देवते अस्य आग्निमारुतं कर्म। अग्नीवरुणौ देवते अस्य आग्निवारुणम्। देवताद्वन्द्वे चेत्युभयपदवृद्धिः। अलौकिके वाक्ये आनङमीत्वं च बाधित्वा इत्। वृद्धौ किम्। आग्नेन्द्रः। नेन्द्रस्य परस्येत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः। विष्णौ न * ॥ आग्नावैष्णवम् ॥

925. The short इ is the substitute of the final of अग्नि, in such a Dvandva, in which both members take the Vṛiddhi.

The substitution of इ for इ may appear superfluous; but it is really for the sake of debarring the long ई of the last sûtra.

Thus आग्निवारुणी, which would have required long ई by the last rule: आग्निमारुतम्, which would have required आनङ् by VI. 3. 26. Thus आग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत, आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रीयेत ॥ अग्नीमरुतौ देवतेऽस्य (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226), takes the Taddhita affix, अण् and by VII. 3. 21, S. 1239 both members of the compound take Vṛiddhi. When both members do not take Vṛiddhi, the rule does not apply: as आग्नेन्द्रः (अग्निरिन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vṛiddhi, by VII. 3. 22 S. 1240.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows: as आग्नावैष्णवं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ The इ being prohibited, there comes आनङ् of

९२६। दिवो द्यावा। ६। ३। २९॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे। द्यावाभूमी। द्यावाक्षामे॥

926. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names of the Devatâs, when it is followed by a second member.

Thus द्यावाक्षामा, (Rig Veda X.36. 1) द्यावाभूमी॥ (Rig VedaVII. 62. 4).

८२७। दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम्। ६। ३। ३०॥

दिव इत्येव चादू द्यावा। आदेशे अकारोच्चारणं सकारस्य रुत्वं मा भूदित्येतदर्थम्। द्यौश्च पृथिवी च दिवस्पृथिव्यौ। द्यावापृथिव्यौ॥ छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधिः॥ द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी। दिवस्पृथिव्योररतिरित्यत्र पदकारा विसर्गं पठन्ति॥

927. For दिव् is also, substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatâs.

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस ending in अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or visarga or upadhmânîya when followed by पृथिवी Following is an anomalous use, there being no Dvandva compounding here. द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते॥ (Rig Veda II. 12.13.) For in the chhandas the usage determines the rule. In दिवस्पृथिव्योररतिः the authors of Pada Pâtha read the दिवस् as दिवः with a visarga.

९२८। उषासोषसः। ६। ३। ३१॥

उषस्शब्दस्योषासादेशो देवताद्वन्द्वे। उषासासूर्यम्॥

928. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatâ-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूर्यम्, उषासानक्ता॥ (Rig Veda X. 36. 1) These are samâhâra compounds of उषा and सूर्य &c.

९२९। मातरपितरावुदीचाम्। ६। ३। ३२॥

मातरपितरौ। उदीचां किम्। मातापितरौ॥

929. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरङ् substitution of the ऋ of मातृ॥ Why do we say "according to Northern authors"? The other form is मातापितरौ॥

९३० । द्वन्द्वाच्चुदषहान्तात्समाहारे । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥

चवर्गान्ताद्दषहान्ताच्च द्वन्द्वाट्टच् स्यात्समाहारे । वाक् च त्वक् च वाक्त्वचम् । त्वक्स्रजम् । शमीदृषदम् । वात्तिविषम् । छत्रोपानहम् । समाहारे किम् । प्रावृट्शरदौ ॥

930. The affix ṭach comes after a Dvandva compound ending in a palatal, or a ट् or a ष् or a ह् ; when the compound is a Samâhâra Dvandva (collective noun taken as a unity).

The anuvṛitti of Tatpurusha which commenced at V. 4. 86, ceases. The rule applies to समाहारद्वन्द्व "an aggregate Dvandva" which is always in Neuter singular ; and not to इतरेतरद्वन्द्व "or mutual conjunction". Thus वाक् च त्वक् च = वाक्त्वचम्, so also त्वक्स्रजम्, शमीदृषदम्, वात्तिविषम्, छत्रोपानहम्, Why do we say "in a Samâhâra Dvandva"? Observe प्रावृट्शरदौ ॥

Note :—Why do we say "after a Dvandva" ? The affix will not come after a Tatpurusha, as, पंच वाचः समाहृताः = पंचवाक् ॥ Why do we say "when ending in a consonant of च class, or ट, ष, ह" ? Observe वाक्समित् ॥

Here ends the chapter on the Dvandva Compounds.

:o:

अथैकशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXI.

ON EKAŚESHAS.

सरूपाणाम् ॥ रामौ । रामाः ॥ विरूपाणामपि समानार्थानाम् * ॥ वक्रदण्डश्च कुटिलदण्डश्च वक्रदण्डौ । कुटिलदण्डौ ॥

Now we shall take up the subject of eka-śesha, i. e. where of the several words one only is retained, the others are elided. The eka-śesha is the reverse of Dvandva compound in which *all* the words are retained.

We have already seen the application of eka-śesha rule in the declension of nouns, where राम+राम=रामौ "Two Ramas" and not रामरामौ; similarly राम+राम+राम=रामाः ॥ See I. 2. 64, S. 188. Here all the words are of the same form or सरूप ॥

The rule is not confined to sarûpa words only. Sometimes though the *form* may be different, there takes place eka-śesha: as by the following Vârtika.

Vârtika:—There is eka-śesha of words of dissimilar forms even, when they have the same *meaning* or *sense*. As वक्रदण्डः+कुटिलदण्डः=वक्रदण्डौ or कुटिलदण्डौ ॥ This Vârtika would become unnecessary, if we explain the word रूप in सरूप by रूप्यते बोध्यते "meaning, sense."

९३१ । वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः । १ । २ । ६५ ॥

यूना सहोक्तौ गोत्रं शिष्यते गोत्रयुवप्रत्ययमात्रकृतं चेत्तयोः कृत्स्नं वै रूप्यं स्यात् । गार्ग्यश्च गार्ग्यायणश्च गार्ग्यौ । वृद्धः किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ । यूना किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यौ । तल्लक्षणः किम् । भागवित्तिभागवित्तिकौ । कृत्स्नं किम् । गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

931. The vṛiddha (or a patronymic Gotra word) becomes ekaśesha, and is retained, when compounded with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that, the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affixes) only.

The word śesha of the sûtra I. 2. 64 S. 188. is understood here. The word "yûnâ" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word

Vṛiddha means gotra: the old âcharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and the original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sûtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking, a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family, when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sûtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakshaṇa 'sign' in the sûtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sûtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sûtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ ॥ Here the first word denotes a clan called Gârgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् IV, 1. 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फक् denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gârgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similalry वात्स्यः + वात्स्यायनः = वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekaśesha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

This rule of ekaśesha does not apply, if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्यायणः = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ ॥ Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sûtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i. e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not

applicable. Thus Rule IV. 1. 148 S. 1172 says " a Vṛiddha word may optionally take the afix ठक् to form a yuvan word and *to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvîra.*" Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिकः = भागवित्तिभागवित्तिकौ ॥

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix ठक् is not merely a yuvan affix, but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः ॥

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word) + वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

९३२ । स्त्री पुंवच्च । १ । २ । ६६ ॥

यूना सहोक्तौ वृद्धा स्त्री शिष्यते तदर्थश्चेत् पुंवत् । गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणो च गर्गाः । अस्त्रियामित्यनुवर्तमाने यञञोश्चेति लुक् । दाक्षी च दाक्षायणश्च दाक्षी ॥

932. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word, but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra, and in the feminine gender, is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sûtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sûtra. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणौ = गर्गाः ॥ Here the affix यञ् is elided by II. 4. 64 S. 1108 which applies to non-feminine words only, because the anuvṛitti of अस्त्रियाम् is understood in that sûtra from II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The second word is shown in the dual case, in order to bring out the marked difference of form in the plural with masculation.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायणः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि) ॥

९३३ । पुमान् स्त्रिया । १ । २ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रिया सहोक्तौ पुमाञ् शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । हंसी च हंसश्च हंसौ ॥

933. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśesha, and the latter is dropped.

As हंसी + हंसः = हंसौ ॥

९३४ । भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् । १ । २ । ६८ ॥

भ्राता च स्वसा च भ्रातरौ । पुत्रश्च दुहिता च पुत्रौ ॥

934. The words bhrâtṛi, 'brother,' and putra,' 'son,' when spoken of along with svasṛi, 'sister' and duhitṛi 'daughter' respectively, are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sûtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in I.2. 65 S. 931. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśesha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

९३५ । नपुंसकमनपुंसके नैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ६९ ॥

अक्लीबेन सहोक्तौ क्लीबं शिष्यते तच्च वा एकवत्स्यात्तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । शुक्लः पटः शुक्ला शाटी । शुक्लं वस्त्रम् । तदिदं शुक्लम् । तानीमानि शुक्लानि ॥

935. A neuter noun, which has the same form only differing in affix ; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः of I. 2. 65 S. 931 governs this sûtra also : thus शुक्लः पटः, शुक्ला शाटी, शुक्लं च वस्त्रं ॥ "The white (masculine) cloth, the white (*feminine*) wrapper, and the white (*neuter*) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (*neuter*) ; or in the Plural शुक्लानि ॥

Note:—A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them ; provided that, the words differ in gender signs only ; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यं, मैथुनं, निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamânam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'âlasya' which is in the masculine ; 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrâ' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one, adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśesha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not

apply. Thus शुक्लं + शुक्लं + शुक्लं = शुक्लानि the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhâva.

९३६। पिता मात्रा। १। २। ७०॥

मात्रा सहोक्तौ पिता वा शिष्यते। माता च पिता च पितरौ—मातापितरौ वा॥

936. The word pitṛi, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mâtri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौवा॥

९३७। श्वशुरः श्वश्वा। १। २। ७१॥

श्वश्वा सहोक्तौ श्वशुरो वा शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत्। श्वश्रूश्च श्वशुरश्च श्वशुरौ। श्वश्रूश्वशुरौ॥

937. The word śvaśura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrû, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वश्रू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रूश्वशुरौ॥

९३८। त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम्। १। २। ७२॥

सर्वैः सहोक्तौ त्यदादीनि नित्यं शिष्यन्ते। स च देवदत्तश्च तौ॥

त्यदादीनां मिथः सहोक्तौ यत्परं तच्छिष्यते *॥ स च यश्च यौ॥

पूर्वशेषोऽपि दृश्यते इति भाष्यम्॥ स च यश्च तौ॥

त्यदादितः शेषे पुन्नपुंसकते। लिङ्गवचनानि *॥ सा च देवदत्तश्च तौ। तच्च देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्ता च तानि। पुन्नपुंसकयोस्तु परस्यान्नपुंसकं शिष्यते। तच्च देवदत्तश्च ते॥

अद्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषविशेषणानामिति वक्तव्यम् *॥ कुक्कुटमयूर्यावितमे। मयूरीकुक्कुटावितमौ। तच्च सा च अर्धपिप्पल्यौ ते॥

938. The pronouns 'tyad' &c., when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as ekaśesha, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadâdi' pronouns has been given under sûtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim.' When these tyadâdi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; *i. e.*

whatever may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus स: (he) + देवदत्त: (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart:—When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapâṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus य: + स: = यौ; य: + क: = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1. 27 S. 213), so यद् will be retained and not तद्; similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद् ॥

Vârtika:—In the ekaśesha of tyâdadi words, the masculine is retained to the exclusion of feminine; and neuter to the exclusion of masculine. As सा च देवदत्तश्च = तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्ता च = तानि ॥ Of the masculine and neuter, the neuter is retained, being taught subsequent to masculine. तच् च देवदत्तश्च = ते ॥

Vartika:—It should be rather stated that when these Pronouns do not refer to Dvandva or Tatpurusha compounds. In the case of these, the sûtra II. 4. 26 S. 812 applies. The relative pronouns follow the gender of their antecedent noun. Thus कुक्कुटमयूर्यावेमे (इमे feminine dual), but मयूरीकुक्कुटावेमौ (इमौ masculine dual). Similarly पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + अर्धपिप्पली (feminine) = अर्धपिप्पल्य: (feminine Plural). The relative Pronoun will be ता: ॥

९३९। ग्राम्यपशुसङ्घेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री । १ । २ । ७३ ॥

एषु सहविवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते । पुमान् स्त्रियेत्यस्यापवादः । गाव इमाः । ग्राम्येति किम् । रुरव इमे । पशुग्रहणं किम् । ब्राह्मणाइमे । सङ्घेषु किम् । एतौ गावौ । अतरुणेषु किम् । वत्सा इमे । अनेकशफेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ अश्वा इमे ॥

इह सर्वत्र एकशेषे कृतेऽनेकसुबन्तभावाद् द्वन्द्वो न । तेन शिरसी शिरांसीत्यादौ समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तः प्राप्यङ्गत्वादेकवद्भावश्च न । पन्थानौ पन्थान इत्यादौ समासान्तो न ॥

939. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see I. 2. 67 S. 933). The present sûtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders; the feminine noun is preferred; provided that, the words should

not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls).' अजा इमाः these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grâmya animals) and not to *wild* animals; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As रुरव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brâhmaṇas' (male and female) क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by I. 2. 67. S. 933.

Vart:—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gâvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young."? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इम 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of I. 2. 67. S. 933.

In all these examples under previous rules, when once the eka-śesha takes place, there is no longer Dvandva compounding, as these are not *many* nouns. The rules of compounding, therefore, do not apply to eka-śesha words. Thus शिरसी (dual), शिरांसि (Plural) have not acute on the final, which would have been the case had they been treated as compound, for then rule VI. 1. 123 S. 3734 would have applied. Nor is there eka-vadbhâva of these words, though they denote members of living beings. (II. 4. 2. S. 906) Similarly in पन्थानौ पन्थानः &c. there is not the affixing of samâsânta. (V. 4. 74. S. 940).

॥ इत्येकशेषः ॥

HERE ENDS EKASESHA.

———:o:———

अथ सर्वसमासशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXII.

ON COMPOUNDS IN GENERAL.

कृत्तद्धितसमसैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपाः पञ्च वृत्तयः । परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिः । वृत्त्यर्थावबोधकं वाक्यं विग्रहः । स द्विविधः । लौकिकोऽलौकिकश्च । परिनिष्ठितत्वात्साधुर्लौकिकः । प्रयोगानर्होऽसाधुर लौकिकः । यथा । राज्ञः पुरुषः । राजन् अस् पुरुष सु इति । अविग्रहो नित्यसमासः ॥

अस्वपदविग्रहो वा समासश्चतुर्विध इति तु प्रायोवादः । अव्ययीभावतत्पुरुषबहुव्रीहिद्वन्द्वाधिकारबाह्यभूतानामपि सहसुपेति समासविधानात् ॥

पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानो ऽव्ययीभावः । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः । अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः । उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्वः इत्यपि प्राचां प्रवादः प्रायोऽभिप्रायः । सूपप्रति उन्मत्तगङ्गमित्याद्यव्ययीभावे, अतिमालादौ तत्पुरुषे, द्विश्रा इत्यादिबहुव्रीहौ दन्तोष्ठमित्यादिद्वन्द्वे चाभावात् । तत्पुरुषविशेषः कर्मधारयः, तद्विशेषः द्विगुः ॥ अनेक पदत्वं द्वन्द्व बहुव्रीह्योरेव । तत्पुरुष क्वचिदवेत्युक्तम् । किंच ॥

सुपां सुपा तिङा नाम्ना धातुनाऽथ तिङां तिङां । सुबन्तेनेति विज्ञेयः समासः षड्विधो बुधैः ॥ १ ॥

सुपां सुपा, राजपुरुषः । तिङा, पर्वभूषयत् । नाम्ना, कुम्भकारः । धातुना, कटप्रू : अजसम् । तिङां तिङा, पिबतखादता । खादतमोदता । तिङां सुपा, कृन्तविच्चणेति यस्यां क्रियायां सा कृन्तविच्चणा । एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे इति मयूरव्यंसकादौ पाठात्समासः ॥

The Grammatical Function or modification (vṛiti) is of five sorts, namely, 1. Kṛit—the process by which a primary noun is derived from a verbal root. 2. Taddhita—the operation by which a secondary noun is formed from a Primitive Noun. 3. Samâsa—the process by which two or more nouns are composed to form one noun. 4. Eka-śesha—the process by which one is retained to the exclusion of other nouns, and the noun so retained denotes all the nouns so excluded. 5. Lastly Sanâdyanta *dhâtus*—the process by which a verb is formed from a noun, and a derivative verb from a Primitive verb; such as the Desiderative the Causative, the Intensive, and the Denominative verbs.

The word *vritti* means the power of expressing a sense different from what was inherent originally in the word. When a word undergoes a *vritti* or modification, it gains an additional sense. This additional sense always refers to some thing other than the original connotation of the word. Therefore the conjugation of a root by adding ति &c. affixes is not a *Vritti*: because here the root does not undergo any change of sense. To express the sense of another word by a different word is a vritti.

A sentence that explains or shows the sense of a vritti is called vigraha or the analysis of a word. The analysis of a word shows what *Vritti* or modification the original element has undergone.

The vigraha or analysis is of two sorts—logical and grammatical. That which is shown by a sentence, as employed in ordinary language, wherein the words employed are joined together by the rules of sandhi, and are *completely formed* words, is logical analysis. That which is shown by techinical terms of grammar, which convey no meaning to outsiders, is a grammatical analysis.

Thus राजपुरुषः when analysed logically will be राज्ञः पुरुषः; but when analysed grammatically, it will be राजन्+ङस्+पुरुष+सु ॥

That which is not capable of laukika analysis is a nitya samâsa: or a nitya-samâsa is that which is not capable of analysis into its component words.

It is generally said, but not very accurately, that the compounds are of four sorts—namely 1. Avyayîbhâva, 2. Tatpurusha, 3. Bahuvrîhi and 4. Dvandva. But there are compounds not covered by these four, namely compounds formed under the general rule सहसुपा ॥ (S. 649).

"An Avyayîbhâva is a compound in which the sense of the first member is the principal or predominant."

"A Tatpurusha compound has the sense of the subsequent member predominant."

"A Bahuvrîhi is a compound in which the sense of a third term, not to be found in the compound, is predominant."

"A Dvandva is a compound in which the sense of both the members of a compound is predominant."

The above definitions are of ancient grammarians; they are not however strictly accurate. For these definitions do not hold good in the case of Avyayîbhava compounds like उन्मत्तगङ्गम्, Tatpurusha compounds like अतिमाला Bahuvrîhi like द्विशा; and Dvandva like स्त्रोष्ठम् ॥

Karmadhâraya is a subdivision of Tatpurusha. Dvigu is a particular case of Karmadhâraya.

The Dvandvas and Bahuvrîhis only can consist of many words. The Tatpurusha seldom consists of more than two words as in ब्रह्मजातः ॥

For thus it is said.

VERSE.

1. The case-inflected words may be compounded with another case-inflected word 2. Or with a tense inflected word, 3. Or with a crude noun. 4. Or with a root. 5. The tense-inflected word may be compound with another tense inflected word 6. Or with a case-inflected word. Thus compounds are of six kinds.

1. सुपां सुपा, Declined noun with another declined noun: as राजपुरुषः ॥

2. सुपां तिङा, A noun with a conjugated verb. as, परि-अभूषयत् ॥

3 सुपां नाम्ना A noun with a nascent noun or upapada samâsa. as, कुम्भकारः ॥ Here the compounding takes place prior to the adding of सुप् ॥

4. सुपां धातुना, A noun with a root as कटप्रूः । अजस्रम् ॥ This compound कटप्रू is so exhibited in Vârtika under sûtra III. 2. 178 S. 3158, and the word अजस्रम् is formed by the sûtra III. 2. 167 S. 3147.

5. तिङां तिङा । A conjugated verb with another verb, — as पिबत खादता, खादतमोदता ॥ See Mayûravyansaka class of compounds II. 1, 72 S. 754.

6. तिङां सुपा, A conjugated verb with a noun, as कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ In the Mayûra vyansakâdi class, we find the rule एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे ॥ The compound is formed under taht rule.

अथ सर्व समासान्त प्रकरणम्॥

CHAPTER XXIII.

SAMÂSÂNTA AFFIXES IN GENERAL.

९४०। ऋक्पूरब्धूःपथामानक्षे। ५। ४। ७४॥

अ अनक्षे इति छेदः। ऋगाद्यन्तस्य समासस्य अप्रत्ययोऽन्तावयवः स्यात्। अक्षे या धूस्तदन्तस्य न। अर्धर्चः॥ अनृचबह्वृचावध्येतर्येव॥ नेह अनृक्साम। बह्वृक् सूक्तम्। विष्णोः पूः विष्णुपुरम्। क्लीबत्वं लोकात्। विमलापं सरः॥

940. The affix अ comes after ṛik, pur, ap, dhûr and pathin, when finals in a compound, but not so when dhûr is in conjunction with aksha.

The anuvṛitti of the word bahuvṛîhi does not enter here. It applies to all compounds in general. The word अनक्षे qualifies धूर, as it cannot qualify the words ऋक् &c.

Thus (1) *ṛik* :—अर्धर्चः 'half a hymn', अनृचः, बह्वृचः

Note :—Why do we say "when not in conjunction with अक्ष?" Observe, अक्षस्य धूः = अक्षधूः, दृढधूरक्षः॥

The words अनृचः and बह्वृचः apply to students of Rîk: thus अनृचः means "a boy who has not read the Rig Veda." बह्वृचः "One who has read the Rig Veda." The affix अ is not applied when it refers to the Vedas, as अनृक् साम, "the Sâma Veda which is not divided into hymns." बह्वृक् सूक्तम्॥ "a hymn consisting of many Rig verses."

(2) *pur* :—विष्णोः पूर = विष्णुपुरम् 'the town of Vishṇu.' So also, ललाटपुरम् नान्दीपुरम्॥ The Neuter gender is due to usage, although the word पुर् is feminine.

(3) *Ap* :—As विमलापं सरः 'a lake with pure water." For other compounds of अप् see the following sûtras.

Note :—In अर्धर्चः the compounding is by II. 2. 2. S. 713. It becomes masculine by II. 4. 31 S. 816. In the case of अनृक् ann बह्वृक् we may have the general samâsânta कप् (V. 4. 154. S. 891) giving the forms अनृक्क &c. For अप् धूर् and पथिन् see the subsequent sûtras.

In the case of the word अप् the following rule applies, by which the nitial अ of अप is changed to ई॥ Thus द्वि + अप् + अ = द्वि + ईप् + अ॥

९४१ । द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत् । ६ । ३ । ९७ ॥

अप इति कृतसमासान्तस्यानुकरणम् । षष्ठ्यर्थे प्रथमा । एभ्योऽपस्य ईस्स्यात् । द्विर्मता आपो यस्मिन्निति द्वीपम् । अन्तरीपम् । प्रतीपम् । समीपम् । समापो देवयजनमिति तु समा आपो यस्मिन्निति बोध्यम । कृतसमासान्तग्रहणान्नेह । स्वप् । स्वपी ॥

अवर्णान्ताद्वा * ॥ प्रेपम् । परेपम् । प्रापम् । परापम् ॥

941. After द्वि, अन्तर् and after Prepositions, a long ई is the substitute of अप ॥

The word अप् is exhibited with the samâsânta अ *i. e.* अप् + अ = अप ॥ The nominative अपः has the force of the genitive here. That is अपः = अपस्य ॥ The samâsânta अ is added by V. 4. 74. S. 940. By I. 1. 54. S. 44. ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् *viz* अ only. Thus द्वीपम् 'an island,' अन्तरीपम् 'in the midst of waters' प्रतीपम् 'in the direction of the waters' i. e. 'adverse.' समीपम् ॥ 'near.'

Note :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम देवयजनम् ॥ 'a land in which are made offering of oblations to the gods."

The word समाप may be analysed as समाः + आपः, *i. e.* समा आपो यस्मिन् ॥ Here समा is a noun and not an upasarga, and so the rule does not apply. It is not the preposition सम ॥ The word देवयजनं means the ground where Devas are worshipped "Holy land :" "sacrificial ground."

As the word अप is exhibited in the sûtra with the samâsânta अ ; the ई substitution will not take place where the samâsânta अ is not added. Thus V. 4. 69 S. 954 prohibits samâsânta when 'honor' is indicated. Therefore सु + अप् = स्वप् ; Fem. स्वपी ॥

Vârtika :—Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रेपम् or प्रापम् 'a puddle', परापम् or परेपम् 'an out let of water". The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप् ; here, however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sûtra. It means प्र &c.

With regard to the word अप् the following rule also applies.

९४२ । ऊदनोर्देशे । ६ । ३ । ९८ ॥

अनोः परस्यापस्य ऊस्स्याद्देशे । अनूपो देशः ।

राजधुरा । अक्षे तु अक्षधूः । हलधूरत्तः । सखिपथः । स्थपथो देशः ॥

942. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देशः । 'a marshy place.'

Note :—But अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उप = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

The word धुर् also takes अ by V. 4. 74. S. 940. As :—राजधुरा 'the kings load (of Government)'; but when relating to अक्ष then अक्षधूः 'the yoke attached to the fore-part of the pole of a car'; दृढधूरक्षः 'a car with strong poles.'

The word पथिन् also takes, अ by V. 4. 74 S. 940. As :—सखिपथः 'the road of a friend' रम्यपथो देशः 'a place the road of which is pleasant.'

९४३ । अच् प्रत्यन्ववपूर्वात्सामलोम्नः । ५ । ४ । ७५ ॥

एतत्पूर्वात्सामलोमान्तात्समासादच् स्यात् । प्रतिसामम् । अनुसामम् । अवसामम् । प्रतिलोमम् अनुलोमम् । अवलोमम् ॥

कृष्णोदक्पाण्डुसंख्यापूर्वाया भूमेरञिष्यते * ॥ कृष्णभूमः । उदग्भूमः । पाण्डुभूमः । द्विभूमः प्रासादः ।

संख्याया नदीगोदावरीभ्यां च * ॥ पञ्चनदम् । सप्तगोदावरम् ॥

अजिति योगविभागादन्यत्रापि । पद्मनाभः ॥

943. The affix अच् comes after the words sâman and loman, when prati, anu and ava precede them.

As प्रतिसामम्, 'harshly' अनुसामम्, 'in a friendly way,' अवसामम् 'away from gentleness,' प्रतिलोमम्, 'inversely' अनुलोमम् 'directly.'

Ishti :—The affix अच् comes after the word भूमि preceded by the words कृष्ण, उदक्, पाण्डु, and also 'a numeral. Thus कृष्णभूमः 'a place having the ground black,' उदग्भूमः 'the ground sloping Northwards,' पाण्डुभूमः 'having white ground" द्विभूमः प्रासादः 'a palace of two floors.'

Vârtika :—And also after the words गोदावरी and नदी• when preceded by a numeral. As. पञ्चनदम्, 'the land of five rivers, *i. e.* the Panjab', सप्तगोदावरम्, the name of a country, (see II. 1. 20).

Note :—This affix is added to words other than those mentioned above: as पद्मनाभः, ऊर्णनाभः, समरात्रः, दीर्घरात्रः, अरात्रः ॥ Here the affix अच् is added to नाभि and रात्रि ॥ All this can be done by dividing the above sûtra into two parts *viz.* (1) अच् (2) प्रत्यन्व &c. That is (1) अच् comes after all compounds and (2) after सामन् and लोमन् preceded by प्रति &c.

९४४। अक्ष्णोऽदर्शनात्। ५। ४। ७६॥

अचक्षुःपर्यायादक्ष्णोऽच् स्यात्समासान्तः। गवामक्षीव गवाक्षः॥

944. The affix ach comes after the word akshi, when not meaning 'the eye,' but 'hole.'

The word अच् is understood here. Thus गवाक्षः 'a hole for the rays of light, *i. e.* a small window.' The word गो here means 'ray of light.' गावः किरणाः॥ Or a gavâksha is so called because it is like the eye of cows.

Note:—The word दर्शन in the sûtra does not mean 'to see,' here, but is a synonym of 'eye.'

९४५। अचतुरविचतुरसुचतुरस्त्रीपुंसधेन्वनडुहर्क्सामवाङ्मनसाक्षिभ्रुवदारगवोर्वष्ठीवपदष्ठीवनक्तंदिवरात्रिंदिवाहर्दिवसरजसनिःश्रेयसपुरुषायुषद्व्यायुषत्र्यायुषर्ग्यजुषजातोक्षमहोक्षवृद्धोक्षोपशुनगोष्ठश्वाः। ५। ४। ७७॥

एते षड्विंशतिरजन्ता निपात्यन्ते। आद्यास्त्रयो बहुव्रीहयः। अविद्यमानानि चत्वार्यस्य अचतुरः। विचतुरः। सुचतुरः॥

द्व्युपाभ्यां चतुरोऽजिष्यते*॥ विचतुराः। चतुर्णां समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपचतुराः।

तत एकादश द्वन्द्वाः। स्त्रीपुंसौ। धेन्वनडुहौ। ऋक्सामे। वाङ्मनसे। अक्षिणी च भ्रुवौ च अक्षिभ्रुवम्।

दारा च गावश्च दारगवम्।

ऊरू च अष्ठीवन्तौ च ऊर्वष्ठीवम्। निपातनाद्विलोपः।

पदष्ठीवम्। निपातनात्पादशब्दस्य पदावः।

नक्तं च दिवा च नक्तन्दिवम्।

रात्री च दिवा च रात्रिन्दिवम्। रात्रेर्नान्तस्वं निपात्यते।

अहनि च दिवा च अहर्दिवम्। दीप्सायां द्वन्द्वो निपात्यते अहन्यहनीत्यर्थः।

सरजसमिति साकल्येऽव्ययीभावः। बहुव्रीहौ तु सरजः पङ्कजम्।

निश्चितं श्रेयो निःश्रेयसम। तत्पुरुष एव। नेह निःश्रेयान् पुरुषः।

पुरुषस्यायुः पुरुषायुषम्।

ततो द्व्युः। द्व्यायुषम्। त्र्यायुषम्।

ततो द्वन्द्वः। ऋग्यजुषम्।

ततस्त्रयः कर्मधारयाः। जातोक्षः। महोक्षः। वृद्धोक्षः।

शुनः समीपे उपशुनम्। विलोपाभावः सम्प्रसारणं च निपात्यते।

गोष्ठे श्वा गोष्ठश्वः॥

945. The following twenty-five words are irregularly formed by adding the affix ach :—achatura, vichatura, suchatura; stri-puṅsau, dhenv-anaḍuhau, rik-sâme, vâṅmanase, akshibhruvam, dâra-gavam, ûrvashṭhîvam, pada-shṭhîvam, naktamdivam, râtrim-divam, ahar-divam, sarajasam, niḥ-śreyasam, purushâ-yusham, dvyâ-yusham, tryâ-yusham, rig-yajusham, jâto-kshaḥ, maho-kshaḥ, vriddho-kshaḥ, upaśunam, and goshṭhaśvaḥ.

The first three of these words are Bahuvrîhi : (1) अचतुरः = अदृश्यान्यविद्यमानानि वा चत्वारि यस्य 'that whose four are absent or non-existent.' (2) विचतुरः = विगतानि चत्वारि यस्य "whose four are gone." So also (3) सुचतुरः = शोभानानि चत्वारि यस्य 'whose four are good." Had these been Tatpurusha, the forms would have been अचत्वारः, विचत्वारः &c.

Ishti :—The affix अच् comes after चतुर् when preceded by वि and उप. Thus विचतुरः and उपचतुराः "near the four."

The next eleven words are Dvandva compounds. They are clear. Thus(4) स्त्री च पुमांश्च = स्त्रीपुंसौ 'the man and woman'; (but not here स्त्रियाः पुमान् स्त्रियं प्रति पुमान् शूरः) = स्त्रीपुमान् "a brave towards women only");

(5) धेनुश्च अनड्वांश्च = धेन्वनड्वाहौ "cow and bull."

(6) ऋक् च साम च = ऋक्सामे "the Rik and the Saman."

(7) वाक् च मनश्च = वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind."

(8) अक्षिणी च भ्रुवौ च = अक्षिभ्रुवम् "the eyes and the brows." The compound is singular as being parts of members of human body, (II. 4. 2 S. 965).

(9) दाराश्च गावश्च = दारगवम् "the wives and cows." Here the final syllable (called टि) is elided.

(10) ऊरू + अष्ठीवन्तौ + अच् = ऊर्वष्ठीवम् "Thighs and knees" ॥

(11) So also पादौ + अष्ठीवन्तौ = पद् + अष्ठीव + अच् = पदष्ठीवम् "Feet and knees"॥

(12) नक्तं च दिवा च = नक्तंदिवं 'by night and day.' These are two indeclinables having the force of locative, and this compounding is also irregular.

(13) रात्रि च दिवा च = रात्रिंदिवम् "By night and day"॥

(14) The words अहर् and दिवा both mean 'day:' the compound अहर्दिवम् is not, however, a superfluous compound of two synonyms. It is used here in a distributive sense = अहन्यहनि "day by day."

(15) The word सरजसम् is an Avyayîbhâva, meaning 'with the pollen' *i. e.* 'all,' as सरजसमभ्यवहरति ॥ The affix does not come when it is a Bahuvrîhi: as सह + रजसा = सरजः पङ्कजम् ॥

(16) The word निः श्रेयसं = निश्चितं श्रेयः 'sure (never failing) happiness,' and is a Tatpurusha: but not so in निः श्रेयान् पुरुषः ॥

(17) Then is the word पुरुषायुषम् a Genitive Tatpurusha = पुरुषस्यायुः ॥ 'limit of a man's life.' Not so when it is a Dvandva, as पुरुषश्च आयुश्च = पुरुषायुषी ॥

The words (18) द्व्यायुषम् and (19) त्र्यायुषम् are Samâhâra Dvig compounds. Therefore not here, द्वयोरायुः = द्व्यायुः, त्र्यायुः ॥

(20) The word ऋग्यजुषम is a Dvandva. Therefore, not here ऋग्यजुस्योरुन्मुग्धस्य = ऋग्यजुरुन्मुग्धः (य ऋचोयजूंषि मन्यते) ॥

The three words ending in उक्षन् are Karmadhâraya. (21) जातोक्षः "a young bull;" (22) महोक्षः "a big bull;" (23) वृद्धोक्षः "an old bull." Not so when these are Bahuvrîhi: as जातोक्षा ब्राह्मणाः "Brahmanas possessing young bulls."

(24) The word उपशुनम् is an Avyayîbhâva = शुनः समीपम् ॥ Here the non-elision of the final syllable, and the change of व of श्वन् into उ (Samprasâraṇa) are irregular.

The word गोष्ठश्वः is a Locative Tatpurusha, as गोष्ठेश्वा = गोष्ठश्व ॥ "dog in a cowpen, a slanderer."

९४६ । ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्चसः । ५ । ४ । ७८ ॥

अच् स्यात् । ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । हस्तिवर्चसम् ॥

पल्यराजभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पल्यवर्चसम् । राजवर्चसम् ॥

946. The affix ach comes after the word varchas, when preceded in a compound by the words Brahma or hasti.

Thus ब्रह्मवर्चसम् 'Sanctity resulting from the contemplation of Brahma,' हस्तिवर्चसम् 'strength of an elephant.' Varchas means 'light,' 'strength.'

Vârt:—So also when Varchas is preceded by the words palya and râjan: as, पल्यवर्चसम्, राजवर्चसम् ॥ The word पल means 'meat;' पल्य 'meat-eater;' पल्यवर्चसम् "the strength of the meat-eater."

९४७ । अवसमन्धेभ्यस्तमसः । ५ । ४ । ७९ ॥

अवतमसम् । संतमसम् । अन्धयतीत्यन्धं पचाद्यच् । अन्धं तमः अन्धतमसम् ॥

947. The affix ach comes after the word tamas, when preceded by the words ava, sam and andha, in a compound.

Thus अवतमसम् 'slight darkness' सन्तमसम् 'great darkness' अन्धतमसम् 'complete darkness so as to obstruct the sight.'

The word अन्ध is derived from the churâdi root अन्ध with the affix अच् of पचादि class (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) ॥

९४८ । श्वसोवसीयःश्रेयसः । ५ । ४ । ८० ॥

वसुशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । ततः ईयसुनि वसीयः । श्वस्शब्द उत्तरपदार्थप्रशंसामाशीर्विषयतामाह। मयूरव्यंसकादित्वात्समासः । श्वोवसीयसम् । श्वःश्रेयसं ते भूयात् ॥

948. The affix ach comes after the words vasîyas and śreyas, when they follow the word śvas in a compound.

Thus श्वोवसीयसम्, श्वःश्रेयसम् ॥ The word वसीयः is derived from वसु meaning "praiseworthy," "rich," by adding the affix ईयसुन् (V. 3. 57 S. 2005). The word श्वः is usually employed in blessing or praising the object expressed by the second term. These compounds belong to the class of Mayûravyaṁsakâdi (II. 1. 72 S. 754) Thus श्वः श्रेयसम् ते भूयात् = शोभनं श्रेयस्ते भूयात् ॥ The word श्वोवसीयसम् is a synonym of श्वः श्रेयसम् ॥

९४९ । अन्ववतप्ताद्रहसः । ५ । ४ । ८१ ॥

अनुरहसम् । अवरहसम् । तप्तरहसम् ॥

949. The affix ach comes after the word rahas, when it follows anu, ava, and tapta in a compound.

Thus अनुरहसम् 'secluded' अवरहसम् 'a little secluded' तप्तरहसम् 'a hot place of seclusion' *i. e.* which is very strongly secluded, which is too hot for another to enter.'

९५० । प्रतेरुरसः सप्तमीस्थात् । ५ । ४ । ८२ ॥

उरसि प्रति प्रत्युरसम् । विभक्त्यर्थेऽव्ययीभावः ॥

950. The affix ach comes after the word uras, when it follows the word prati in a compound, and it has the sense of the locative.

Thus प्रत्युरसम्—उरसि वर्त्तते 'against the heart.' This is an Avyayîbhâva compound, the indeclinable having the force of a vibhakti (II. 1. 6 S. 652.)

Note:—Why do we say "when having the sense of the locative?" Observe प्रत्युरः = प्रतिगतउरः ॥

९५१ । अनुगवमायामे । ५ । ४ । ८३ ॥

एतन्निपात्यते दीर्घत्वे । अनुगवं यानम् । यस्य चायाम इति समासः ॥

951. The word anugava is irregularly formed by adding the affix ach, and has the sense of "suited to the length of the cows."

Thus अनुगवं यानं "the chariot suited to the length of the oxen," This compound is formed by II. 1. 16 S. 670.

Note:—Why do we say when meaning "the length?" Observe, गवां पश्चाद् = अनुगु ॥

९५२ । द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदिः । ५ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अच्प्रत्ययष्टिलोपः समासश्च निपात्यते । यावती प्रकृतौ वेदिस्ततो द्विगुणा त्रिगुणा वाऽश्वमेधादौ तत्रेयं निपातनम् । वेदिरिति किम् । द्विस्तावती त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

952. The words dvistâvâ and tristâvâ are irregularly formed, when qualifying a vedi or 'altar.'

The affix अच् is added and the final syllable (*i. e.* दि) is elided. Thus द्विस्तावा वेदिः "an altar twice as big as an ordinary one." त्रिस्तावा वेदि "thrice as big as an ordinary altar." Such big altars are used in important sacrifices like Aśvamedha &c. The words are compounds of द्वि: and त्रि: plus तावत् meaning "as much." Why do we say "when applied to an altar"? Observe द्विस्तावती रज्जुः, त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

९५३ । उपसर्गादध्वनः । ५ । ४ । ८५ ॥

प्रगतोऽध्वानं प्राध्वो रथः ॥

953. The affix ach comes after the word adhvan, preceded by an upasarga in a compound.

Thus प्रगतोऽध्वानं = प्राध्वो रथः, 'a chariot.'

Note:—Why do we say "when preceded by an Upasarga"? Observe परमाध्वा उत्तमाध्वा ॥

९५४। न पूजनात्। ५। ४। ९९॥

पूजनार्थात्परेभ्यः समासान्ता न स्युः। सुराजा। अतिराजा॥

स्वतिभ्यामेव * ॥ नेह। परमराजः।

पूजनात्किम्। गामतिक्रान्तोऽतिगवः। बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोरित्यतः प्रागेवायं निषेधः। नेह। सुसक्थः। स्वक्षः॥

954. The samâsânta affixes are not applied to those words, the first member of which is a word expressing praise.

The present rule prohibits the application of the samâsânta affixes when such words are preceded by a word expressing praise. Thus V. 4. 91 S. 788 ordains the affix टच् when the word राजन् enters a compound, as, महा + राजन् = महा + राजन् + टच् = महाराजः, and not महाराजा॥ But सुराजा 'a good king' अतिराजा, 'an excellent king.'

Vârt:—The word expressing praise must be सु or अति and not any word expressing praise in general. Therefore, the prohibition does not apply in परमराजः and परमगवः॥

Why do we say 'a word expressing praise'? Observe अतिगवः 'a fool;' literally 'one who surpasses a bull in folly.' This prohibition applies up to sûtra V. 4. 113 S. 852 exclusive. Thus सुसक्थः 'having handsome thighs;' स्वक्षः, 'having beautiful eyes' here the affix कच् (V. 4. 113 S. 852) is not prohibited.

९५५। किमः क्षेपे। ५। ४। ७०॥

क्षेपे यः किंशब्दस्ततः परं यत्तदन्तात्समासान्ता न स्युः। कुत्सितो राजा किंराजा। किंसखा। किंगौः। क्षेपे किम्। किंराजः। किंसखः। किंगवः॥

955. The samâsânta affix is not applied to a word preceded by किम् in the sense of reproach.

Thus किं + राजन् = किंराजन् as किंराजा यो न रक्षति "He is no-king who does not protect." किंसखा योऽभिद्रुह्यति, किंगौर्यो न वहति॥ (V. 4. 91. S. 788 V. 4. 92, S. 729 II. 1. 64 S. 743). The compounding here takes place by Rule II. 1. 64. S. 743

Why do we say 'when meaning reproach"? Observe कस्य राजा = किंराजः; किंसखः, किंगवः॥

९५९। नञस्तत्पुरुषात्। ५। ४। ७१॥

समासान्तो न। अराजा। असखा। तत्पुरुषात्किम्। अधुरं शकटम्॥

956. The samâsânta affix does not come after a Tatpurusha compound of words like râjan &c, herein taught, when the negative particle न precedes them.

Thus अराजा 'a no-king, *i. e.* one who is not a king;' असखा, 'one who is not a friend;' (V. 4. 91 S. 788 prohibited). Why do we say "after a Tatpurusha compound?" The same words preceded by the negative particle will take the samâsânta affix when forming compounds, other than Tatpurusha, as अधुरं शकटम् 'a car having no yoke.'

९५७। पथो विभाषा। ५। ४। ७२॥

नञ्पूर्वात्पथो वा समासान्तः। अपथम्। अपन्थाः। तत्पुरुषादित्येव। अपथो देशः। अपथं वर्तते॥

957. The samâsânta affix does not optionally come after a Tatpurusha compound of the word पथिन् with नञ्॥

This declares an option, where under the last sûtra the omission would have been necessary. Thus अपथम् or अपन्थाः 'absence of road' (See V. 4. 74 S. 940 and II. 4. 30 S. 815). But अपथोदेशः 'having unsafe roads.' Here it is Tat-purusha.

Here ends the Samâsanta.

:o:

अथालुक्समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON NON-ELISION OF CASE-AFFIXES IN CERTAIN COMPOUNDS.

६५८। अलुगुत्तरपदे। ६। ३। १॥

अलुगधिकारः प्रागानङः उत्तरपदाधिकारस्त्वापादसमाप्तेः ॥

958. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 S. 982 inclusive, is always to be supplied the phrase "the elision does not take place, before the second member of the compound."

Note:—The words **अलुक्** 'there is no elision,' and **उत्तरपदे** "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sûtras. Both these words jointly govern the sûtras upto VI. 3. 24, S. 982; while **उत्तरपदे** singly extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of **अङ्** (VI. 4. 1. S. 200.) Thus sûtra VI. 3. 2 S. 959 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c." The present sûtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c., are not elided before the second member of the compound." Thus **स्तोकान् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः** ॥ Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe **निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः** ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

६५९। पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः। ६। ३। २॥

एभ्यः पञ्चम्या अलुक् स्यादुत्तरपदे। स्तोकान्मुक्तः। एवमन्तिकार्थदूरार्थकृच्छ्रेभ्यः।

उत्तरपदे किम्। निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकान्निस्तोकः ॥

ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शस्त्राणि उपचारात् ब्राह्मणानि; तानि शंसतीति ब्रह्मणाच्छंसी ऋत्विग्विशेषः। द्वितीयार्थे पञ्चम्युपसंख्यानादेव ॥

959. The Ablative-ending after **स्तोक** &c. is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus **स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः, अन्तिकादागतः; अभ्याशादागतः, दूरादागतः, विप्रकृष्टादागतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः** ॥

Note:—By I. 2. 46, S. 179. a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prâtipadika, and by II. 4. 71 S. 650 the endings of a Prâtipadika

are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sûtra prevents that. The words स्तोक &c., in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः मुक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोकान्मुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 153, S. 3650 VI. 2. 144 S. 3878), the word स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39 S. 701.

Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात्=निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta deos not apply here.

Vârt:—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणैर्विहितानि शस्त्राणि=ब्राह्मणानि; तानि शंसति=ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् "a kind of Ritvic priest."

Note:—The object of making words like स्तोकान्मुक्तः a compound is three fold. First ऐकपद्यम् *i. e.* they become *one* word. Thus the descendant of स्तोकान्मुक्तः will be स्तौकान्मुक्तिः, the Taddhita affix being added to the whole. Similarly the descendant of स्तोकान्मुक्ता (Feminine) will be स्तौकान्मुक्तेयः ॥ Second ऐकस्वर्यम् *i. e.* one accent, thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. S. 3878, read with VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, VI. 1. 158 S. 3650: Thirdly विशेषण योगाभावः *i. e.* the absence of adjective. No separate adjective can be added to these words *separately*.

Note:—The śastras ordained in the Brâhmaṇas are called also metaphorically ब्राह्मणानि॥ The priest who praises such śastras is called ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् Here the fifth case has the force of the Accusative, by virtue of this vârtika. The शस्त्र is a kind of hymn of praise. The difference between śastra and stotra is thus explained: अगीत मन्त्र साध्यगुणि निष्ठगुणाभिधानं स्तोत्रम् । अगीतमन्त्रसाध्यगुणिनिष्ठ गुणाभिधानं शस्त्रम् ॥ One is sung with musical accompaniment, the other is merely recited. These are the technical terms of the sacrificial Priests.

६६० । ओजःसहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः । ६ । ३ । ३ ।

ओजसाकृतमित्यादि

अज्जस उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अज्जसाकृतम् । आर्जवेन कृतमित्यर्थः ॥

पुंसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति च * ॥ यस्याग्रजः पुमान् स पुंसानुजः । जनुषान्धो जात्यन्धः ॥

960. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् 'done with strength' &c,

Vârt :—अञ्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् 'done correctly.'

Vârt :—The compounds पुंसानुजः and जनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुजः = पुंसानुजः 'having an elder brother' जनुषा हेतुनाऽन्धः = जनुषान्धः 'blind from birth'. The word जनु is another name of जन्मन् 'birth.'

९६१ । मनसः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ४ ॥

मनसागुप्ता ॥

961. After **मनस्** when the compound is a name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसागुप्ता ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe मनोदत्ता, मनोगुप्ता ॥

९६२ । आज्ञायिनि च । ६ । ३ । ५ ॥

मनस इत्येव । मनसा आज्ञातुं शीलमस्य मनसाज्ञायी ॥

962. Also before **आज्ञायिन्**, the Instrumental endings of **मनस्** are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽऽज्ञायितुं शीलमस्य ॥ 'One knowing by mind.'

९६३ । आत्मनश्च । ६ । ३ । ६ ॥

आत्मनस्तृतीयाया अलुक् स्यात् ॥

पूरण इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पूरणप्रत्ययान्ते उत्तरपदे इत्यर्थः । आत्मनापञ्चमः । जनार्दनस्वात्मचतुर्थ एवेति बहुव्रीहिर्बोध्यः ।

पूरणे किम् । आत्मकृतम् ॥

963. The Instrumental endings after **आत्मन्** are not elided.

Vârtika :—"When an Ordinal Numeral follows" should be added.

Thus आत्मनापंचमः, 'himself and four others.'

Note :—The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vârtika तृतीयाविधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानं (II. 3. 18 Vârt S. 561). And the compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, S. 692 by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sûtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पञ्चमः = आत्मनापंचमः ॥

How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ in अनाईनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ एव ? It is a Bahuvrihi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when an ordinal numeral follows'? Observe आत्मकृतम् .

६६४ । वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः । ६ । ३ । ७ ॥

आत्मन इत्येव । आत्मनेपदम् । आत्मनेभाषा । तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थ्येषा । चतुर्थीति योगविभागात्समासः ॥

964. The Dative case-ending is not elided after आत्मन्, whenthe compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhâga of sûtra II. 1. 36, S. 698 and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha. If we do not read the anuvritti of आत्मन्, we can then dispense with the subsequent sûtra, for then it will mean "the Dative ending is not elided in a technical term of grammar."

६६५ । परस्य च । ६ । ३ । ८ ॥

परस्मैपदम् । परस्मैभाषा ॥

965. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदं "The Parasmaipada." &c.

६६६ । हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ९ ॥

हलन्ताददन्ताच्च सप्तम्या अलुक् संज्ञायाम् । स्वचिसारः ॥

966. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus स्वचिसार :

६६७ । गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः । ८ । ३ । ९५ ॥

आभ्यां स्थिरस्य सस्य षः स्यात् । गविष्ठिरः । अत्र गवीति वचनादेवालुक् । युधिष्ठिरः । अरण्येतिलकाः । अत्र संज्ञायामिति सप्तमीसमासः ॥

हृद्भुभ्यां च * ॥ हृदिस्पृक् । दिविस्पृक् ॥

967. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिरः, 'firm in the sky.'

Though गो does not end in a consonant and so VI. 3. 9. S. 966 does not apply to it, yet it retains its Locative ending by the implication of this rule. So also अ ending words: as युधिष्ठिरः and अरण्य तलकः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44 S. 721 and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9 S. 966.

Note:—Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or अ"? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe अक्षशौण्डः ॥

Vârt:—The Locative ending is not elided after हृद् and दिव्; as हृदिस्पृक्, दिविस्पृक् = हृदयं दिवं च स्पृशति ॥ The Locative has the force of accusative.

This rule is an exception by anticipation to VIII. 3. 111 S. 2123.

हलदन्तात्सप्तम्या अलुक् । कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ । ६ । ३ । १० ॥

प्राचां देशे यत्कारनाम तत्र हलादावुत्तरपदे हलदन्तात्सप्तम्या अलुक् । सुकुटेकार्षापणम् । हृषिमाषकः । पूर्वेण सिद्धे नियमार्थम् । कारनाम्न्येव प्राचामेव हलादावेवेति । कारनाम्नि किम् । अभ्यर्हितपशुः । कारादन्यस्यैतद्देयस्य नाम । प्राचां किम् । यूथपशुः । हलादौ किम् । अविकटोरणः । हलदन्तात्किम् । नद्यां दोहः नदीदोहः ॥

968. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सुकुटे कार्षापणम्, हृषिमाषकः ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a niyama or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the name of a tax'? Observe अभ्यर्हितेपशुः = अभ्यर्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues,' but not of a 'tax' Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe यूथेपशुः = यूथपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe

अविकटे उरणः = अविकटोरणः The word उरण means 'sheep.' 'A kind of tribute consisting of sheep given in the rainy season (avikata = मेघसंघात)॥ Why do we say 'ending in a consonant or अ'? Observe नद्यां दोहः = नदीदोहः॥

६६६। मध्याद्गुरौ। ६। ३। ११॥

मध्येगुरुः॥ अन्ताच* ॥ अन्तेगुरुः॥

969. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As मध्येगुरुः 'A word of three syllables having a long one in the middle.'

Vârt:—So also after अन्त; as अन्तेगुरुः॥

६७०। अमूर्धमस्तकात्स्वाङ्गाद्कामे। ६। ३। १२॥

कण्ठेकालः। उरसिलोमा। अमूर्धमस्तकात्किम्। मूर्धशिखः। मस्तकशिखः। अकामे किम्। मुखे कामोऽस्य मुखकामः॥

970. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक'? Observe मूर्धशिखः, मस्तकशिखः॥ Why do we say 'other than काम'? Observe:—मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः॥

Note:—When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply: as अक्षशौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलित्राणः, जङ्घाबलिः॥

६७१। बन्धे च विभाषा। ६। ३। १३॥

हलन्तात्सप्तम्या अलुक्। हस्तेबन्धः। हस्तबन्धः। हलन्तेति किम्। गुप्तिबन्धः॥

971. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः॥

Note:—This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrîhi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19 S. 977 when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वांग or not. The word बन्धः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we 'say the first member ending in a consonant or vowel अ'? Observe गुन्निबन्धः ॥

९७२ । तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १४ ॥

स्तम्बेरमः । कर्णेजपः । क्वचिन्न । कुरुचरः ॥

972. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a krit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्बेरमः 'an elephant.' कर्णेजपः "a secret traducer." But also कुरुचरः ॥

९७३ । प्रावृट्शरत्कालादिर्वां जे । ६ । ३ । १५ ॥

प्रावृषिजः । शरदिजः । कालजः । दिविजः । पूर्वस्यायं प्रपञ्चः ॥

973. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल and दिव्, when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृषिजः "produced in the rainy season; a storm." शरदिजः, "autumnal," कालिजः, 'produced in proper time'; "Heaven-born" This sûtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sûtra.

९७४ । विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् । ६ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभ्यः सप्तम्या अलुक् जे । वर्षेजः । वर्षजः । क्षरेजः । क्षरजः । शरेजः । शरजः । वरेजः । वरजः ॥

974. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर, when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः "produced by distillation or from a cloud;" शरेजः or शरजः, "Kârtikeya." वरेजः or वरजः 'blessing-born'.

९७५ । घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । १७ ॥

सप्तम्या विभाषाऽलुक् स्यात् । घे पूर्वाह्णेतरे । पूर्वाह्णतरे । पूर्वाह्णेतमे । पूर्वाह्णतमे । काले । पूर्वाह्णेकाले । पूर्वाह्णकाले । तने । पूर्वाह्णेतने । पूर्वाह्णतने ॥

975. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time, ending in a consonant or अ, when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन् follows.

The affixes तर् and तम् are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः—पूर्वाह्णेतरे or पूर्वा-

इतरे, पूर्वाह्णेतने or पूर्वाह्णतने ॥ कालः—पूर्वाह्णेकाले or पूर्वाह्णकाले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाह्णेतने or पूर्वाह्णतने ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'after a time-name'? Observe शुक्लैतरे, शुक्लतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥ The word काल means the word-form काल and not time-denoting words in general. The affix तन is taught in IV. 3. 23. S. 1391.

९७६ । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् । ६ । ३ । १८ ॥

खेशयः । खशयः । ग्रामेवासः । ग्रामवासः । ग्रामेवासी ॥ ग्रामवासी ॥ हलदन्तादित्येव । भूमिशयः ॥

अपो योनियन्मतुषु * ॥ अप्सु योनिरुत्पत्तिर्यस्य सोऽप्सुयोनिः । अप्सु भवोऽप्सव्यः । अप्सुमन्ता-वाद्यभागौ ॥

976. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words **शय, वास** and **वासिन्**, when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short **अ** ॥

Thus खेशयः, or खशयः, ग्रामेवासः or ग्रामवासः, ग्रामेवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पूर्वाह्णशयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vârt:—The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when योनि, or the affix यत् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the दिगादि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54 S. 1429). Some give अप्सुजः and अप्सुचरः as additional illustrations. The two mantras अप्स्वग्ने सधिष्टव (Rig VIII. 43. 9) and अप्सु मे सोमो अब्रवीत् (Rig I. 23. 20, X. 9. 6) are called अप्सुमन्तौ verses: the oblations offered with these are also so called.

९७७ । नेन्सिद्धबन्धातिषु च । ६ । ३ । १९ ॥

इन्नन्तादिषु सप्तम्या अलुप्त । स्थण्डिलशायी । साङ्काश्यसिद्धः । चक्रबन्धः ॥

977. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in **इन्**, before the word **सिद्ध**, and before a word derived from **बन्ध्** ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन् "an ascetic who sleeps on the bare sthaṇḍila or sacrificial ground." साङ्काश्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः ॥

Note :—The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhâga of sûtra II. 1. 40 S. 717. Some use the word चक्रबन्धः as an illustration under this rule : बन्ध then is derived by अच् of III. 1. 134 S. 2896.. The बन्ध ending in घञ् is governed by VI. 3. 13. S. 971. This sûtra is an exception to Tatpurusha VI. 3. 14 S. 972. In the Bahuvrîhi, option of S. 971 takes place.

The prohibition of this sûtra applies to Tatpurusha compounds only.

९७८। स्थे च भाषायाम् । ६ । ३ । २० ॥

सप्तम्या अलुप् । समस्थः । भाषायां किम् । कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्ठः ॥

978. The Locative ending is not preserved before **स्थ** in the spoken language.

Thus समस्थः ॥ Why do we say 'in the spoken language'? Observe आखरेष्ठः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोस्याखरेष्ठः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII, 3. 106 S. 3643.

९७९। षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे । ६ । ३ । २१ ॥

चौरस्य कुलम् । आक्रोशे किम् । ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

वाग्दिक्पश्यद्भ्यो युक्तिदण्डहरेषु * ॥ वाचोयुक्तिः । दिशोदण्डः । पश्यतोहरः ॥

आमुष्यायणाऽऽमुष्यपुत्रिकाऽऽमुष्यकुलिकेति च * ॥ अमुष्यापत्यं आमुष्यायणः । नडादित्वात्फक् । अमुष्य पुत्रस्य भावः आमुष्यपुत्रिका । मनोज्ञादित्वाद्वुञ् । एवमामुष्यकुलिका ॥

देवानांप्रिय इति च मूर्खे * ॥ अन्यत्र देवप्रियः ॥

शेषपुच्छलाङ्गूलेषु शुनः * ॥ शुनःशेपः । शुनःपुच्छः । शुनोलाङ्गूलः ॥

विवध वासे * ॥ विवोवासः ॥

979. The Genitive case-affix is retained, when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult.'

Thus चौरस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say "when insult is meant"?. Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vârt :—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्तिः; after दिक् before दण्ड, and after पश्यत् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, दिशोदण्डः, पश्यतोहरः ॥ पश्यन्तमनादृत्य हरति "a robber who steals in the very sight of the owner, such as a goldsmith." The compounding is by II. 3. 38. S. 635.

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमुष्यायणः, आमुष्यपुत्रिका and आमुष्यकुलिका ॥ अमुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अदस्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes फक् in forming the Patronymic, अमुष्यापत्यम् = आमुष्यायणः, अमुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः = आमुष्यपुत्रिका formed by वुञ् (V. 1. 133 S. 1798). So also आमुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vârt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः

Note :—The author of Siddhânta Kaumudi says "when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devânâm-priya." There is no authority for this, either in the Mahâbhâshya or the Kâśikâ. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant 'a fool.' The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshita through Brahmanical spite. The Tattvabodhini justifies it by saying that fools only worship Devas, the wise know themselves to be Brahma and so do not offer prayer to any lower spirit. Fools are, therefore, the beloved of Devas.

Vârt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वन् when शप, पुच्छ and लांगल follow it :—शुनः शेपः, शुनः पुच्छः, शुनोलांगूलः ॥ These are names of three Rishis.

Vârt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिव् when दास follows: as दिवोदासः ॥

६८० । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । २२ ॥

षष्ठ्याः पुत्रे परेऽलुग्वा निन्दायाम् । दास्याः पुत्रः । दासीपुत्रः । निन्दायां किम् । ब्राह्मणी पुत्रः ॥

980. The genitive affix is optionally retained, when insult is meant, if पुत्र follows.

Thus दास्याः पुत्रः or दासीपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say 'when insult is meant'? Observe ब्राह्मणीपुत्र ॥

६८१ । ऋतो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २३ ॥

विद्यासंबन्धयोनिसंबन्धवाचिन ऋदन्तात्षष्ठ्या अलुक् । होतुरन्तेवासी । होतुःपुत्रः । पितुरन्तेवासी । पितुःपुत्रः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यस्तपूर्वोत्तरपदमहणम् * ॥ नेह । होतृधनम् ॥

981. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पितुः पुत्रः ॥

Vârtika :—The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृ गृहम् पितृगृहम् ॥

६८२ । विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः । ६ । ३ । २४ ॥

ऋदन्तात्षष्ठ्या अलुग् वा स्वसृपत्योः परयोः ॥

982. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ, when **स्वसृ** and **पति** follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Note :—Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःष्वसा, or मातृष्वसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितुःष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII. 3. 84 ; S. 984. and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85 S. 983.) So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्दु पतिः or ननान्दृपतिः ॥

६८३ । मातुःपितुर्भ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ८५ ॥

आभ्यां स्वसुः सस्य षो वा स्यात् समासे । मातुःष्वसा । मातुःस्वसा । पितुःष्वसा । पितुःस्वसा । लुक्पक्षे तु ॥

983. The स् of **स्वसृ** is optionally changed to ष्, after **मातुर्** and **पितुर्** in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा, or मातुःष्वसा; पितुःस्वसा or पितुःष्वसा ॥ The words मातुर् and पितुर् end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24 S. 280). In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sûtra itself, with a र्, the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a र् ending word.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसृ when the words are used separately in a sentence.

But when the genitive case-affix is elided, then the following sûtra applies.

६८४ । मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा । ८ । ३ । ८४ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य स्वसुः सस्य षः स्यात्समासे । मातृष्वसा । पितृष्वसा । असमासे तु मातुःस्वसा । पितुः स्वसा ॥

984. The स् of **स्वसृ** is changed to ष् after **मातृ** and **पितृ** in a compound where the case-affix is elided.

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ When there is no compounding then मातुः स्वसा and पितुः स्वसा. That is there is not even the *optional* ष of sûtra VIII. 3. 85 S. 983, when these words are used separately as a sentence.

Thus we have three cases :—

(1) अलुक् समासे as, मातुः स्वसा or मातुः ष्वसा " mother's-sister."

(2) Ordinary समास, as, मातृष्वसा " mother's-sister."

(3) No samâsa, as मातुः स्वसा " mother's sister."

Here ends the chapter on Aluk Samâsa

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अथ समासाश्रय विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXV.

SOME RULES DEPENDING ON COMPOUNDS.

९८५ । घरूपकल्पचेलड्ध्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ङ्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः । ६ । ३ । ४३ ॥

भाषितपुंस्काद्यो ङी तदन्तस्यानेकाचो ह्रस्वः स्यात् घरूपकल्पप्रत्ययेषु परेषु चेलडादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु । ब्राह्मणितरा । ब्राह्मणितमा । ब्राह्मणिरूपा । ब्राह्मणिकल्पा । ब्राह्मणिचेली । ब्राह्मणिध्रुवा । ब्राह्मणिगोत्रेत्यादि । ह्रस्वः पचाद्यच् वच्यादिशगुणयोरभावो निपात्यते । चेलडादीनि वृत्तिविषये कुत्सनवाचीनि ॥ तैः कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैरिति समासः । ङ्योः किम् । दत्तातरा । भाषितपुंस्काच्छिम् । आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा ॥

985. Before the affixes **तर, तम, रूप, कल्प,** and before the words **चेल** (with the feminine in **ई**), **ध्रुव, गोत्र, मत** and **हत**, a word ending in the feminine affix **ङी** becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—**ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा** ॥ **ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिध्रुवा, ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणमता** and **ब्राह्मणिहता** ॥ **घ, रूप** and **कल्प** are affixes, **चेलट्** &c. are words as second members; **ध्रुव:** is formed by **अच्** (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) added to **ध्रू**, guṇa and **वच** substitution being prevented anomalously. The words **चेल** &c. denote censure as regards the livelihood of the person. The compounding in the case of these takes place by II. 1. 53 S. 732.

Why do we say "ending in **ई** (**ङी**)"? Observe **दत्तातरा, गुप्ततरा** ॥ Why do we say "consisting of more than one syllable"? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say "having a corresponding masculine"? Observe **आमलकीतरा**; **कुवलीतरा**, where **आमलकी** and **कुवली** denote trees and are invariably feminine, having no equivalent masculine forms.

Note:—The affixes **तरप्** and **तमप्** are called **घ** (I. 1. 22. S. 2003). They denote superlative comparative degrees. **रूपप्** is added in denoting praise (V. 3. 66 S. 2021). **चेल** is derived from **चिल वसने** 'to dress.' It means 'garment.' At the end of a compound it denotes bad, wicked, vile. The word is read in **पचादि** class as **चेलट्** (III. 1. 134. S. 2896) The **ट्** indicates that the Feminine is with **ङीप्** (IV. 1. 15. S. 470).

In **ब्राह्मणितरा** there is not masculation as required by VI. 3. 35 S. 836 because of the prohibition of VI. 3. 41 S. 842.

९८६ । नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ४४ ॥

ङ्यन्तनद्या ङ्यन्तस्यैकाच घादिषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा । ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा । स्त्रितरा स्त्रीतरा ॥

कृत्रद्या न * ॥ लक्ष्मीतरा ॥

986. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadî (I. 4. 3 S. 266 and 4 S. 303), the substitution of short vowel before घ &c. under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? They are of two sorts. First:—Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (ङी), and are called Nadî; and secondly:—feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा, स्त्रितरा, or स्त्रीतरा ॥ The rule of masculation also does not apply.

Vart:—Nadi words formed by कृत् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, सन्धीतरा formed by the Uṇâdi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160).

९८७ । उगितश्च । ६ । ३ । ४५ ॥

उगितः परा या नदी तदन्तस्य घादिषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । विदुषितरा । ह्रस्वाभावपक्षे तु तसिलादि ष्विति पुंवत् । विद्वत्तरा । वृत्र्यादिषु विदुषीतरेत्यप्युदाहृतं तन्निर्मूलम् ॥

987. The feminine ई (ङी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before घ &c. (VI. 3. 43 S. 985).

Thus विदुषितरा ॥ It is formed by the Taddhita affix क्तु ॥ In the alternative when there is no shortening, there is masculation under VI. 3. 35. S. 836, when we get the form विद्वत्तरा ॥

In the Kâśikâ, Prakriyâ Kumudi &c, the alternative form given is विदुषीतरा । This is not valid: for the long ई can never come, as the rule of पुंवत् (S. 836) will at once apply in this alternative.

Note:—Or this latter form विद्वत्तरा may be considered to have been evolved from विद्वत्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

९८८ । हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदण्लासेषु । ६ । ३ । ५० ॥

हृदयं लिखतीति हृल्लेखः । हृदयस्य प्रियं हृद्यम् । हृदयस्येदं हार्दम् । हृल्लासः । लेखेत्यणन्तस्य ग्रहणम् घञि तु हृदयलेखः । लेखग्रहणमेवं ज्ञापकम् उत्तरपदाधिकारे तदन्तविधिर्नास्तीति ॥

988. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखति=हृल्लेखः, हृदयस्य प्रियं=हृद्यम्, हृदयस्येदम्=हार्दम्, हृदयस्य लासो=हृल्लासः ॥ The word लेख here is derived by अण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by घञ् affix this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sûtra proves the existence of this maxim "उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम्" ॥

Paribhasha :—"An affix, when employed in a rule in which the word-उत्तरपदे is valid, i. e. in a rule of VI. 3. 1. S. 958 does not denote a word-form ending with the affix."

Note :—As a general maxim, an affix denotes, whenever it is emloyed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादे स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word थ, अथ &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in थ affix &c. But in this 3rd chapter of the sixth Book, so for as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the above maxim : उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्त ग्रहणम् ॥ On the contrary, the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तर तम and तन in VI. 3. 17. S. 975 do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in the present sûtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख and the affixes यत्, अण्, and लास follow". Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण् then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sûtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. See Sûtra IV. 3. 23 S. 1391 for the affix तन ॥

६८६ । वा शोकष्यञ्रोगेषु । ६ । ३ । ५१ ॥

हृच्छोकः । हृदयशोकः । सौहार्दम् । सौहृद्यम् । हृद्रोगः । हृदयरोगः । हृदयशब्दपर्यायो हृच्छब्दोऽप्यस्ति । तेन सिद्धे प्रपञ्चार्थमिदम् ॥

989. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix ष्यञ् follows.

Thus हृच्छोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्दम् or सौहृद्यम ॥ Here ष्यञ् is added, as हृदय belongs to Brâhmaṇâdi class V. 1. 124. S. 1788. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members सु and हृ by VII. 3. 19 S. 1133. So also हृद्रोगः or हृदयरोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृन् which is a *full* word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sûtra is rather unnecessary.

६६० । पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु । ६ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषूत्तरपदेषु पादस्य पद इत्यदन्त आदेशः स्यात् । पादाभ्यामजतीति पदाजिः । पदातिः । अश्वतिभ्यां पादे चेतीण् प्रत्ययः । अजेर्व्यघञपोरिति वीभावो निपातनात् । पदगः । पदोपहतः ॥

990. पद (Pada) is substituted for पाद् (pâda) before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजति ; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामतति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are formed by इण् from अज and अत् (Un IV. 131), and irregularly अज् is not changed to वी though required by II. 4. 56 S. 2292 before this affix. So also पदगः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पादेनोपहतः ॥

Note :—The substitute is पद pada, ending in short अ, and not पद् 'pad': for had पद् been the substitute we could not form पद् + ग = पदगः ॥ Moreover in the next sûtra, the substitution taught is पद् (Pad) without the final अ ; so the पद of this is with final अ ॥ The word पद has no case-affix as a sûtra anomaly.

६६१ । पद्यत्यतदर्थे । ६ । ३ । ५३ ॥

पादस्य पस्यादतदर्थे यति परे । पादौ विध्यन्ति पद्याः शर्कराः । अतदर्थे किम् । पादार्थमुदकं पाद्यम् । पादार्घाभ्यां चेति यत् ॥

इकि चरतावुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पादाभ्यां चरति पदिकः । पर्पादित्वात् इकन् ॥

991. पद् is substituted for पाद् before the affix यत्, used in any sense other than that of "suited there to."

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः ॥ Why do we say 'when यत् is used in any sense other than that of "suited there to"? Observe पाद्यम् = पादार्थमुदकं ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 S. 1635 and V. 4. 25 S. 2093).

Vart :—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद् ; as पादाभ्यां चरति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10 S. 1558.) by इकन् affix.

Note :—The word पाद् in this sûtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, S. 1699 as द्विपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद here denotes 'a measure'.

६६२ । हिमकाषिहतिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५४ ॥

पद्धिमम् । पत्काषी । पद्धतिः ॥

992 पद् is substituted for पाद् before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्धिमम्, (= पादस्य धीवं) पत्काधिन् (= पादधारिणः) (with घिनि of III. 2. 78. S. 2988) as in अथ पत्काधिणी यान्ति, and पद्धतिः (पद्भ्यां हन्यते) ॥ हति is formed with क्तिन (कर्मणि क्तिन्) ॥

६६३ । ऋचः शे । ६ । ३ । ५५ ॥

ऋचः पादस्य पस्याच्छे परे । गायत्रीं पच्छः शंसति । पादंपादमित्यर्थः । ऋचः किम् । पादशः कार्षापणं ददाति ॥

993. पद् is the substitute for पाद् before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्रीं शंसति=पादं पादं शंसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. S. 2110. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्षापणं ददाति ॥

६६४ । वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु । ६ । ३ । ५६ ॥

पादस्य पत् । पद्घोषः । पादघोषः । पन्मिश्रः । पादमिश्रः । पच्छब्दः । पादशब्दः ॥
निष्के चेति वाच्यम् * ॥ पन्निष्कः । पादनिष्कः ॥

994. This substitution of पद् for पाद् is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पन्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vârt:—So also before निष्कः as पन्निष्कः or पादनिष्कः ॥

६६५ । उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ५७ ॥

उदमेघः ॥

उत्तरपदस्य चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ क्षीरोदः ॥

995. उद् is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha',

Note:—The well-known Patronymic from this is औदमेघिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vârt:—उद् is the substitute for उदक, when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, क्षीरोदः ॥

६६६ । पेषंवासवाहनधिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५८ ॥

उदपेषंपिनष्टि । उदवासः । उदवाहनः । उदधिर्घटः । समुद्रे तु पूर्वेण सिद्धम् ॥

996, उद् is substituted for उदक् before पेषं, वास, वाहन्, and धि ॥

Thus उदपेषं पिनष्टि formed by णमुल् by III. 4. 38. S. 3359. उदवासः = उदकस्यवासः, so also उदवाहनः ॥ उदकं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उदधिः 'a water jar'. The affix is कि (III. 3. 93 S. 3271). When the meaning is 'ocean', this form उदधिः will be evolved by the preceding sûtra, for then it is a sanjñâ or name.

६६७ । एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ५९ ॥

उदकुम्भः । उदककुम्भः । एकेति किम् । उदकस्थाली । पूरयितव्येति किम् । उदकपर्वतः ॥

997. उद् is optionally substituted for उदक् before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उदकुम्भः, or उदककुम्भः, उदपात्रम् or उदकपात्रम् ॥ Why do we say 'एकहलादि' meaning 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'? Because the rule does not apply to उदकस्थाली as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant. Why do we say 'that which is filled with water'? Observe उदकपर्वतः ॥

६६८ । मन्थौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

उदमन्थः । उदकमन्थः । उदौदनः । उदकौदनः ॥

998. उद् is optionally substituted for उदक् before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उदकेन मन्थः = उदमन्थ or उदकमन्थः । उदकेनौदन, उदौदनः or उदकौदनः । सक्तु । उदकेन सक्तुः, उदसक्तु or उदकसक्तुः । बिन्दु । उदकस्य बिन्दुः, उदबिन्दुः or उदकबिन्दुः । वज्र । उदकस्य वज्रः उदवज्रः or उदकवज्रः । भार । उदकं बिभर्तीति उदभारः । or उदकभारः । हार उदकं हरतीति, उदहारः or उदकहारः । वीवध । । उदकस्य वीवध, उदवीवधः or उदकवीवधः । गाह । उदकं गाहत इति, उदगाहः or उदकगाहः ॥

६६९ । इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

इगन्तस्याङ्यन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यादुत्तरपदे । मामणिपुत्रः । मामणीपुत्रः । इकः किम् । स्मापतिः । अङ्य इति किम् । गौरीपतिः । गालवग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवृत्तेः ॥

इयङुवङ्भाविनामव्ययानां च नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ श्रीमदः । भूभङ्गः । शुक्लीभावः ॥

अभ्रूकुंसादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ भ्रूकुंसः । भ्रूकुटिः । भ्रूकुंसः । भ्रुकुटिः । अकारोऽनेन विधीयत इति व्याख्यान्तरम् ॥ भ्रकुंसः । भ्रकुटिः ॥ भ्रुवा कुंसो भर्त्सनं शोभा वा यस्य सः स्त्रीवेषधारी नर्तकः । भ्रुव.कुटिः कौटिल्यम् ॥

999. According to the opinion of Gâlava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second

member for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ङी)

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ङी) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound, before the second member. Thus ग्रामणिपुत्रः or ग्रामणीपुत्रः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुत्रः ॥

Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe रमापतिः ॥ Why no we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ङी'? Observe गौरीपतिः ॥ The name of Gâlava is mentioned pujârtha; for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sûtra.

Vârt:—It does not apply to Avyayîbhava compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीमद्। भूभद्र। शुक्लीभावः ॥

Vart:—It does however apply to भ्रूकुंस &c, as भ्रूकुंसः, or भ्रूकुंसः भ्रूकुटिः or भ्रुकुटिः ॥ Others say अ is substituted for भ्रू &c. as भ्रकुंसः and भ्रकुटिः ॥ भ्रूकुंस means an 'actor,' literally "he who talks (kunse) by the contraction of the eye-brows, or whose ornament (kunsa) are the eye-brows." A male actor who plays the part of a female. भ्रुकुटि means 'knitting of the eye-brows, or frown.'

१००० । एक तद्धिते च । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

एकशब्दस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात्तद्धिते उत्तरपदे च । एकस्या आगतं एकरूप्यम् । एकक्षीरम् ॥

1000. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या आगतं = एकरूप्यम् ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम् ॥

Note:—The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculation, such as VI. 3 35. S. 836 i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sûtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine, which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the *final* letter, and not to a vowel situated in the beginning of a word.

१००१ । ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

रेवतिपुत्रः । अजक्षीरम् ॥

1001. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ङी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः । नान्दीघोषः, । नान्दीविशाल. ॥

So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिदारा, प्रदर्विदा ; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फाल्गुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥

आप् ending words in Name: अजशीरम् ; शिलप्रस्थम् ; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम् , लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas :—अजशीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णम्रदा पृथिवी विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

१००२ । त्वे च । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

स्वप्रत्यये ङ्याप्योर्वा ह्रस्वः । अजत्वम् । अजात्वम् । रोहिणित्वम् । रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

1002. The feminine afiixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजत्वं or अजात्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

Note :—These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

Now we take up the compounding of कौमुदगन्ध्या + पुत्रः ॥ In compounding these, tow words, the following rule applies.

१००३ । ष्यङः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे । ६ । १ । १३ ॥

ष्यङन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य संप्रसारणं स्यात्पुत्रपत्योरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे ॥

1003. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

Therefore कौमुदगन्ध्या + पुत्र = कौमुदगन्धि + पुत्रः ॥ Then applies the next sûtra, by which इ is lengthened.

Note :—When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasâraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix ष्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus करीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धिः (a Bahuvrîhi compound taking the samâsanta affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 127 S. 866) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088) = कारिषगन्ध ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) Thus we have कारिषगन्ध्या (see IV. 1. 78 S. 1198). Now in forming the Tatpurusha

compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final ई will be changed into इ and we have कारीषगन्धी पुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The आ of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108 S. 330), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139 S. 1004). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः or कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix ष्यङ्" ? Observe इभ्यापुत्रः ॥ क्षत्रीयापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुत्र or पति" ? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याकुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpurusha compound" ? Observe कारिषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य ग्रामस्य = कारिषगन्ध्यापतिरयं ग्रामः ॥ It is a Bahuvrîhi compound.

The affix ष्यङ् is here the feminine affix य followed by चाप् (आ) (see IV. I. 77 and 74).

१००४ । संप्रसारणस्य । ६ । ३ । १३९. ॥

संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घः स्यादुत्तरपदे । कौमुदग्न्याया: पुत्रः कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः । व्यवस्थितविभाषया ह्रस्वो न । स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जनेनेति तदाद्विनियमप्रतिषेधात् । परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः । उपसर्जने तु तदाद्विनियमान्नेह । अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः ॥

1004. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः । कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13 S. 1003.

कारीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = कारीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samâsânta by V. 4. 136 and 137 S. 875 and 876). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61 S. 999 does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परत्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139 S, 1004 and the rule VI. 3. 61 S. 999 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानं "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival, सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधेयद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply

in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word-form is subordinate: स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

१००५ । बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ । ६ । १ । १४ ॥

बन्धुशब्दे उत्तरपदे ष्यङः संप्रसारणं स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । कारीषगन्ध्या बन्धुरस्येति कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः । बहुव्रीहाविति किम् । कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः । क्लीबनिर्देशस्तु शब्दस्वरूपापेक्षया ॥ मातर्जमातृकमातृषु वा ॥ कारीषगन्धीमातः । कारीषगन्ध्यामातः । कारीषगन्धीमातृकः । कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः । कारीषगन्धीमाता । कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । अस्मादेव निपातनान्मातृशब्दस्य मातर्जादेशः । 'नप्तृनष्तृ' (८३३) इति कप्त्विकल्पश्च । बहुव्रीहाविवेदम् । नेह । कारीषगन्ध्याया माता कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । चिरत्वसामर्थ्याच्चिरस्वरो बहुव्रीहिस्वरं बाधते ॥

1005. There is vocalisation of the affix ष्यङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrihi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौसुदगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrihi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sûtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word. It is shown as neuter only as regards the word-form bandhu.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of ष्यङ् in a Bahuvrihi compound with मातच्, मातृक and मातृ optionally: as कारीषगन्धीमातः or कारीषगन्ध्या मातः, कारीषगन्धीमातृक or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ All Bahuvrihi compounds ending in ऋ take the samâsânta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V. 4. 153, S. 833. So the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional. The rule is confined to Bahuvrihi compounds. Therefore in Tatpurusha compounds there is no option, we have only one form, as कारीषगन्ध्यामाता "the mother of Kârîsha-gandhyâ".

The indicatory च of मातच् makes the word take the udâtta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710), thus debarring the special accent of the Bahuvrihi (VI. 2. 1. S. 3735).

१००६। इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

इष्टकादीनां तदन्तानां च पूर्वपदानां चितादिषु क्रमादुत्तरपदेषु ह्रस्वः स्यात् । इष्टकाचितम् । पक्वेष्टकाचितम् । इषीकातूलम् । मुञ्जेषीकातूलम् । मालभारी । उत्पलमालभारी ॥

1006. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिन् ॥

Thus इष्टकाचितम्, इषीकातूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c as they fall under Padâdhikâra. So that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्वेष्टकाचितम्, मुञ्जेषीकातूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

१००७। कारे सत्यागदस्य । ६ । ३ । ७० ॥

मुम् स्यात् । सत्यङ्कारः । अगदङ्कारः ।

अस्तोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अस्तुङ्कारः ॥

धेनोर्भव्यायाम् * ॥ धेनुम्भव्या ॥

लोकस्य पृणे * ॥ लोकम्पृणः । पृण इति भूरिविभुजादिस्वात्कः ॥

इत्येऽनभ्याशस्य * ॥ अनभ्याशमित्यः । दूरत परिहर्तव्य इत्यर्थः ।

भ्राष्ट्राग्न्योरिन्धे * ॥ भ्राष्ट्रमिन्धः । अग्निमिन्धः ॥

गिलेऽगिलस्य * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलः । अगिलस्य किम् । गिलगिलः ॥

गिलगिले च * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

उष्णभद्रयोः करणे * ॥ उष्णङ्करणम् । भद्रङ्करणम् ॥

1007. मुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यंकारः = सत्यंकरोति or सत्यस्यकारः 'to take oath'. So also अगदंकारः "a physician."

Vart :—So also of अस्तु as अस्तुंकारः "efficacious, working as a medicine."

Note :—So also in Vedas, of भद्र before कार—e. g. भद्रंकार, in secular language भद्रकारः ॥

Vart :—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुंभव्या (धेनुश्चासौभव्या च) ॥

Vart :—Of लोक before पृण, e. g. लोकंपृण "filling or pervading the

world." As लोकम्पृणैः परिमलैः परिपूरितस्य ॥ पृण is formed by the affix क (III. 2. 5. S. 2919 vart.) added to the root पृण् ॥ as it belongs to the Mûla-vibhujâdi class.

Vart:—Of अनभ्याश before इत्य as अनभ्याशमित्यः "to be shunned from afar."

Vart:—Of भ्राष्ट्र and अग्नि, before इन्धः, as भ्राष्ट्रमिन्धः, अग्निमिन्धः "one who fries or roasts."

Vart:—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. तिमिङ्गिलः "a kind of fish which swallows a *timi*." But गिलगिलः ॥

Vart:—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vart:—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णंकरण and भद्रंकरणं ॥

१००८ । रात्रेः कृति विभाषा । ६ । ३ । ७२ ॥

रात्रिञ्चरः । रात्रिचरः । रात्रिमदः । रात्र्यटः । अखिदर्थमिदं सूत्रम् । खिति तु अहर्दिवेति नित्यमेव वक्ष्यते । रात्रिमन्यः ॥

1008. The word **रात्रि** optionally takes **मुम्** before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिञ्चरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमदः or रात्र्यटः ॥ This is an aprâpta-vibhâshâ. This sûtra applies to words not formed by a खित् affix. The augment मुम् is compulsory by VI. 3. 67 S. 2942 before a kṛit-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिमन्यः ॥ Here the affix खश् (III. 2. 83 S. 2993) is added to the root मन्; and as it is a sârvadhâtuka affix, becasue it has an indicatory श, therfore the vikaraṇa श्यन् is added.

१००९ । सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ७८ ॥

उत्तरपदे । सपलाशम् । संज्ञायां किम् । सहयुध्वा ॥

1009. **स** is substituted for **सह**, in a Name, when followed by another word in a compound.

Thus सपलाशम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुध्वा formed by क्वनिप् (III. 2. 96 S. 3006). The ई is not added in the Feminine, because of the vârtika under IV. 1. 7. S. 456.

१०१० । ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च । ६ । ३ । ७९ ॥

अनयोः परयोः सहस्य सः स्यादुत्तरपदे । समुहूर्तं ज्योतिषमधीते । सद्रोणा खारी ॥

1010. **स** is the substitute for **सह**, in a compound when followed by another word, when it has the sense of

'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work) or 'more.'

Thus सकलं=कलान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also समुहूर्तम्=(मुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ सं संग्रहं (=संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayîbhâva compounds by °अन्त-वचने (II. 1. 6 S. 652). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81 S. 660. The present sûtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book.' When the sense is that of 'more,' we have सद्रोणाखारी, समाषः कार्षापणः। सकाकिणीको माषः ॥

१०११। द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये। ६। ३। ८०॥

अनुमेये द्वितीये सहस्य सः स्यात्। सराक्षसीका निशा। राक्षसी साक्षादनुपलभ्यमाना निशयाऽनुमीयते ॥

1011. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter, however, is not directly perceived.

Note:—Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, 'the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, *i. e.* what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus साग्निः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where.' सपिशाचा वात्या "a storm-wind which announces the Piśâchas."

सराक्षसीका निशा. Here the fire, the Piśâcha or the Râkshas as are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon, storm-wind and night. In सराक्षसीका, there is added कप् by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

१०१२। समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्धप्रभृत्युदर्केषु। ६। ३। ८४॥

समानस्य सः स्यादुत्तरपदे नतु मूर्धादिषु। अनु भ्राता सगर्भ्यः। अनु सखा सयूथ्यः। यो नः सनुत्यः। सत्रभव इत्यर्थे सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यत्। अमूर्धादिषु किम्। समानमूर्धा। समानप्रभृतयः। समानोदर्कः। समानस्येति योगो विभज्यते। तेन सपक्षः साधर्म्ये सजातीयमित्यादि सिद्धमिति काशिका। अथवा सहशब्दः सदृशवचनोऽप्यस्ति। सदृशः सख्या ससखीति यथा। तेनायमस्वपदविग्रहो बहुव्रीहिः। समानः पक्षोऽस्येत्यादि ॥

1012. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas but not before मूर्धन्, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus भ्रातुर्भ्राता सगर्भ्यः, सखुर्सखा सयूथ्यः, योनेः सतुल्यः (IV. 4. 114 S. 3460) समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भ्यः formed by यत् affix IV. 4. 114 S. 3460. Why do we say 'not before मूर्धन् &c.' Observe समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदर्काः ॥

"The sûtra should be divided into two *viz.*, समानस्य forming one sûtra, and छन्दस्यमूर्द्ध &c., another. This we do in order to get the forms सपक्षः, साधार्म्यम्, सजातीयम् &c., in secular language also." Thus says the author of the Kâśikâ.

Or we may say the word सह means also सदृश, as we have already seen in the word ससखा (= सदृश सखा). Therefore the above are Bahuvrihis, which should be analysed thus समानः पक्षोऽस्य = सपक्षः &c. Here स is an elliptical form of सह meaning sadriśa. See VI. 3. 82 S. 849 by which सह is changed to स ॥

Note:—This sutra is a Vaidic rule and ought to have been taught by Bhattoji in the Vaidic chapter. He has taught it here in order to show that by Yoga vibhâga it can be applied to ordinary language also.

But if the view be taken that in सपक्षः &c., the स is सह, then there is no necessity of Yoga-vibhâga; for the Mâhâbhâshya has not shown this splitting of this particular sûtra.

१०१३ । ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु । ६ । ३ । ८५ ॥

एषु द्वादशसूत्तरपदेषु समानस्य सः स्यात् । सज्योतिः । सजनपद इत्यादि ॥

1013. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before the twelve words ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सजनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः; सस्थानः; सवर्णः; सवयाः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

Note:—सज्योतिस् (neut) is the period of impurity which lasts up to the setting of the sun or the asterism in which the impurity commenced.

१०१४ । चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि । ६ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य सः स्याच्चरणे समानत्वेन गम्यमाने । चरणः शाखा । ब्रह्म वेदः । तदध्ययनार्थं व्रतमपि ब्रह्म । तच्चरतीति ब्रह्मचारी । समानः सः सब्रह्मचारी ॥

1014. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ चरणे in the sûtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study ब्रह्म means the Vedas. He who has a common (samâna) branch (charaṇa) is a sabrahmachâri. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow, is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow of studying being common to both : *i. e.* समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥

Note :—सब्रह्मचारिन् therefore means a co-student, one who reads the *same* Vedic portion as the other.

१०१५ । तीर्थे ये । ६ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तीर्थे उत्तरपदे यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते समानस्य सः स्यात् । सतीर्थ्यः = एकगुरुकः । समानतीर्थेवासीति यत्प्रत्ययः ॥

1015. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ, when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थ्यः = समान तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107 S. 1658) 'a fellow-student,' *i. e.* whose preceptor is one and the same person who are studying under a common teacher. The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 107 S. 1658.

१०१६ । विभाषोदरे । ६ । ३ । ८८ ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते इत्येव । सोदर्यः । समानोदर्यः ॥

1016. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

सोदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108 S. 1659).

१०१७ । दृग्दृशवतुषु । ६ । ३ । ८९ ॥

सदृक् । सदृशः ॥

दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सदृक्षः । वतुरुत्तरार्थः ॥

1017. स is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दृश् and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes क्स, and क्विन् are added to दृश् under III. 2. 60 S. 429. *Vârt* which give us the forms दृक् and दृश ॥

Vârt :—So also before दक्ष as सदृक्षः ॥ दृक्ष is formed by क्स affix under III. 2. 60S. 429 Vârtika.

The affix वतु is taken for the sake of the subsequent sûtra.

१०१८। इदंकिमोरीश्की । ६ । ३ । ९० ॥

दृशदृक्षवतुषु इदम इश किमः की स्यात् । ईदृक् । ईदृशः । कीदृक् । कीदृशः । वतूदाहरणं वक्ष्यते। दृक्षे च । ईदृक्षः । कीदृक्षः ॥ आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ दृक्षे च । तादृक् । तादृशः ॥ तावान् । तादृक्षः । दीर्घः । मस्वोस्वे । अमूदृक् । अमूदृशः । अमूदृक्षः ॥

1018. ई is substituted for इदम् and की for किम् before the words दृक्, दृश् and the affix वत् ॥

Thus ईदृक्, ईदृश: and ईदृवान्, कीदृक्, कीदृश: and कीदृवान् ॥

Note :—ईदृवत् and कीदृवत् are changed to ई + इयत् and की + इयत् by V. 2. 40 S. 1841 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311 and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vârt :—So also before दृक्ष, as ईदृक्षः and कीदृक्षः ॥

So also when the rule VI. 3. 91 S. 430 applies and आ is added to pronouns, as तादृक्, तादृशः, तावान् and तादृक्षः ॥

So also in the case of the Pronoun अदस् when it takes the long अ (VII. 3. 91 S. 430), and म and उ substitutions: (VIII. 2. 80 S. 419) as—अमूदृक् ; अमूदृशः; अमूदृक्षः ॥

१०१९। समासेऽङ्गुलेः सङ्गः । ८ । ३ । ८० ॥

अङ्गुलिशब्दात्सङ्गस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । अङ्गुलिषङ्गः । समासे किम् । अङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥

1019. ष् is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्ग ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe अङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥

Note :—The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sûtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive *i. e.* सङ्गस्य ॥

१०२०। भीरोः स्थानम् । ८ । ३ । ८१ ॥

भीरुशब्दात् स्थानस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । भीरुष्ठानम् । असमासे तु । भीरोः स्थानम् ॥

1020. ष् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरु in a compound.

Thus भीरुष्ठानम् ॥ The word "compound" is understood here also; otherwise भीरोः स्थानं ॥

१०२१ । ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आभ्यां स्तोमस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । ज्योतिष्टोमः । आयुष्टोमः । समासे किम् । ज्योतिषः स्तोमः ॥

1021. The स् of स्तोमः is changed to ष् after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिष्टोमः, आयुष्टोमः ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe ज्योतिषः स्तोमः where there is no compounding.

१०२२ । सुषामादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ९८ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्यः । शोभनं साम यस्य सुषामा । सुषन्धिः ॥

1022. The स् is changed to ष् in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः=शोभनम् साम यस्मि असौ ॥ So also सुषन्धिः ॥

Note :—1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्ठु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्ठु), 12 गौरिष्कथः संज्ञायाम् 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलाषाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेवनम्) ,16 दुन्दुभिषेवणम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्; °वेवनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 हरिषेणः, 19 नक्षत्रात्रा, रोहिणीषेण ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, S. 2123 others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachanîya (I. 4. 94 S. 555) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and कृ; so VIII. 3, 65 S. 2270 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The word सेध here is a घञ् formed word, from षिधू हिंसा संराद्धोः; if it be derived from षिध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113 S. 2278. The words सुषन्धिः, दुःषन्धिः &c., are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92 S 3270); and the स of सम् is changed to ष ॥ The words सुष्टु दुष्टु are Unâdi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिष्कथः is a Bahuvrîhi, the स of सकिथ is changed to ष् and the Samâsânta षच् is added (V. 4. 113 S. 852). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63 S. 1001. The change takes place when it is a Name. The word प्रतिष्णिका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root सा, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106 S. 3283), and we have प्रतिष्णा with टाप्; then क is added by V. 3, 73 S 2028 and आ shortened (VII, 4. 13 S. 834), and इ added by VII. 3. 44 S. 46 3 The word नौषेचनं is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिषेवणं is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीध्यति ॥ There are two sûtras in the above list. They are explained below.

१०२३ । एति संज्ञायामगात् । ८ । ३ । ९९ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्यः । हरिषेणः ॥ एति किम् । हरिसक्थम् । संज्ञायां किम् । पृथुसेनः । अगकारात्किम् । विष्वक्सेनः । इण्कोरित्येव । सर्वसेनः ॥

1023 The स् *followed by* ए *and preceded by* इण् *or* कु *is changed to* ष्, *when the word is a name, and when the* स *is not preceded by* ग् ॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेणः, so also वारिषेणः, जानुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्थम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34 S. 831). Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इण्कोः (VIII. 3. 57 S. 241) is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

Note :—This sûtra is read in the list of Sushâmâdi class (see the last sûtra 1022) so also the next sûtra. They have been inserted in the Ashṭâdhyâyî from the Gaṇapâṭha.

१०२४ । नक्षत्राद्वा । ८ । ३ । १०० ॥

एति सस्य संज्ञायामगकारान्मूर्धन्यो वा । रोहिणीषेणः । रोहिणीसेनः । अगकारात्किम् । शतभिषक्सेनः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1024 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष् *substitution for* स् *under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.*

Thus रोहिणीषेणः or रोहिणीसेनः ॥ Why do we say 'when not preceded by ग'? Observe भिषक् सेनः where the preceding letter is ष् ॥

Note :—These two sûtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sûtras, being read in the सुषामादि Gaṇa. They have, since long, been raised to the rank of full sûtras.

All cerebral ष changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under the Sushâmâdi gaṇa.

१०२५ । अषष्ठ्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु । ६ । ३ । ९९ ॥

अन्यशब्दस्य दुगागमः स्यादाशीरादिषु परेषु । अन्यदाशीः । अन्यदाज्ञा । अन्यदास्था । अन्यदास्थितः । अन्यदुत्सुकः । अन्यदूतिः । अन्यद्रागः । अन्यदीयः ॥ अषष्ठीत्यादि किम् । अन्यस्याऽन्येन वाशीः अन्याशीः । कारके छे च नायं निषेधः । अन्यस्य कारकः अन्यत्कारकः । अन्यस्यायमन्यदीयः । गहादिराकृतिगणस्याच्छः ॥

1025. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (द्), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यदाशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यदाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यदास्था अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यदास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यदूतिः, अन्यः कारकः अन्यत्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्रागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2.138 S. 1362.) Gahâdi is Akritigaṇa.

Why do we say 'when not in the Genitive or the Instrumental'?. Observe अन्यस्य आशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c: as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकः, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यदियम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sûtra (अषष्ठी and अतृतीया), implies this.

१०२६ । अर्थे विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १०० ॥

अन्यदर्थः । अन्यार्थः ॥

1026. दुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows.

As अन्यदर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

१०२७ । कोः कत्तत्पुरुषेऽचि । ६ । ३ । १०१ ॥

अजादावुत्तरपदे । कुत्सितोऽश्वः कदश्वः । कदन्नम् । तत्पुरुषे किम् । कूष्ट्री राजा ॥
स्त्री च * ॥ कुत्सिताख्य कद्भ्रयः ॥

1027. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कदश्वः, कदन्नम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कूष्ट्री राजा ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe कुब्राह्मण, कुपुरुषः ॥

Vart :—कत् is substituted before त्रय, as कत्त्रयः = कुत्सितास्त्रयः ॥

१०२८ । रथवदयोश्च । ६ । ३ । १०२ ॥

कद्रथः । कद्वः ॥

1028. कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and वद्also.

Thus कद्रथः, कद्वदः ॥

१०२९ । तृणे च जातौ । ६ । ३ । १०३ ॥

कत्तृणम् ॥

1029. कत् is substituted for कु. when तृण follows denoting a species.

As कत्तृणा नाम जातिः ॥ But कुत्सितानि तृणानि = कुतृणानि ॥

१०३० । का पथ्यक्ष्योः । ६ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कापथम् । काक्षः । अक्षशब्देन तत्पुरुषः । अक्षिशब्देन बहुव्रीहिर्वा ॥

1030. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथम् and काक्षः ॥ The latter is a Tatpurusha, if the second word is *aksha* ; and it is Bahuvrîhi also, if the second term is *akshi*.

१०३१ । ईषदर्थे । ६ । ३ । १०५ ॥

ईषज्जलं काजलम् । अजादावपि परत्वात्कादेशः । काम्लः ॥

1031. का is the substitute of कु, when the meaning is 'a small.'

As कामधुरम , कालवणम् । काजलम् "a little water." Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 S. 1027 because this sûtra is *subsequent* in order ; as काम्लम् ॥

१०३२ । विभाषा पुरुषे । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

कापुरुषः । कुपुरुषः । अप्राप्तविभाषेयम् । ईषदर्थे हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधान्नित्यमेव । ईषत्पुरुषः । कापुरुषः ॥

1032. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कुपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprâpta-vibhâshâ. In the sense of 'a little ईषद', the substitution is compulsory and not optional, by the setting aside of the prior ; as ईषत् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

१०३३ । कवं चोष्णे । ६ । ३ । १०७ ॥

उष्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे कोः कंव का च वा स्यात् । कवोष्णम् । कोष्णम् । कदुष्णम् ॥

1033. **का** and **कव** are optionally the substitutes of **कु** when **उष्ण** follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

१०३४ । पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् । ६ । ३ । १०९ ॥

पृषोदरप्रकाराणि शिष्टैर्यथोच्चारितानि तथैव साधूनि स्युः । पृषतः उदरं पृषोदरम् । तलोपः । वारिवाहको बलाहकः । पूर्वपदस्य वः उत्तरपदादेश्च लत्वम् ॥

भवेद्वर्णागमाद्धंसः सिंहो वर्णावपर्ययात् । गूढोत्मा वर्णविकृतेर्वर्णनाशात्पृषोदरम् ॥

दिक्शब्देभ्यस्तीरस्य तारभावो वा * ॥ दक्षिणतारम् । दक्षिणतीरम् । उत्तरतारम् । उत्तरतीरम् ॥

दुरो दाशनाशदभध्येषूत्वमुत्तरपदादेः ष्टुत्वं च * ॥

दुःखेन दाश्यते दूडाशः । दुःखेन नाश्यते दूणाशः । दुःखेन दभ्यते दूडभः । खलं त्रिभ्यः । दम्भेर्नलोपो निपात्यते । दुःखेन ध्यायतीति दूढ्यः । आतश्चेति कः । ह्रुवन्तोऽस्यां सीदन्तीति दूसी । ह्रुवच्छब्दस्य दू आदेशः सदेरधिकरणे ङट् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1034. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in **पृषोदर** &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपदिष्टम् = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुदरं यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्यानं यस्य = पृषोद्यानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वारिवाहकः = बलाहकः, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहक; जीवनस्य मूतः = जीमूतः, here वन has been elided ; शवानां शयनं = श्मशानम्; here श्म replaces शव; and शान for शयन ॥ ऊर्द्धं खमस्य = उलूखलम्; here उलू replaces ऊर्ध्व, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिशिताशः = पिशाचः ॥

महां रौति = मयूरः ॥ Here मही is replaced by मयू, and the final of रु is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अश्वत्थ, कपित्थ &c.

The following verse enumerates the anomalies of Prishodara class compounds :—

VERSE.

The word हंस is formed by the augment of a letter ; the word सिंह is formed by the transposition of letters ; the word गूढोत्मा is formed by mutation of letters, and the word पृषोदर is formed by the destruction of letters.

Note :—हंस is formed from the root हन् with the affix अच् (of Pachâdi class III. 1. 134 S. 2896); and the augment सक्. हन्+सक्+अच्=हंसः ॥ From √ हिंस् is formed सिंह by the Pachâdi अच्, the letters ह and स change position *inter se*.

Vârt :—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतरिम् or दक्षिणतारम्, उत्तरतरिम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vârt :—The final of दुर् is changed to ड, before दाश, नाश, दभ and ध्यै and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दुःखेन दाश्यते, नाश्यते, दभ्यते यः = दूडाशः, दूणाशः, दूडभः ॥ In the last (दभ्) there is elision of the nasal also. These three words are formed by the affix खल् (III. 3. 126 S. 3305) दुःखेन ध्यायति = दूढ्यः ॥ Here is added the affix क to the root ध्या (ध्यै) preceded by the upapada दुः, by III. I. 126 S. 2898.

द्रुवन्तोऽस्यां सीदन्ति = वृसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उट् in the locative, and द्रुव is replaced by वृ ॥ मुनीनामासनं वृसी "The seat of a sage is called brisî." (See Amarakosha II. 7. 46).

१०३५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । ३ । ११४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1035. In the following sûtras upto the end of the third pâda of the sixth Adhyâya, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an uninterrupted flow of speech."

Note :—Thus sûtra VI. 3. 135 S. 3537 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns." Thus विद्माहित्वा सत्पतिं शूर गोनाम् ॥ The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sûtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विद्म, हि, त्वा, सत्पतिं, शूर, गोनाम् ॥

१०३६ । कर्णे लक्षणस्याऽविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रुवस्वस्तिकस्य । ६ । ३ । ११५ ॥

कर्णशब्दे परे लक्षणवाचकस्य दीर्घः । द्विगुणाकर्णः । लक्षणस्य किम् । शोभनकर्णः । अविष्टादीनां किम् । विष्टकर्णः । अष्टकर्णः । पञ्चकर्णः । मणिकर्णः । भिन्नकर्णः । छिन्नकर्णः । छिद्रकर्णः । स्रुवकर्णः । स्वास्तिककर्णः ॥

1036. Before कर्ण, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not

when the words are विष्ट, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुच and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus द्विगुणाकर्णः॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the preprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say 'when it denotes such a mark'? Observe शोभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of विष्ट &c'? Observe विष्टकर्णः॥ अष्टकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिद्रकर्णः, स्रुवकर्णः, स्वस्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः ॥

१०३७ । नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्वौ । ६ । ३ । ११६ ॥

क्विबन्तेषु एषु परेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः । उपानत् । नीवृत् । प्रावृट् । मर्माविट् । नीरुक् । अभीरुक् । ऋतीषट् । परीतत् । क्वाविति किम् । परिणहनम् । विभाषा पुरुष इत्यतो मण्डूकप्लुत्या विभाषानुवर्तते सा च व्यवस्थिता । तेन गतिकारकयोरेव । नेह । पटुरुक् । तिग्मरुक् ॥

1037. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यध्, रुच्, सह and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्विप ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vṛt) प्रावृट्, उपावृट्, (with vṛsh) मर्माविट्, हृदयाविट्, श्वाविट्, (with vyadh) नीरुक्, अभीरुक् (with tuch) ऋतीषट्, (with sah) तरीतट (with tan). The nasal is elided after तन् before क्वि (VI. 4. 40 S. 2986), and by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say 'when क्वि follows'? Observe परिणहनम् ॥

In this sûtra we read the anuvritti of the word "vibhâshâ" ("optionally") from the aphorism VI. 3, 106 S. 1032, which does not govern the intervening ten sûtras, but applies to this VI. 3. 116 S. 1037, by the method, called 'frog-leap.' The option of this sûtra is, however, a vyavasthita vibhâsâ or a settled option. Namely, it applies only when the upapadas are *gatis* or *kârakas*. Therefore not here, पटुरुक् or तिग्मरुक् ॥

१०३८ । वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलुकादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११७ ॥

कोटरादीनां वने परे किंशुलुकादीनां गिरौ परे दीर्घः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

1038. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किंशुलुक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटर+वन ॥ Now applies the following sûtra.

Note:—Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिम्रकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किंशुलुकागिरि, अञ्जनागिरि, &c.

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039. But असिपत्रवनम् and कृष्ण-गिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिध्रक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किंशुलुक (किंशुलक), 2 शाल्व (साल्वक), 3 नड*, 4 अञ्जन, 5 भञ्जन, 6 लोहित, 7 कुक्कुट ॥

१०३९ । वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकासारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः । ८ । ४ । ४ ॥

वनशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्य एभ्य एव णत्वं नान्येभ्यः । इह कोटरान्ताः पञ्च दीर्घविधौ कोटरादयो द्रष्टव्याः । तेषां कृतदीर्घाणां णत्वविधौ निर्देशो नियमार्थः । अग्रशब्दस्य तु विध्यर्थः । पुरगावणम् । मिश्रकावणम् । सिध्रकावणम् । सारिकावणम् । कोटरावणम् । ह्रस्व एवेति किम् । असिपत्रवनम् । वनस्याग्रे अग्रवणम् । राजदन्तादिषु निपातनात्सप्तम्या अलुक् । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे प्रथमा । किंशुलुका गिरिः ॥

1039. The न of वन, is changed into ण, when preceeby the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrkâ, sârikâ, koṭarâ, and agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदात् and संज्ञायाम् of the sûtra VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावणं, कोटरावणम् ॥ These are names of hells of various kinds. अग्रेवणम् (II. 2. 31 S. 902) शारिका-वणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above five up to कोटर is by VI. 3. 117 S. 1038 and the word कोटरादि of the last sûtra refers to these five words of the present sûtra. Though the word अग्रे वणं = अग्रेवनस्य is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, S. 966 applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Râjadantâdi list (II. 2. 31 S. 902). The seventh-case-affix is included in the meaning of a Prâtipadika, hence the word agre-vanam is in the Nominative case. So also किंशुलुकागिरिः ॥

The substitution of ण for न with regards to the first five words would have taken place by the preceding Ashṭâdhyâyî sûtra VIII. 4. 3. S. 857. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, after these, shows that this is a restrictive or नियम rule, so far as the five words up to koṭrâ are concerned. But with regards to *agre* it is a vidhi. The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and

no other. Thus कुबेरवनं, शतधारवनम्, असिपत्रवनम् ॥ The word agrevaṇam is not a Name, and therefore sûtra 857 would not have applied to it. Hence with regard to agre the present sûtra is a vidhi or an original rule.

१०४० । वले । ६ । ३ । ११८ ॥

वलप्रत्यये परे दीर्घः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । कृषीवलः ॥

1040. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus कृषीवलः ॥ This is formed by the affix वलच् (V. 2. 112 S. 1919.)

१०४१ । मतौबह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११९ ॥

अमरावती । अनजिरादीनां किम् । अजिरवती । बह्वचः किम् । व्रीहिमती । संज्ञायामित्येव । नेह । वलयवती ॥

1041. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मतुप् (IV. 2. 85 S. 1304.) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII. 2. 11. S. 1899. Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c.' Observe अजिरवती, खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables'? Observe व्रीहिमती ॥ The phrase "when it is a name" has been read into the sûtra. When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening. As वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक ॥

१०४२ । शरादीनां च । ६ । ३ । १२० ॥

शरावती ॥

1042. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11, S. 1899.) But not so after व्रीहि &c as these belong to यवादि class (VIII. 2. 9 S. 1897.)

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि, 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 हनु ॥

१०४३ । इको वहेऽपीलोः । ६ । ३ । १२१ ॥

इगन्तस्य दीर्घः स्याद्वहे । ऋषीवहम् । कपीवहम् ॥ इकः किम् । पिण्डवहम् । अपीलोः किम् । पीलुवहम् ॥

अपील्वादीनामिति वाच्यम् * ॥ दारुवहम् ॥

1043. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, मुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vart:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As दारुवहम् ॥

१०४४ । उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १२२ ॥

उपसर्गस्य बहुलं दीर्घः स्याद्घञन्ते परे न तु मनुष्ये । परीपाकः । परिपाकः ॥ अमनुष्ये किम् । निषादः ॥

1044. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus परीपाकः or परिपाकः ॥

Note:—It does not take place, as प्रसेचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before सार and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासादः and प्राकारः, ॥ Otherwise प्रसादः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥

Why do we say, "when human beings are not meant"? Observe निषादः "The caste Nishâda." It is formed by घञ् under sûtra III. 3. 121 S. 3300 (निषीदत्यस्मिन् पापम् इति निषादः) ॥ The word प्रतीहारः 'gate-keeper' is apparently an exception.

१०४५ । इकः काशे । ६ । ३ । १२३ ॥

इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात्काशे । वीकाशः । नीकाशः । इकः किम् । प्रकाशः ॥

1045. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As वीकाशः, नीकाशः, ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134 S. 2896). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

१४६ । अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२५ ॥

उत्तरपदे दीर्घः । अष्टापदम् । संज्ञायां किम् । अष्टपुत्रः ॥

1046. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टापदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when the compound is a name'? Observe अष्टपुत्रः, where the compound is not a name.

१०४७ । चितेः कपि । ६ । ३ । १२७ ॥

एकाचितीकः ॥

1047. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकाचितीकः ॥ The कप् is added by V. 4, 154 S. 891.

१०४८ । नरे संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२६ ॥

विश्वानरः ॥

1048. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a name.

Thus विश्वानरः, but विश्वनरः = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name.

Note :—The word viśva is understood here from the preceding Aṣhṭâdhyâyî sûtra VI. 3. 128 S. 379.

१०४९ । मित्रे चर्षौ । ६ । ३ । १३० ॥

विश्वामित्रः । ऋषौ किम् । विश्वमित्रो माणवकः ॥

शुनो दन्तदंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्दवराहपुच्छपदेषु दीर्घो वाच्यः * ॥ श्वादन्तः इत्यादि ॥

1049. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvâmitra'. Why do we say 'the name of a Rishi?' Observe विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Visvamitra'.

Vart :—The final of श्वन् is lengthened before the following दन्त, दंष्ट्रा, कर्ण, कुन्द, वराह, पुच्छ and पद:—as श्वादन्तः, श्वादंष्ट्रः, श्वाकर्णः, श्वाकुन्दः, श्ववराहः, श्वापुच्छः, श्वापदः ॥

Note :—The word दंष्ट्रा is read in the Vârtika with a long final आ ॥ Some

read it as short final, and say श्वादष्ट्रः is a Bahuvrîhi where the final of श्वन् is lengthened, but the lengthening does not take place in a Tatpurusha.

१०५० । प्रनिरन्तः शरेक्षुप्लक्षाम्रकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योऽसंज्ञायामपि ।८।४।५॥

एभ्योवनस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रवणम् । कार्ष्यवणम् । इह षात्परत्वाण्णत्वम् ॥

1050. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, âmra, kârshya, khadira, and pîyûkshâ.

Thus प्रवणम् ; कार्ष्यवणम् ॥ The word is कार्ष्य and not कार्श्य, and it is this ष that causes the ण change.

Note :—The word vana is understood from the preceding Ashṭâdhyâyî sûtra VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039.

१०५१ । विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः । ८ । ४ । ६ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्वं वा स्यात् । दूर्वावणम् । दूर्वावनम् । शिरीषवणम् । शिरीषवनम् । ह्रस्वनडभ्यामेव * ॥ नेह । देवदारुवनम् ॥

इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ इरिकावनम् । मिरिकावनम् ॥

1051. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

Note :—When the pûrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing or alterant letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ The word vanaspati is defined in Amarakosha as those trees which produce fruits without flowering, such as fig trees &c (udumbara). The शिरीष is not a vanaspati in this sense: because it has visible flowers and fruits both. But the word vanaspati in the sûtra is taken here as syonymous with 'tree' in general. See note below. This is an optional rule.

Thus :—दूर्वावनम् or दूर्वावणम् ; Here दूर्वा is the name of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीष or शिरीषवणम् ; is an example of vanaspati.

Vart :—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or a trisyllabic word Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ॥

Vart:—Prohibiton should be stated with regard to the words इरिका &c. As इरिकावनम्। मिरिकावनम्॥

Note:—Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति; yet in this sûtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kârika:—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः॥

१०५२। वाहनमाहितात्। ८। ४। ७॥

आरोप्य यदुह्यते तद्वाचिस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य वाहननकारस्य णत्वं स्यात्। इक्षुवाहणम्। आहितास्किम्। इन्द्रवाहनम्। इन्द्रस्वामिकं वाहनमित्यर्थः। वहतेर्ल्युटि वृद्धिरिहैव सूत्रे निपातनात्॥

1052. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when an alterant letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहणम् 'a sugar-cart'.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called, आहित॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried". Observe इन्द्रवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Indra'.

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह, and the vriddhi lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipâtana of this sûtra.

१०५३। पानं देशे। ८। ४। ९॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य पानस्य नस्य णत्वं स्यादुद्देशे गम्ये। क्षीरं पानं येषां ते क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः। सुरापाणाः प्राच्याः। पीयते इति पानम्। कर्मणि ल्युट्॥

1053. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains an alterant letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान meaning "that which is drunk." is formed by the affix ल्युट् III. 3. 113 S. 2841. The force of the affix is to denote the object. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Usînaras'. सुरापाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine drinking Prâchyas'.

Note:—Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दक्षिपानं the drink of the Dâkshis.

The words उशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

१०५४ । वा भावकरणयोः । ८ । ४ । १० ॥

पानस्येत्येव । क्षीरपानम् । क्षीरपाणम् ॥

गिरिनद्यादीनां वा * ॥ गिरिनदी । गिरिणदी । चक्रनितम्बा । चक्रणितम्बा ॥

1054. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" is an example of भाव or condition.

Note :—Similarly क्षीरपाण: or क्षीरपान: कंस: 'a vessel for drinking milk.' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vart :—Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी; or गिरिणदी ; चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणितम्बा ॥

१०५५ । प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु च । ८ । ४ । ११ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य एषु स्थितस्य नस्य णो वा स्यात् । प्रातिपदिकान्ते, माषवापिणौ । नुमि, व्रीहिवापाणि । विभक्तौ, माषवापेण । पक्षे, माषवापिनावित्यादि । उत्तरपदे यत्प्रातिपदिकं तदन्तस्यैव णत्वम् । नेह । गर्गाणां भगिनी गर्गभगिनी । अत एव नुम्ग्रहणं कृतम् । अङ्गस्थ नुम्विधानात्तङ्गस्थो हि नुम् नतूत्तरपदस्थ । किंच । प्रहिण्वन्नित्यादौ हिवेर्नुमो णत्वार्थमपि नुम्ग्रहणम् । प्रेन्वनमित्यादौ तु क्षुभ्नादित्वान्न ॥

युवादेर्न * ॥ रम्ययूना । परिपक्वानि ॥ (एकाजुत्तरपदे णः ॥ नित्यमित्युक्तम् । वृत्रहणौ । हरिं मानयतीति हरिमाणी । नुमि, क्षीरपाणि । विभक्तौ, क्षीरपेण । रम्यविणा ॥)

1055. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपदिकान्त first. माषवापिणौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'mâsha-sowing' formed by णिनि under III. 2. 81. S. 2991

To take the example of a नुम् augment ; व्रीहिवापाणि or व्रीहिवापानि nominative plural neuter. The augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 from व्रीहान् वपयन्ति = व्रीहिवाप with कर्मणि अण्, the plural शि is added by VII. 1. 20 S. 312 and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, ॥

The word प्रातिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Pratipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prâtipadika which is a second member, of a compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गाणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभक्तः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृभोगीणः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place. The very fact that नुम् is taught separately in the rule leads to this inference. The नुम् is ordained with regard to an *anga*; so it is a portion of the *anga* as a *whole* (whether such *anga* consist of a single word or several words glued into a compound), and *not* of the last word of the compound. So the root हिवि takes नुम् and becomes हिन्व् (Bhuâdi root 622). This न् is changed to ण as in प्रहिण्वन् । But in प्रेन्वनम् no change takes place; as it belongs to kshubhnâdi class (VIII. 4. 39 S. 792).

The word माषवापिणी or °नी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim:— (II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit- affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्) and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prâtipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As रम्ययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रियथूना ॥ परिपक्वानि is a gati-samas, दीर्घाही शरत् ॥

१०५५ । क । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

(वृत्तिः ॥ एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन्नित्यंसमासे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिस्थस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य नित्यं णकार आदेशो भवति ॥)

1055. A. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण invariably in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a

prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

This sûtra has already been read as Sûtra 307 see page 171. It is repeated here to complete the context. This is an obligatory rule, as we have used the word nityam in explaining it. See Sûtra 307.

Thus वृत्रहणौ 'the Vṛtra-killer' = वृत्रहन्तवन्तौ with क्विप् (III. 2. 87 S. 2998) So also हरिं मानयति = हरिमाणी "Hari worshipper." क्षरिपाणि "Drinkers of milk': सुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine': are examples of नुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरेण and रथ्यविणा are examples of case-terminations.

Note :—The word रथ्यवि 'a beautiful bird'; is a compound of रथ्य and वि (रथ्यश्चासौ विश्च) ॥ The ना is Instrumental Singular (VII. 4 120 S. 244).

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sûtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

१०५६ । कुमति च । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

कवर्गवत्युत्तरपदे प्राग्वत् । हरिकामिणौ । हरिकामाणि । हरिकामिण ॥

1056. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, (there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.)

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As हरिकामिणौ, नुम् :—हरिकामाणि ॥ विभक्ति :—हरिकामिण ॥

१०५७ । पदव्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । ३८ ॥

पदेन व्यवधानेऽपि णत्वं न स्यात् । माषकुम्भवापेन । चतुरङ्गयोगेन ॥

अतद्धित इति वाच्यम् * ॥ आर्द्रगोमयेण ॥ शुष्कगोमयेण ॥

1057. The न् is not changed to ण when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरङ्गयोगेन ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, and अङ्ग, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vart:—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आद्रगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥

Note:—Here गो takes the affix मयट् by IV. 3. 145, S. 1525 and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, S. 230 and it intervenes between मय and the first word. The author of Mahâbhâshya however does not approve of this Vârtika. According to him the पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

१०५८। कुस्तुम्बुरूणि जातिः। ६। १। १४३ ॥

अत्र सुण्निपात्यते। कुस्तुम्बुरु धान्याकम्। क्लीबत्वमतन्त्रम्। जातिः किम्। कुतुम्बुरूणि। कुत्सितानि तिन्दुकीफलानीत्यर्थः ॥

1058. The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment सुट् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of coriander: i. e. धान्यक; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sûtra in the Neuter gender does not, however, show that the word is always Neuter. Why do we say when meaning a species of herb? Observe कुतुम्बरूणि = कुत्सितानि तुम्बुरूणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

१०५९। अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये। ६। १। १४४ ॥

सुण्निपात्यते। अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति। सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः। क्रियेति किम्। अपरपरा गच्छन्ति। अपरे च परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

1059. The word अपरस्पराः is formed by the augment सुट् when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ Why do we say 'un-interrupted action'? For, when the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरपराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परेच सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥

Note:—The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding ष्यञ् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. 1. 123 S. 1787) = सातत्यं ॥ How do you explain सततम, it ought to be सन्ततम्? The म् of सम् is optionally elided before ततं, on the strength of the Kârika:—"the म् of अवश्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kritya affix, the म् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस्, the म् of सम is elided optionally before हित and तत, the final अ of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥" As (1) अवश्यं कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तुकामः, श्रोतुमनः ॥ (3) सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस् पाकः, मांस् पचनम् ॥

१०६० । गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु । ६ । १ । १४५ ॥

सुट् सस्य षत्वं च निपात्यते । गावः पश्यन्त्यस्मिन्देशे स गोभिः सेवितो गोष्पदः । असेविते अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि । प्रमाणे गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् । सेवितेत्यादि किम् । गोः पदं गोपदम् ॥

1060. The word गोष्पद is formed by सुट्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोष्पदो देशः=गावः पश्यन्ति यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows.' Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land. Why do we say 'a locality visited &c.' For when it has not the above senses, the form is गोपदम्=गोः पदम् ॥

Note :—What is the use of the word असेवित in the sûtra; the word गोष्पद will give अगोष्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद=अगोष्पद ? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश " like that but not that". As अब्राह्मण means "a man who is a Kshatriya &c. not a Brâhmaṇa, but does not mean a stone &c". Therefore अगोष्पद with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद ॥

१०६१ । आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् । ६ । १ । १४६ ॥

आत्मयापनाय स्थाने सुट् निपात्यते । । आस्पदम् । प्रेति किम् । आपदापदम् ॥

1061. The word आस्पद is formed by सुट् when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority.' Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आ पदात्=आपदम् ॥

१०६२ । आश्चर्यमनित्ये । ६ । १ । १४७ ॥

अद्भुते सुट् । आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जीत । अनित्ये किम् । आश्चर्यं कर्म । शोभनम् ॥

1062. The word आश्चर्य is formed by सुट्, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix यत् to the verb चर with

the preposition आ; and the augment सुट्॥ Thus आश्चर्यं यदि स भुंजीत॥ Why do we say 'unusual'? For when not having this sense, we have आश्चर्यं कर्म शोभनम्॥

१०६३। वर्चस्केऽवस्करः। ६। १। १४८॥

कुत्सितं वर्चः वर्चस्कम् अन्नमलं तस्मिन् सुट्। अवकीर्यते इत्यवस्करः। वर्चस्के किम्। अवकरः॥

1063. The word **अवस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called वर्चस्क (कुत्सितं)॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root कॄ is added the affix अप् (III. 3. 57 S. 3232), the preposition अव and irregularly the सुट्॥ Thus अवस्करोऽन्नमलम्॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अवकरः॥

१०६४। अपस्करो रथाङ्गम्। ६। १। १४९॥

अपकरोऽन्यः॥

1064. The word **अपस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning "the part of a chariot".

This word is also derived from कॄ with the preposition अप and the affix अप् (III. 3. 57 S. 3232) and सुट् augment. When not having this meaning we have अपकरः॥

१०६५। विष्किरः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा। ६। १। १५०॥

पक्षे विकिरः। वावचनेनैव सुट्विकल्पे सिद्धे विकिरग्रहणं तस्यापि शकुनेरन्यत्र प्रयोगो मास्तिति वृत्तिस्तन्न। भाष्यविरोधात्॥

1065. The word **विष्किर** is formed with **सुट्** optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being **विकिर**॥

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. 1. 135 S. 2897) to कॄ with the preposition वि and the augment सुट्॥ The word विकिर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनिर्विकिरो वा is added from the Vârtika and is no part of the original sûtra. Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादृते॥ "Though the sûtra विष्किरोवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form विकिर, the specific mention of this form in the sûtra indicates that विकिर always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विकिर would have

referred to something other than a bird."—this opinion of Kâśikâ is not valid, as it is opposed to the Mahâbhâshya.

१०६६। प्रतिष्कशश्च कशेः। ६। १। १५२॥

कश गतिशासनयोरित्यस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्यचि सुट् निपात्यते षत्वं च। सहायः पुरोधायी वा प्रतिष्कश इत्युच्यते। कशेः किम्। प्रतिगतः कशां प्रतिकशोऽश्वः। यद्यपि कशेरेव कशा तथापि कशेरिति धातोर्ग्रहणमुपसर्गस्य प्रतेर्ग्रहणार्थम्। तेन धात्वन्तरोपसर्गान्न॥

1066. To the root **कश** 'to go, to punish', is added the augment **सुट्**, when preceded by the perpositon **प्रति**, the form being **प्रतिष्कशः**॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अच् affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with the prefix प्रति॥ Thus आममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary.' The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the *root* कश"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां=प्रतिकशोऽश्वः 'a horse guided by the whip.' Here though कशा is derived from कश, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the *root* कश्, and not to a derivative word.

१०६७। प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी। ६। १। २५३॥

हरिश्चन्द्रग्रहणमसमन्वार्थम्। ऋषीति किम्। प्रकण्वो देशः। हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः॥

1067. The words **प्रस्कण्व** and **हरिश्चन्द्र** are formed by **सुट्**, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. 1. 151 S. 3527 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. Why do we say 'Rishis'? For when not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देशः, (कण्वं पापं तत्प्रगतं यस्मात्), हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य मुग्धस्य)॥

१०६८। मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः। ६। १। १५४॥

मकरशब्दोऽव्युत्पन्नस्तस्य सुडिनिश्च निपात्यते। वेण्विति किम्। मकरो ग्राहः। मकरी समुद्रः॥

1068. The word **मस्कर** means 'a bamboo', and **मस्करिन्** means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः॥ This is an underived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन्॥ Why do we say "when

meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोग्राहः "an alligator", मकरैः समुद्रः "an ocean".

Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix अच्, the long आ being shortened. Thus मा क्रियते येन प्रतिषिध्यते=मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of तच्छील्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन्॥ Thus मा करणशीलः=मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "माकुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

१०६९। कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे। ६। १। १५५॥

ईषत्तीरमस्यास्तीति कास्तीरं नाम नगरम्। अजस्येव तुन्दमस्येति अजस्तुन्दं नाम नगरम्। नगरे किम्। कातीरम्। अजतुन्दम्॥

1069. The words **कास्तीर** and **अजस्तुन्द** are names of cities.

Why do we say 'names of cities'? For when not meaning cities we have कातीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजतुन्दम् (अजस्येव तुन्दमस्य)॥

१०७०। कारस्करो वृक्षः। ६। १। १५६॥

कारं करोतीति कारस्करो वृक्षः। अन्यत्र कारकरः। केचित्तु कस्कादिष्विदं पठन्ति न सूत्रेषु॥

1070. The word **कारस्कर** means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट (III. 2. 21)=कारस्करः॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः॥ Some do not make this a separate sûtra, but include it in the next aphorism. Some read it in Kashikâdi (VIII. 3. 48 S. 144).

१०७१। पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम्। ६। १। १५७॥

एतानि सुडागमानि निपात्यन्ते नाम्नि। पारस्करः। किष्किन्धा।

तदृबृहतोः करपत्योश्चौरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च*॥ तात्पूर्वं चर्त्वेन टकारोपि बोध्यः। तदृबृहतोर्ङीषन्तयोः कारतकारौ लुप्येते। करपत्योस्तु सुट्। चोरदेवतयोरिति समुदायापाधिः। तस्करः। बृहस्पतिः॥

प्रायस्य चित्तिचित्तयोः*॥ प्रायश्चित्तिः। प्रायश्चितम्। वनस्पतिरित्यादि। आकृतिगणोऽयम्॥

1071. The words **पारस्कर** &c. are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुट्॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pâraskara'. किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave'.

Vartika :—तस्कर 'a thief' and बृहस्पति 'N. of a deity' are formed by inserting सुट् in the compounds of तत्+कर, बृहत्+पति and eliding त्॥ Why do we say 'when meaning a thief and a diety'? Observe तस्करः, बृहस्पतिः॥ The words चौर and देवता are used in the Gaṇapâṭha merely for the sake of diversity; the word संज्ञा would have connoted that.

Vart :—Before the words चित्ति and चित्त is added the augment सुट् when प्राय precedes. Thus प्रायश्चित्तम्, प्रायश्चित्तिः॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रथस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा गुहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चौरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च (तस्करः चौरः, बृहस्पतिः=देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पतौ गवि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः)॥ आकृतिगणः॥

प्रस्तुम्पति गौः॥ When the root तुप तुम्प 'to injure' is preceded by the prepositon प्र, there is added सुट् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रतुम्पति : वनस्पतिः॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुट् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति, गौः, प्रस्तुम्पतो गावौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः॥

This is an Âkritigaṇa.

:o:

अथ तद्धितापत्याधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TADDHITA PATRONYMIC AFFIXES.

१०७२ । समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

इदं पदत्रयमधिक्रियते । प्राग्दिश इति यावत् । सामर्थ्ये परिनिष्ठितत्वम् । कृतसंधिकार्यत्वमिति यावत् ॥

1072. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, *viz.* (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction, (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first; (3) वा 'on the alternative,' exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation: that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book; before the beginning of the sûtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1. S. 1947.) The word sâmarthya means the word-form after it has undergone the Sandhi operation: *i. e.* in its parinishṭhata state. The word parinishṭhata means a completed word, *i. e.* a word on which sandhi operation has been performed, and so it has completed its junction. Thus सु + इत्थित = सूत्थित ॥ Add इञ्, and we have सौत्थितिः, and not सौ + इत्थिति = साउत्थितिः (S. 1088). The anuvṛitti of वा however extends further than S. 1947.

This sûtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional."

Note:—The fifteen sutras that follow, teach the rules which are generally applicable to all Taddhitas. We shall take up the further explanation of this sûtra in S. 1088.

१०७३ । प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण् । ४ । १ । ८३ ॥

तेन दीव्यतीत्यतः प्रागणधिक्रियते ॥

1073. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the aphorism tena dîvyati &c.

Up to the aphorism IV. 4. 2 S. 1550, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an adhikâra sûtra or a paribhâshâ sûtra or a vidhi sûtra.

१०७४ । अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८४ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्यात् प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु । वक्ष्यमाणस्य ण्यस्यापवादः ॥

Note :—This is an exception to the aphorism, IV. 1. 85. S. 1077 by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with '*pati*'. The present sûtra enjoins अण् instead.

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति 6 स्थानपति 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

१०७५ । तद्धितेष्वचामादेः । ७ । २ । ११७ ॥

ञिति णिति च तद्धिते परेऽचामादेरचो वृद्धिः स्यात् ॥

1075. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ or ण् follows.

Note :—As गार्ग्यः from गर्ग + ढञ्, so also वात्स्यः ॥ दाक्षिः (दक्ष + इञ्), शाकिः, औपगवः (with अण् from उपगु) कापटवः &c. This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and VII. 2. 116, S. 2282 as त्वाष्ट्रः from त्वष्टृ, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

१०७६ । किति च । ७ । २ । ११८ ॥

किति तद्धिते च तथा । अश्वपतेरपत्यादि आश्वपतम् । गाणपतम् । गाणपत्यो मन्त्र इति तु ग्रामादिकमेव ॥

1076. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory क् follows.

Note :—As नाडायन् with फक्, so also चारायणः (IV. 1. 99 S. 1101), and आत्विकः and शालाकिकः with ठक् (IV. 4. 1 S. 1548).

Thus अश्वपति + अण् = आश्वपतम् (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 142 S. 311. So also गाणपतम् ॥

The form गाणपत्यः as used by Haradatta in गाणपत्यो मन्त्रः is wrong.

Note :—The Tattvabodhini, however, justifies this use of Haradatta.

१०७७। दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्ण्यः । ४ । १ । ८५ ॥

दित्यादिभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्यः स्यादणोऽपवादः । दैत्यः । अदितेरादित्यस्य वा आदित्यः । प्राजापत्यः ।

यमाच्चेति काशिकायाम् * ॥ याम्यः ॥

पृथिव्या अञौ * ॥ पार्थिवा । पार्थिवी ॥

देवाद्यञञौ * ॥ दैव्यम् । दैवम् ॥

बहिषष्टिलोपो यञ्च * ॥ बाह्यः ॥

ईकक्च * ॥ बाहीकः ॥

स्थाग्नोऽकारः * ॥ अश्वस्थामः । पृषोदरादित्वात्तस्य तः ॥

भवार्थे तु लुग्वाच्यः * ॥ अश्वत्थामा ॥

लोमादिपत्येषु बहुष्वकारः * ॥ बाह्वादीञोऽपवादः ।उडुलोमाः । उडुलोमान् । बहुषु किम् ॥ औडुलोमिः ।

गोरजादिप्रसङ्गे यत् * ॥ गव्यम् । अजादिप्रसङ्गे किम् । गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य आगतं गोरूप्यम् । गोमयम् ॥

1077. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena dîvyati &c, after the proper names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya ; and that which has the word पति as its final member..

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi' The form आदित्य may also denote the son of आदित्य or sacred to âditya. आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्यं ; so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word यम; as, याम्यः ॥ This Vartika is found in the Kâsika and not in the Mahâbhâshya.

Note :—In the Chhandas, after tha words वाच्, मति and पितृमत् comes the affix ण्य ॥ As, वाच्यम् (Vs, 13. 58.) मात्यम् and पैतृमत्यम् ॥

Vârt :—The affixes अञ् and अञ् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + अ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अञ् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, S. 454 and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15 S. 470.

Vârt :—The affixes यञ् and अञ् come after the word देव 'a god.' As दैव्यम् or दैवम् 'divine.'

Vârt :—There is elision of the final syllable of बहिस्, before the affix यञ्; as बहिस्+यञ्=बाह्यः 'external.'

Vârt :—And the affix ईकक् may be employed. As बहिस्+ईकक्= बाहीकः 'external.' (VII. 2. 118, S. 1076).

Note :—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकञ् as बाहीकः the difference being in the accent. (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vârtika declares that its टि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the टि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ *bha*. In fact the following *vârtika* अव्यायानाञ्च (the टि of the *avyaya* base is elided) given under sûtra VI. 4. 144 (the टि of the base *bha* is elided when a *taddhita* affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the *avyaya* आरात् we get आरातीय &c; here the टि is not elided.

Vârt—Of the word स्थामन् the टि is replaced by अ, as अश्व+स्थामन् अश्वस्थानः॥ The स is changed to त as the compound belongs to Prishodarâdi class.

Vârt :—But there is elision of the Taddhita affix अ after स्थामन when the sense is that of 'existence' only, as अश्वस्थामा॥ The word अश्वस्थामन् means अश्वस्येव स्थामयस्य "whose strength is like that of a horse". It is a Bahuvrîhi.

Vârt :—The टि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural, when the patronymic affixes follow; as उडुलोमाः, उडुलोमान्॥ Why do we say "in the plural number"? Witness औडुलोमिः, (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096).

Vârt :—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यत् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c.) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI, 1. 79 S. 63). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य or आगतं=गोरूप्यम् and गोमयम्॥

Note :—These affixes ण्य &c. taught in this sûtra will come to the exclusion of all the other affixes here-in-after taught which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words दिति &c. अञ् will not be employed, but ण्य, as दैत्यः 'a descendant of दिति'॥ So also वानस्पत्यम् (=वनस्पतीनाम् समूहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 S. 1243 &c, In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्य्यम् (I. 4. 2 S. 175) does not hold here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेयः॥ This word is not directly formed from the word दिति but from दिती, the feminine of the word दिति

formed by the affix ङीष् (IV. I. 45, the word क्षिति being formed by the Krit-affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take ङीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word क्षिती is added ढक् and we get क्षैतेयः ॥ The Paribhâshâ प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form क्षैतेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahâbhâshya or any Vârtika.

१०७८ । उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । ८६ ।

औत्सः ॥

अग्निकलिभ्यां ढक् वक्तव्यः * ॥ अग्नेरपत्यादि आग्नेयम् । कालेयम् ॥

1078. The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स: &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-dîvyati &c.

This debars the affix अण् taught in IV. I. 83 S 1073. as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः, औदपानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class.

1 उत्स, 2 उदपान, 3 विकर, 4 विनद, 5 महानद, 6 महानस, 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तैलुन, । 10 वष्कयासे, । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुभ्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उशीनर, 20 भीष्म, 21 पीलुकुण, । 22 उदस्थान देशे । 23 पृषदंश, 24 भल्लकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्यंदिन, 27 बृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्वत्, 30 कुरु, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 ककुभ्, 35 सुवर्ण, 36 देवे, 37 भीष्मादच्छन्दसि ॥

Note :—The word भीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody.' Therefore it is not so here: भैष्मी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Trishtup metre.' But भैष्मः 'belonging to summer.' The word छन्दस् here means 'metre,' and not Veda. The word वष्कयासे = वष्कय असे, the phrase असे meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be गोवष्कयिः ॥ The Paribhâshâ महणवता प्रातिपदिकेनतदन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः does not apply here. Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have अधेनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place': as औदस्थानो देशः; otherwise औदस्थनिः 'the son of Udasthâna.' The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share', otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्षतोंऽशः ॥

Vârt :—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatîya. (See IV. 2 8, S. 1209) आग्नेयम् and कालेयम् meaning 'born of Agni' and 'of Kali' respectively.

Here ends the section of affixes that denote patronymics &c. in general.

१०७९। स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां नञ्स्नञौ भवनात्। ४। १। ८७॥

धान्यानां भवन इत्यतः प्रागर्थेषु स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां क्रमान्नञ्स्नञौ स्तः। स्त्रैणः। पौंस्नः। वत्यर्थे न। स्त्रीपुंवच्चेति ज्ञापकात्। स्त्रीवत्। पुंवत्॥

1079. The affixes नञ् and स्नञ् come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhânyânâm bhavane kshetre khañ" (V. 2. 1 S. 1802).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रैणम् 'feminine'.

Note:—The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore, the word स्त्रैणम् will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषु भवं (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), 'existing in females', or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) 'a collection of females'; or स्त्रीभ्यां आगतं (IV. 2. 74 S. 1453) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V. I. 5 S. 1665) 'suitable for females.' &c.

Similarly पुंस + स्नञ् = पौंस्नम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1. 115. S. 1778. For Pâṇini himself uses the form पुंवत् (and not पौंस) in sûtra VI. 3. 34, S. 831 thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, I. 2 66 S. 932 the affix स्नञ् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत्॥ The forms स्त्रीत्वं, स्त्रीता, पुंस्त्वं and पुंस्ता are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. S. 1783 The स् of पुंस् is elided before स्नञ् by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54; had it not been elided, one affix नञ् would have been taught in the sûtra, and not two.

१०८०। द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये। ४। १। ८८॥

द्विगोर्निमित्तं यत्तद्धितेऽजादिरनपत्यार्थः प्राग्दीव्यतीयस्तस्य लुक् स्यात्। पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः पुरोडाशः पञ्चकपालः। द्विगोर्निमित्तस्येति किम्। पञ्चकपालस्येदं खण्डं पाञ्चकपालम्। अजादिः किम्। पञ्चगर्गरूप्यम्। अनपत्ये किम्। द्वयोर्मित्रयोरपत्यं द्वैमित्रिः॥

1080. A Tadhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedant to tena dîvyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग् दीव्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः the sacrificial rice-cake 'prepared in five cups.'

Why do we 'of a Dvigu compound'. The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore. be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्येदं = पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ "a piece belonging to the five cups."

Note :—Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be. taken as sthâna-shashṭî, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu', the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the *affix* which gives rise to Dvigu Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पांचकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः? This is not so; there is no Taddhita, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम संस्कृतः ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz. पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samahâra Dvigu). A Samâhâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe the affix is not elided in पंचभ्यो गर्गेभ्य आगतं = पंचगर्गरूप्यम् or पंचगर्गमद्यम् ॥ Because the elision of those affixes only takes place which begin with a vowel, while rupa and maya begin with a consonant.

Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्वैमित्रिः a descendant of two Mitras.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Note :—Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati*?" Observe द्वैपारायणिकः ॥

Note :—How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्यः, पाञ्चनदः and षाट्कुलः? The word त्रैविद्यः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्रयवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पंचसु नदीषु भवः but पंचानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पंचनदः, पंचनदे भवः = पांचनदः ॥ So also with षाट्कुलं ॥

१०८१ । गोत्रेऽलुगचि । ४ । १ । ८९ ॥

अजादौ प्राग्दीव्यतीये विवक्षिते गोत्रप्रत्ययस्यालुक् स्यात् । गर्गाणां छात्राः । वृद्धाच्छः ॥

1081. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sutras II. 4. 63 S. 1146 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial

vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dîvyati &c. (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्यः is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64 S. 1108). But the disciples of गर्गाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) which is a prâgdîvyatîya affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix, the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्यः+छ ॥

Here applies the next sûtra.

१०८२ । आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति । ६ । ४ । १५१ ॥

हलः परस्यापत्ययकारस्य लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते परे न त्वाकारे । गार्गीयाः । प्राग्दीव्यतीये किम् । गर्गेभ्यो हितं गर्गीयम् । अचि किम् । गर्गेभ्य आगतं गर्गरूप्यम् ॥

1082. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गार्ग्याः+छ=गार्गीयाः (VII. 1. 2. S. 475) and not गर्गीयाः

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a prâgdîvyatîya affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम्=गर्गीयम् 'what is fit for the Gargas.'

Note :—Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1. S. 1661) has the sense of 'suitable for that,' as taught in sûtra V. 1. 5. S. 1665 not one of the pragdîvyatîya senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम्=गर्गरूप्यम् and not गार्गरूप्यम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य, a prâgdîvyatîya affix taught in sûtra IV. 3. 81 S. 1461 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य.

१०८३ । यूनि लुक् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

प्राग्दीव्यतीये अजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । ग्लुचुकस्य गोत्रापत्यं ग्लुचुकायनिः । वक्ष्यमाणः फिञ् । ततो यून्यण् । ग्लौचुकायनः । तस्य छात्रोऽपि ग्लौचुकायनः । अणोलुकि वृद्धत्वाभावाच्छ्नेन ॥

1083. There is luk-elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a prâgdîvyatîya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper Prâgdîvyatîya affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining.

Thus the Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनि: (IV. 1. 160 S. 1184) with the affix फिञ् to be taught hereafter. The Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौचुकायन: (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) with the affix अण्; the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौचुकायना: by (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333 formed from ग्लुचुकायनि). When अण् is elided the word ग्लौचुकायन becomes ग्लुचुकायन, and as the first syllable has no Vriddhi letter now, there is no adding of छ in the sense of pupils; for छ is added by IV. 2 114 S. 1337 only after those words whose first syllable has a Vriddhi letter.

१०८४। पैलादिभ्यश्च। २। ४। ६६॥

एभ्यो युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक्। पीलाया वेत्यण्। तस्मादणो द्व्यच इति फिञ्। तस्य लुक्। पैलः पिता पुत्रश्च॥

तद्राजाचाणः॥ ब्रह्मगवीत्यण्णन्तादाङ्शब्दादणो द्व्यच इति फिञो लुक्। आङ्गः पिता पुत्रश्च॥

1084. And after the words पैल &c., there is the लुक् elision of the युवन् affix.

पीला + अण = पैल: (IV. 1. 118 S. 1121). 'The Gotra descendant of Pîlâ.' पैल: + फिञ् (IV 1. 156 S. 1180). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix फिञ् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word.

Note:—Some say that the 'Paila &c., words are formed by the affix इञ्; (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 1085. They would limit the scope of the present sûtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prâchyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. सात्यकि. 4. सात्यकामि. 5. राहवि. 6. रावणि. 7. औदञ्जि. 8. औदव्रजि. 9. औदमेधि. 10. औदव्याज्जि. 11. औदमाञ्जि. 12. औदभृञ्जि. 13. दैवस्थानि. 14. पैङ्गलायनी. 15. राहस्पति. 16. भौलिङ्गि. 17. राणि. 18. औदन्धि. 19. औद्दालकायनि. 20. औञ्जिहान. 21. औदशुद्धि. 22. तद्राजाच्चाणः

G. sûtra:—The Yuvan affix is elided after a word formed by the tadrâja affix अण्॥ Thus the word आङ्ग is formed by adding the affix अण् under IV. 1. 170 S. 1188 to अङ्ग; to this is added फिञ् under IV. 1. 156 S. 1180. This फिञ् is elided. As आङ्ग: meaning both father and son.

१०८५। इञः प्राचाम्। २। ४। ६०॥

गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्ताद्युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् तच्चेद्गोत्रं प्राचां भवति। पन्नागारस्यापत्यम्। अक्ष

इञ् । यञिञोश्चेति फक् । तस्य लुक् पान्नागारिः पिता पुत्रश्च । प्राच्यां किम् । दाक्षिः पिता । दाक्षायणः पुत्रः ॥

1085. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prâchya (Eastern) is denoted.

पन्नागरा + इञ् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendant of Pannâgâra'; after this the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) is elided by the present rule, and so पन्नागारिः is both the father and the son. Why do we say प्राच्याम्? The word प्राच्याम् here qualifies the word Gotra understood, and does not mean that it is an optional rule, "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians." When the Gotra of Prâchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षिः the Gotra descendant of Daksha; and दाक्षायणः 'son of Dâkshi.' (Yuvan.)

१०८६ । न तौल्वलिभ्यः । २ । ४ । ६१ ॥

तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात् । पूर्वेण प्राप्तः । तुल्वलः । तस्य इञि फक् । तौल्वलिः पिता । तौल्वलायनः पुत्रः ॥

1086. After the words तौल्वलिः and the rest, there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः formed by इञ् added to तुल्वल is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103).

1. तौल्वलि. 2. धारणि. 3. पारणि. 4. रावणि. 5. दैलीपि. 6. दैवति 7. वार्कलि. 8. नैवति. 9. नैवकि. 10. दैवमित्रि. 11. दैवमति. 12. दैवयज्ञि. 13. चाफटकि. 14 वैल्वकि. 15. वैकि. 16. वैङ्कि. 17. आनुहारति. 18. आनुराहति. 19. पौष्करसादि. 20. आनुरोहति. 21. आनुति. 22. प्रादोहनि. 23. नैमिश्रि. 24. प्राडाहति. 25. बान्धकि. 26. वैशीति. 27. आसिनासि. 28. आहिसि. 29. आसुरि. 30. नैमिषि. 31. आसिबन्धकि. 32. पौष्पि. 33. कारेणुपालि. 34. चैकणि. 35. वैरकि. 36. वैहति ॥

१०८७ । फक्फिञोरन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ९१ ॥

यूनिलुगिति नित्ये लुकि प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थं सूत्रम् । कात्यायनस्य छात्राः कातीयाः । कात्यायनीयाः । यस्कस्यापत्यं यास्कः । शिवादिअण् । तस्यापत्यं युवा यास्कायनिः । अणो द्यच इति फिञ् । तस्य छात्राः यास्कीयाः । यास्कायनीयाः ॥

1087. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prâgdîvyatîya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the Sûtra IV. 1. 90 S. 1083 all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present Sûtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् ॥ Thus the Patronymic of कत is कात्थ (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107); the Yuvan of कात्थ is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) कात्थायनः ॥ Thus the word denoting the pupils of Kâtyâyana will be कातीया or कात्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180). Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) The pupils of Yâskâyani will be called यास्कीयाः or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

१०८८ । तस्यापत्यम् । ४ । १ । ९२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तात् कृतसन्धेः समर्थादपत्येऽर्थे उक्ता वक्ष्यमाणाश्च प्रत्यया वा स्युः । उपगोरपत्य आपगवः । आदिवृद्धिरन्त्योपधावृद्धी बाधते ॥

तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।
उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्ध्यन्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥ १ ॥

योगविभागस्तु । भानोरपत्यं भानवः । कृतसन्धेः किम् । सौस्थितिः । अकृतव्यूहपरिभाषया सावुस्थितिर्मा भूत् । समर्थपरिभाषया नेह । वस्त्रमुपगोरपत्यं चैत्रस्य । प्रथमान्तिकम् । अपत्यवाचकात्षष्ठ्यर्थे मा भूत् । वामहणाद्वाक्यमपि । देवयज्ञादिति सूत्रादन्यतरस्यांग्रहणानुवृत्तेः समासोऽपि । उपगवपत्यम् । जातित्वान् ङीष् । औपगवी । आश्वपतः । दैत्यः । औत्सः । स्त्रैणः । पौंस्नः ॥

1088. (The affixes अण्, ण्य &c, already mentioned in IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 &c, and those which will be taught here-after, such as इञ् &c, denote) 'the descendant of some one', (and they come after a word in the the sixth case, which has completed its junction).

Note :—This Sûtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) e g. अण्, ण्य अञ् &c. and to the affixes that follow such as इञ् &c. The affixes herein taught, have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which is in the genitive case.

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगव "the offspring of Upagu" The word औपगवः is thus evolved.

Note :—उपगु + अण् = औपगु + अण् ॥ Now applies either VI. 4. 146 S. 847 causing guṇa of final उ, and VII. 2. 115 S. 254 requiring the vṛiddhi of the final. The following discussion shows why guṇa takes place to the exclusion of vṛiddhi though subsequent. ओर्गुणः VI. 4. 146 S. 847 ("for उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted guṇa before a Taddhita affix)" is debarred

by the *subsequent* sutra अचोञ्णिति VII. 2. 115 S. 254 ('before the affixes having an indicatory ञ् or ण्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end vowel of a stem") for guṇa will find scope in विचक्ष्य &c. So let there be vṛiddhi of the final इ of उपसु ॥ This is one objection.

Note:—But if vṛiddhi is not allowed, and इ is guṇated to ओ, and we have by sandhi उपगो + अ = उपगव् + अ then arises another difficulty; for the अ of ग now being penultimate requires vṛiddhi by अत उपधायाः VII. 2. 116 S. 2282.

Ans. To remove both these difficulties the author says आदिवृद्धिरन्त्यो पधावृद्धी बाधते "the vṛiddhi of the initial vowel taught by VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 debars the two vṛiddhis, namely the vṛiddhi of the final required by VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ required by VII. 2. 116 S. 2282.";

Note:—Because rule VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 is *subsequent* to these two. The vṛiddhis of the final and the penultimate find their free scope in गौः (the affix सु being णित् by VII. 1. 90 S. 284 causes vṛiddhi of गो by VII. 2. 115), and पाचकः with ण्वुल् added to पच् respectively where VII. 2. 116 applies. While the vṛiddhi of the initial will find its free scope in सौश्रुतः from सुश्रुतं ॥ But in त्वाष्ट्रः from त्वष्ट्र and आगतः from जगत् the rules VII. 2. 115 and 116 appear simultaneously with VII. 2. 117, and in their case the vṛddhi of the *initial* takes effect, because that rule (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) is subsequent This we do on the maxim सकृद्गति &c. as well as by the inference of finding the word पुष्करसत् in the list of Anuśatikâdi VII. 3. 20.

Note:—For if the *initial* Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) did not debar the *penultimate* Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 116 S. 2282), then we would have got the form पौष्करसादिः regularly by the *simultaneous* application of these two rules VII. 2. 116 and 117; S. 2282 and 1075 without its being read in the Anuśatikâdi class. But the very fact that it is so read indicates that these two Vṛiddhis cannot take place simultaneously.

Verse:—The general sûtra tasyedam (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) would have included the particular case of tasyâpatyam (what is the necessity of the latter). It is made in order to prevent the application of Vṛiddhâch chhah (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). For छ of S. 1337 excludes the अण् of S. 1500 in case of Vṛiddha words, but it is intended that it should not exclude that, even in Vṛiddha, hence the present sûtra. The sense of apatya can be included in the word sesha of S. 1392 and so the अण् of tasyedam can come in the sense of apatya. The separate present sûtra has for its object to make अण् applicable to Vṛiddha words (like bhânu).

Note:—The tasyedam would certainly have included tasyâpatyam; for *idam* may be anything apatya &c. The necessity for making a separate sûtra for apatyam is this. The Vṛiddhâch chhah excludes the अण् of tasyedam; so that in case of Vṛiddha words we have छ instead of अण्॥ But छ does not come after Vṛiddha words in the sense of apatya. Hence this separate sûtra. If it be said that neither the अण् of tasyedam nor its exception the छ of Vṛiddhâch chha can ever come in the sense of apatya, for they come in the śaishika senses only and apatya is not included in the śaishika sense; we reply, that there is nothing to prevent us from including the sense of apatya also in the śaishika sense, of sûtra IV. 2. 92. S. 1392. Therefore, we come back to our former point that the necessity of this sûtra is really to make अण् applicable to Vṛiddha words. Thus the son of भानु (a Vṛiddha word) will be भानवः by the अण् of this sûtra, and not भानवीयः by छ of S. 1337, which would have been the case had this sûtra not existed, and had tasyedam IV. 3. 120 S. 1500 been requisitioned to denote apatya also.

By the general rule samartha-pada vidhih (*II. 1. 1. S. 647*); the rule will not apply when the words are not in syntactical construction. Thus the words उपगोरपत्यम् "Upagu's" "offspring" are not in syntactical construction in the following sentence:—वस्त्रमुपगोरपत्यं चैत्रस्य "the dress of Upagu, the offspring of Chaitra."

Why do we say "after the *first* word"? That the affix should not come after the word denoting the offspring, with the force of a genitive case. Thus in इन्द्रोदेवता अस्य हविषः = ऐन्द्रिः हविः, the affix is added to Indra in the first case in construction, similarly उपगुरपत्यमस्यदेवदत्तस्य = औपगवोदेवदत्तः or देवदत्तोऽपत्यमस्योपगोः = दैवदत्तिरुपगुः should not be formed.

By force of the word वा in IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 we can have a sentence also. As उपगोरपत्यम्॥

And by drawing in the anuvṛitti of anyatarasyâm from the sûtra IV. 1. 81 S. 1201, we have composition also in the other alternative. As उपगवपत्यम्॥

The Patronymic being a jâti word takes ङीष् in the feminine. As औपगवी॥

So also आश्वपतः। दैत्यः। औत्सः। क्लैयः। पौत्रः॥

Note:—In explaining IV. 1. 82 S. 1072, we have used the words कृतसन्धिकार्यस्वम् "after the operation of sandhi or junction has been completed." Why have we used those words? Otherwise observe the anomaly. Thus सु + उत्थितः = सूत्थितः, वि + ईक्षमाणः = वीक्षमाणः॥ If the affix be not added to the form सूत्थित, but to सु + उत्थित, so also not to वीक्षमाणः but to विईक्षमाणः that is to say, if the affix be added before sandhi, then the resultant forms would be सौ उत्थितिः =

सावुस्थितिः and वायीक्षमाणिः by force of वार्णादङ्गं बलीयः maxim, but the proper forms are सौस्थितिः and वैक्षमाणिः ॥

Q. The rule of sandhi, though an operation relating to letters (a varṇa rule), yet being antaraṇga, will take effect *first*, and then the Vṛiddhi operation, which though an anga rule, is after all bahiranga with regard to sandhi ; what is the necessity of using the word समर्थ at all in the sûtra IV, 1, 82 S. 1072 or explaining it by कृतसन्धिः ?

Ans. The very fact that Pâṇini has used the word समर्थ in this aphorism, when it could well have been dispensed with, indicates the existence of the following maxim अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः "The followers of Pâṇini do not insist on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause disappears." (See p-30). Therefore had Pâṇini not used the word समर्थ in the sûtra IV. I. 82, S. 1072 then by the application of the present maxim, the *antaranga* operation of sandhi would have been set aside by the bahiranga vṛiddhi and the forms would have been सावुस्थितिः and वायीक्षमाणिः ॥ To prevent this समर्थ has been used.

Kârikâ. तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।
उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

Note:—The Karikâ should be broken up in order to understand it. तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि ॥ The sûtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120 S, 1506) will include this अपत्य also, for the word इदम् may be applied to all things like अपत्य, समूह, विकार &c. Therefore अ will come, by force of that sûtra, in the sense of "descendant," why then make this separate sûtra tasyâpatyam ? If you say that this aphorism is necessary for the sake of sûtras अत इञ् &c. (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then why make a *separate* sûtra and not *join* it with the last? Ans: बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ॥ The separate sûtra might have been made in order to debar the operation of the sûtra वृद्धाच्छ (IV. 2. 114. S. 1337). That sûtra supersedes तस्येदम्, and so in the case of apatyam also, छ would have applied instead of अण् where the base was a Vriddham word. But that is not desired. Hence the separate sûtra.

If it be objected that "the अण् of tasyedam, and its apavâda the the affix छ of vṛiddhâch chhah, being śaishika affixes cannot come with the force of apatyam, because the word śaishika has been explained in IV, 2. 92 S. 1312 as *the sense different from that of descendant and the quadruple significance*, and so the above objection does not arise." To this the answer is

Ans. उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ ॥ This sense of apatya is an utsarga śesha. The meaning is this. Had there been no yoga-vibhâga i. e. had tasyâ-

patyam not been separately enunciated, but made one sûtra with अत इञ् something like तस्यापत्यम् अत इञ (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then it will govern those bases only that end in अ and the bases like बाहु &c. (IV. 1. 95 and 96 S. 1095 and 1096), and not bases like उपगु; and therefore with regard to the base उपगु there would be no rule of adding an apatya affix but the śaishika तस्येदम्॥ Thus even an apatya denotation can become a śesha under the above circumstances. It will be an utsarga-śesha i. e. the remainder not covered by a general rule: the general rule here by supposition being अतइञ् &c. Therefore अण् of तस्येदम् with the force of apatya, will come after Upagu, but it will be debarred in the case of भानु &c. by the rule वृद्धाच्छ॥ But if we make tasyâpatyam a separate sûtra, then there being no *śesha*, the छ will never come under any circumstances.

Obj. If it be said that for bases like उपगु &c, which are not Vṛiddham words, there will be no occasion for the addition of छ, and so there is no necessity of making a separate sûtra. To this we reply.

Ans: वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् The necessity of this sûtra is in the case of Vṛiddham bases like भानुः, श्यामगुः (श्यामा गावो ऽस्य) &c.

Therefore there must be this separate sûtra. Thus भानोरपत्यं = भानवः॥

The summary of the above discussion is that this sûtra "tasyâpatyam" is made for the sake of Vṛiddham bases. Otherwise "tasyedam" would have been sufficient for bases like Upagu &c.

Note:—Now we take up the farther explanation of the sûtra samarthânâm prathamâd vâ" (IV. 1. 82. S. 1072). Its explanation was postponed till now.

The maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II. 1. 1. S. 647) applies here also. Thus वस्त्रं उपगोरपत्यं चैत्रस्य "the garment of Upagu, the son of Chaitra". Here the two words उपगोरपत्यम् are not in construction; for उपगोः governs वस्त्रं and अपत्यं is governed by चैत्रस्य, and so there is no affix.

Why do we say "after the first"? The force of this question will be understood by the following considerations. In the sûtra तस्यापत्यम् there are two words, तस्य and अपत्यं, of these the first only can stand as a base to an affix, and not apatyam. Therefore, when searching for the *base* to which the affix is to be added, we shall take तस्य॥ Therefore, there is no necessity of using the word प्रथमात् at all.

Ans: The words "after the first" are used in order to indicate that the affix will not be added to the word which is the *name* of the descendant, and referred to by the genitive word. Thus the sûtra tasyâpatyam

is really ambiguous; for it literally means "let the affix अण् &c. come in the sense of "*His son*". The affix may come after Upagu exhibited in the genitive case; or after the word which is the Proper name of the son of Upagu. Thus if Devadatta be the name of the son of Upagu; then देवदत्तः is उपगोरपत्यम्; then by tasyâpatyam, the affix might be added either to उपगुः or to देवदत्तः ॥ To prevent this, प्रथमात् is used in the sûtra.

Moreover as in the case of इन्द्रो देवता अस्य हविषः 'Indra is the devatâ of this offering" we add the affix to इन्द्र *denoted* by the genitive case under the rule तस्यदेवता (IV. 2. 24. S. 1226); and get the form ऐन्द्रं as applied to हविः; similarly उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य "Upagu is the son of this Devadatta" we will have औपगवो देवदत्तः "Devadatta Aupagava" i. e. "Devadatta whose son is Upagu"; or in देवदत्तोपत्यमस्योपगोः "Devadatta is son of this Upagu", we shall have देवदत्तिरुपगुः "Upagu whose son is Devadatta". Now this is not intended. We cannot have औपगवः in the sense of "He whose son is Upagu", nor देवदत्तिः in the sense of "He whose son is Devadatta."

Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोरपत्यं, instead of the taddhita formed word औपगवः ॥

Note:—The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samâsa); as उपगवपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samâsa rule here is not superseded by the Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2, S. 175 because the anuvṛitti of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here from sûtra IV. 1. 81, S. 1201 so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samâsa rules will find scope. The word औपगवः being a जाति denoting word (because jâti includes गोत्रं च चरणैः सह see Kârikâ to IV. 1. 83. S. 518; therefore its feminine will be by ङीष् (VI. 1. 83) As औपगवी ॥

१०८९ । अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् । ४ । १ । १६२ ॥

अपत्यत्वेन विवक्षितं पौत्रादि गोत्रसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1089. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

Note:—When an offspring with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendant or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौण्डिन्यः, गार्गिः ॥

Note :—Q. The word अपत्यं has been read uselessly in this sûtra, for grandsons &c are apatyam or descendants? The sûtra could have been well stated as pautra-pravṛiti gotram'.

Ans. Yes. Therefore in explaining the sûtra, the author has said "apatyatvena vivakshitam"-"when it is intended to speak of a person as a descendant." Why do we say "when it is intended to express"? As a matter of fact, even grand-sons and lower descendants of Garga also will be denoted by the general patronymic गार्गिः formed under the शेष rule गर्गस्त्वेदम्, when no particular stress is laid on the *degree* of descent. The Gotra denoting affix need not be added here.

Others say that the force of vivakshita is that the grandsons &c should not get the designation *gotra*, but only their relationship. Therefore नौपनवः though formed by अण् (not a gotra affix) is also a gotra word.

१०९०। जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा। ४। १। १६३॥

वंश्ये पितादौ जीवति पौत्रादेर्वंश्यपत्यं चतुर्थादि तद्युवसंज्ञमेव न गोत्रसंज्ञम्॥

1090. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

Note :—The word वंश्य means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line.' One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः॥ When such a vanśya is alive then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The pharse पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं in the sûtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् यद् अपत्यं 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sûtra however this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head, we have गर्गः॥

अपत्यम्— गार्गिः (son or putra)
गार्ग्यः (Gotra)
गार्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gârga or Gargî &c be alive).

The force of the word तु, in the sûtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

१०९१। भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि। ४। १। १६४॥

ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि जीवति कनीयान् चतुर्थादिर्युवा स्यात्॥

1091. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Note:—Even when a वंश्य: like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vaṅśya) the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus: गार्ग्यायणः॥

The word वंश्य: is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vaṅśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sûtra applies to cases when Vaṅśya is not meant. Thus Gârgyâyaṇa is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gârgya; similarly Vâtsyâyana, Dâkshyâyaṇa, and Plâkshâyaṇa.

१०९२। वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति। ४। १। १६५॥

भ्रातुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा स्यात्। एकं जीवतिग्रहणमपत्यस्य विशेषणम्। द्वितीयं सपिण्डस्य। तरङ्निर्देश उभयोरुत्कर्षार्थः। स्थानेन वयसा चोत्कृष्टे पितृव्ये मातामहे भ्रातरि वा जीवति। गार्ग्यस्यापत्यम् गार्ग्यायणः। गार्ग्यो वा। स्थविरेति किम्। स्थानवयोन्यूने गार्ग्य एव। जीवतीति किम्। मृते मृतौ वा गार्ग्य एव॥

वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम्*॥ गोत्रस्यैव वृद्धसंज्ञा प्राच्याम्। गोत्रस्य युवसंज्ञा पूजायां गम्यमानायाम्। तत्रभवान् गार्ग्यायणः। पूजेति किम्। गार्ग्यः॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायां गोत्रसंज्ञेति वाच्यम्*॥ गार्ग्यो जाल्मः। कुत्सेति किम्। गार्ग्यायणः॥

1092. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a (more) superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of जीवति also from IV. 1. 163. S. 1090. This जीवति of the sûtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapiṇḍa. The sapiṇḍa relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior' that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*, such as an uncle, or a maternal grand-father or an elder brother &c. when alive.

Thus the descendant of गार्ग्य will be गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः॥

Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

Why do we say "superior"? When the person alive is lower either in degree or in age, then we have only one form गार्ग्य only. Why do we say

"when alive?" When either the descendant of a grandson &c is dead or the superior sapiṇḍa is dead, then also we have one form गार्ग्यः only.

Vârtika :—The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra in the terminology of the ancient grammarians. As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gârgyâyaṇa or Gârgya".

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्नार्हितम् वृद्धम् ॥

Vârt :—The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जाल्मः or गार्ग्यायणो जाल्मः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायणः ॥

१०९३ । एको गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ९३ ॥

गोत्रे एक एवापत्यप्रत्ययः स्यात् । उपगोर्गोत्रापत्यं औपगवः । गार्ग्यः । नाडायनः ।

गोत्रे स्वैकोनसंख्यानां प्रत्ययानां परम्परा ।
यद्वा स्वद्वयूनसंख्येऽतोऽनिष्टोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्यते ॥ १ ॥
अपत्यं पितुरेव स्यात्ततः प्राचामपीति च ।
मतभेदेन तद्ग्रन्थे सूत्रमेतत्त्रयोत्तरम् ॥ २ ॥

पितुरेवापत्यमिति पक्षे हि उपगोस्तृतीये वाच्ये औपगवादिम् स्यात् । चतुर्थे स्वजीवज्ज्येष्ठे मृतवंश्ये औपगवेः फक् । इत्थं फगिभ्योः फगिभ्यः परम्परायां मूलाच्छततमे गोत्रे एकोनशतं प्रत्ययाः स्युः । पितामहादीनामपीति मुख्यपक्षे तु तृतीये वाच्ये उपगोरपि इष्टे सिद्धेऽपि अण्युञन्तादिभ्यापि स्यात् । चतुर्थे फगिति फगिभ्योः परम्परायां शततमे गोत्रेऽष्टनवतिरनिष्टप्रत्ययाः स्युः । अतो नियमार्थमिदं सूत्रम् । एवमुत्तरसूत्रेऽप्यूह्यम् ॥

1093. One descendant-denoting affix only is employed when a gotra descendant (how low so-ever) is to be indicated.

Note :—The word Gotra is defined in sutra IV. 1. 162 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sûtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गिः (IV. 1. 93). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्ग) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of a गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no

new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever the affix यञ् will be added to the word गर्ग, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sûtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix यञ् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 S. 1088 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

Thus the Gotra descendant of उपगु is औपगवः, of गर्ग is गार्ग्यः, of नड is नाडायनः ॥

Note :—The word गोत्रे in the sûtra is in the singular number as the word denotes the whole class; i. e. all gotra descendants. The word एक: is a numeral. If the sûtra be translated thus :—" when a Gotra-descendant is intended to be expressed, then the descendant denoting affix should be one only "—then in the case of gotra-descendant the *first* word only takes the affix, and not any other. On the other hand, if the gotra affix can be added, even after the word has taken an apatya-affix, then there is not *one* affix in denoting a Gotra-descendant. Hence the author has explained by saying " One descendant-denoting affix only is employed &c ". The word apatya is read into the sûtra from the context, as it is the governing word of the whole section.

Others explain the word एक as equivalent to प्रथम or first; and the *first* means the base which is devoid of any apatya-affix. They explain the sûtra thus. " The first or the original word takes the apatya-affix in denoting Gotra."

Thus the son of Upagu is Aupagava, the gotra descendant will be also Aupagava. The gotra-affix will be added to Upagu and not to Aupagava. Thus the gotra-descendant will be formed by the affix अण् also, just as the immediate descendant (i. e. son) is formed by अण्; and not by इञ् ॥ For though औपगव 'son of Upagu " is a word which ends in अ, and therefore in forming a descendant from it the affix इञ् ought to be added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095; yet अण् is added by force of this sûtra. There is no *specific* Gotra affix for this word उपगु ॥

Similarly गार्ग्यः formed by यञ् of IV. 1. 105 S. 1107. Here यञ् is specifically ordained to denote Gotra-descendants, and therefore, there is not इञ् added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095, which is added only when an immediate descendant (i. e. son) is to be denoted. Thus here we have two forms, the son of Garga is गार्गिः, while the grandson and lower descendants will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Thus गार्ग्य denotes not only the grandson of Garga, but the son of Gârgya as well. The word denoting the son of Gârgya (the grandson of Garga) will not be formed by फक् added to गार्ग्य, because of the restriction of this rule: since *one* affix only can be added. The affix फक् would have been added by IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. in denoting the son of

Gârgya, for he is a Yuvan: as Gârgyâyana. But when he is considered as a Gotra-descendant, then he will be called by the general name Gârgya.

Similarly नाडायन: formed by फक् under IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. Here also फक् is specifically ordained to come after Naḍâdi words, and therefore the general affix इञ् (IV 1. 95 S. 1095) is precluded: which now finds its scope in denoting the *immediate* descendant i. e. the son of Naḍa. Thus Nâḍi is son of Naḍa; while Nâḍâyana is the grandson of Naḍa. The son of Nâḍâyana will be Nâḍâyana; and not Nâḍâyani, with the इञ् of IV. 1. 95 S. 1095; because of the restriction of this sûtra which says only *one* affix is to be added.

Verse:—"In denoting a Gotra descendant, there is a succession of affixes, being either one less in number than the degree of the descendant: or two less in number: the undesirable occurrence taking place after all pratipadikas which are two less in number than the base".

"The word apatya (son or descendant can be used in relation) to the father only; and in relation to older (than father) also," according to diversity of opinions. Hence the necessity of this sûtra, as well as of the next sûtra, to remove these anomalies."

In the first alternative, when apatya is only of a father, (and we can not say "a grandfather's apatya"); when the third in degree from Upagu is to be denoted, there must be added the affix इञ् to औपगव, (thus giving the form Aupagavi "the grand-son of Upagu"). Similarly to denote the fourth in degree, when the elder brother is not alive, and when the elder-members-of-the-family (vanśya) are dead, the affix फक् is added (and we have औपगवायन:) ॥ (The son of Aupagavâyana will be by iñ, Aupagavâyani, his son will be Aupagavâyana and so on). Thus by the constant recurrence of फक् and इञ् affixes alternately, in denoting a Gotra descendant hundredth in degree from the original उपगु, there will be ninty-nine affixes.

In the second alternative, when the word apatya can be applied with regard to grand-father &c (when we can say apatya of a grand-father, &c)—and this is the valid alternative—the third in degree will be expressed by अण् added to उपगु; i. e. औपगव: will express the grandson also of Upagu: and though thus the true and desired form is obtained, yet the affix इञ् will also come after अण् ending औपगव: ॥ In denoting the fourth, the affix will be फक् and then will commence the recurrence of फक्, इञ् फक्, इञ् &c, and thus in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant, there will occur ninety eight undesirable affixes.

Therefore, for the sake of making a niyama or restrctive rule, has this sûtra been enunciated.

This must be understood in the next sûtra also.

Note:—*Objection*. How could more than one affix be simultaneously applied in denoting *one* Gotra, and is not, therefore, this sûtra useless?

Ans:—No. The following considerations show the necessity of this sûtra. Now the person from whom the Gotra is to be calculated, is the first or propositus his son will be second, his grand-son will be third, and so on. The first or the Propositus takes no affix, in denoting the son or the *second* there will be *one* affix added; in denoting son's son or the *third*, two affixes will be added, and so on; so that in denoting the hundredth, ninety-nine affixes will be added. Thus the son of उपगु will be उपगु + अण् = औपगवः ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of Aupagava will be औपगव + इञ् = औपगविः ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of औपगवि will be औपगवि + फक् = औपगवायनः ॥ The fifth or the son of औपगवायन will be औपगवायन् + इञ् = औपगवायनिः and then will commence the recurring series Thus. 1. Upagu, 2. Aupagava, 3. Aupagavi, 4. Aupagavâyana, 5. Aupagavâyani, 6. Aupagavâyana, 7. Aupagavâyani, 8. Aupagavâyana, 9. Aupagavâyani &c. Thus the second in degree or son has *one* affix अण्, the third has *two* affixes, अण्; and इञ्; the fourth has *three* affixes अण्, इञ् and फक् the fifth has four affixes अण्, इञ्, फक् and इञ् and so on. Therefore the verse says, गोत्रे स्वैकोनसंख्यानां प्रत्ययानां परम्परा "In a Gotra descendant there will be an uninterrupted succession (parampará) of affixes whose number will be *one less* (eka-una) than the *degree* of descent (स्व) of the person to be so denoted." This is one anomaly to remove which the present sûtra has been made.

Though as a matter of fact, the final अ and इ would have been always elided by यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S, 311), and the forms would not have shown the actual presence of the affixes अण् and इञ्, yet the *number* of affixes added will be always one less than the *degree* of descent.

Another necessity of this sûtra is as regards the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the base or prâtipadika in the case of son is Upagu; in the case of grandson or third descendant is Aupagava, or *one* new base; in the case of the fourth descendant, the base is Aupagavi or *second* pratipadika. and so that in the hundredth descendant there will be ninety-eight new prâtipadikas; i. e. always *two* less than the degree of descent. Therefore the verse says: यद्वा स्वदूय्यून संख्येभ्यो-ऽनिष्टोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्यते "Or the anomaly (anishṭa) arises in the case of those prâtipadikas which are less by two than the degree of descent." Thus in the case of third degree, there is one undesirable prâtipadika i. e. Aupagava: i. e. the affix is added to Aupagava and not to Upagu: in the case of fourth in degree there is another undesirable prâtipadika i. e. affix is added to Aupagavi and not to Upagu; and so on. Thus the number of affix-taking undesirable stems increase with the degree of descent, their number being *two* less than the degree, therefore, the necessity of the present sûtra in order to restrict the number of stems to *one*.

The above two difficulties, one of ninety nine affixes, and the other of ninety eight arises from the two meanings of the word apatya. In one view the word अपत्य is restricted to the *son* of the father only: and not to grand-sons &c. This is the view pre-eminently of the lexicographer Amara, who defines apatya thus :—

आत्मजस्तनयः सूनुः सुतः पुत्रस्त्रियां स्वसा ।
आहुर्दुहितरं सर्वेऽपत्यं तोकं तयोः समे ॥

In this view there will be ninety nine affixes, in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant.

The other and siddhânta view is that apatya not only means the immediate descendants (son or daughter) but the grandson and grand-daughter and lower descendants also. Thus apatya is not only of father, but of those who are older (prâchâm) than father also, i. e. of grand-father and great-grand father &c. In other words the word apatya should be taken in its etymological sense i. e. "he who prevents the fall (patan) of another"—the presence of any descendant, how low so ever, prevents the *fall* of ancestors from heaven. "न पतन्त्यनेनेति"—अपत्यम्" or यन्निमित्तं यस्यापतनं, तत् तस्यापत्यम् ॥ And as grandsons &c prevent the fall of grand-father &c. so they are also called apatya (fall-preventer) of grand-father &c. In fact, it in this wider sense of a "descendant," that the word apatya is used by Pâṇini himself in the sûtra apatyam pautra pravṛiti gotram (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089).

१०९४ । गोत्रादून्यस्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ९४ ॥

यून्यपत्ये गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादेव प्रत्ययः स्यात् । स्त्रियां तु न युवसंज्ञा । गर्गस्य युवापत्यं गार्ग्यायणः । स्त्रियां गोत्रस्यादेक एव प्रत्ययः ॥

1094. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a niyama or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). Similarly वात्स्यायनः, दाक्षायणः, प्लाक्षायणः, औपगविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the Feminine of दक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan), Similarly प्लाक्षी feminine of प्लक्षिः and प्लाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the Feminine, If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant

of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by the Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the Feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the Sûtra should be divided in two, e, g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम्। (2) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan' descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact, the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known by Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

१०९५। अत इञ्। ४। १। ९५॥

अदन्तं यन्नामप्रातिपदिकं तन्प्रकृतिकात्षष्ठ्यन्तादिञ् स्यादपत्येऽर्थे। दाक्षिः॥

1095. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं=दाक्षिः 'a descendant of Daksha.'

Note:—Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter त् added to अ by I. 1. 69 and 70 S. 14 and 15)? The descendant of शुभंयाः or कीलालपाः (words which end in long अ). will not be formed by the affix इञ्॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sûtra is दाशरथिः, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As "प्रदीयताम् दाशरथाय मैथिली" 'Give Sita to the son of Daśaratha'.

१०९६। बाह्वादिभ्यश्च। ४। १। ९६॥

बाहविः। औडुलोमिः। आकृतिगणोऽयम्॥

1096. The affix इञ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'bâhu' &c.

Thus बाहविः "a descendant of the clan of Bâhu." The words 'Bâhu &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ्॥ Hence the necessity of the present sûtra. So also औडुलोमिः॥

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण)॥

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाकु, 4 निवाकु, 5 शिवाकु, 6 वटाकु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपबिन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 चूडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मूषिका, 13 कुशला, 14

भगला (ङगला) 15 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्री, 18 दुर्मित्रा, 19 पुष्करसद्, 20 अनुहरत्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 23 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावत्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33 34 माष, 35 शारविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवृद्धिन्, 38 शृङ्खलतेदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्क, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम् 53 संभूयाम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन। 57 सात्वकिः 58 आङ्धिघः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60 आजघेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vârt:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इञ् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहवः ॥

Vârt:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning 'father in-law' is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वाशुरिः ॥

Note:—The च in the sûtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जाम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजघेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औडुलोमिः ॥

१०९७। सुधातुरकङ् च। ४। १। ९७॥

चादिम्। सुधातुरपत्यं सौधातकिः ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

1097. The affix इञ् is placed after the word sudhâtṛi in denoting the descendant, and the ऋ of sudhâtṛi is replaced by the substittute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम्=सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtṛi'.

Vârt:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुड, निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इञ् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः। नैषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, बैम्बकिः ॥ In forming these words, the anomalous Vṛiddhi takes place by the following sûtra.

✓ १०९८। न य्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच्। ७। ३। ३॥

पदान्ताभ्यां यकारवकाराभ्यां परस्य न वृद्धिः किंतु ताभ्यां पूर्वौ क्रमादैचावागमौ स्तः। वैयासकिः। वारुडकिरित्यादि ॥

1098. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्,

but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is ऐ is placed before य्, and औ before व्॥ As वैयासकिः, from व्यास; वारुडकिः &c so also वैयाकरणः from व्याकरणं (व्याकरणमधीते) सौवश्वः from स्वश्वः (स्वश्वस्यापत्यं)॥

१०९९। गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्चफञ्। ४। १। ९८॥

1099. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'kuñja' &e, when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted.

This debars इञ्॥ Of the affix च्फञ् the letter ञ् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ्; such as in sûtra V. 3. 113 S. 1100 by which the words ending in the affix च्फञ् take the further affix य (ञ्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter ञ् of this affix causes Vriddhi (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). Then remains फ which by sûtra VII. 1. 2, S. 475 is replaced by आयन्॥

Note:—The word गोत्रे of this sûtra governs the succeeding sûtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sûtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

११००। व्रातच्फञोरस्त्रियाम्। ५। ३। ११३॥

व्रातवाचिभ्यश्च्फञन्तेभ्यश्च स्वार्थे ञ्यःस्यान्न तु स्त्रियाम्। कौञ्जायन्यः। बहुत्वे तद्राजत्वाल्लुग्वक्ष्यते। बाधनायन्यः। स्त्रियां कौञ्जायनी। गोत्रत्वेन जातित्वान्ङीष्। अनन्तरापत्ये कौञ्जिः॥

1100. The affix ñya comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in chphañ (आयन IV. 1. 98 S. 1099), without change of sense; but not in the feminine.

Note:—A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence is called व्रात or 'wild band'.

Thus कुञ्ज + च्फञ् = कौञ्ज + आयन् + अ = कौञ्जायन॥ This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by the present sûtra thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यौ, plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix ञ्य being elided by II. 4. 62, S. 1193 in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्राज class (IV. 1. 174 S. 1192). Similarly बाध्रायन्यः, बाध्रायन्यौ, बाध्रायनाः॥

Why do we say "not in the Feminine? Observe कपोतपाकी, ग्रीहिमती, कौञ्जायनी, बाध्रायनी॥ The affix ङीष् is added as Gotra is a jâti word.

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इञ् is added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 in denoting an immediate descendant.

११०१। नडादिभ्यः फक्। ४। १। ९९॥

गोत्र इत्येव। नाडायनः। चारायणः। अनन्तरो नाडिः॥

1101. The affix **फक्** comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems **नड्** and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड+फक्=नाड+आयन VII. 2. 118 S. 1076 and VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Similarly चारायणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलंकु is changed to शलंक before this affix. Thus शालंकायनः॥ The word शालंकिः occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, S. 1084. The Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इञ् by IV. 1. 96, S. 1096 as belonging to Bâhvâdi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. आग्निशर्मायणः = वार्ष्यगण्यः; otherwise the form will be आग्निशर्मः॥ The word कृष्ण will form कार्ष्णायनः when a Brâhmaṇa is meant; otherwise कार्ष्णिः, so also राणायनः = वासिष्टः, otherwise राणिः॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोष्ट as कौष्टायनः॥

1 नड, 2 चर (वर) 3 बक, 4 मुंज, 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 लमक। 10 शलंकु शलङ्कु च। 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक। 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषगणे। 15 प्राण, 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 किङ्कुल, 25 कातर, 26 कासल, 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 काश्य, 29 काश्य 30 अज, 31 अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्टे। 33 अमित्र, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्ट च, 38 लोहि, 39 दुर्ग 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिशफा, 42 अभ, 43 तृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमत, 48 ऋच्, 49 जलंधर, 50 अध्वर, 51 युगंधर, 52 हंसक, 53 दण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बंदर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्कु, 66 इन्ध, 67 अस, 68 कामक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 दण्डप, 74 जन्, 75 अश्वक, 76 वानव्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इत्वरा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 काम, 84 वात॥

११०२। हरितादिभ्योऽञः ४। १। १००॥

एभ्योऽपत्येभ्यो यूनि फक्। हारितायनः। इह गोत्राधिकारेऽपि सामर्थ्यादपत्यम्। नहि गोत्रादपरो गोत्रप्रत्ययः। विदाद्यन्तर्गणो हरितादिः॥

1102. The affix फक् comes (in denoting a yuvan descendant) after the words हरित &c. when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104)

The words हरित &c. form a subdivision of बिद class, which class by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्) ॥ The son of हारित will be formed by this sûtra aud not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hârita or the great-grandson of Hârita." In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sûtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes ; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 *one* Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra-affix अञ् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

११०३ । यञिञोश्च । ४ । १ । १०१ ॥

गोत्रे यौ यञिञौ तदन्तात् फक् स्यात् । अनातीत्युक्तेरापत्यस्येति यलोपो न । गार्ग्यायणः । दाक्षायणः ॥

1103. The affix फक् is added in denoting a (Yuvan) descendant after a Nominal-stem (denoting a Gotra descendant and) formed by the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sûtra has, like that of the preceding sûtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) = गार्ग्य ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्ग्यायणः ॥ दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षिः ; दाक्षि + फक् = दाक्षायणः ॥

It is not every word that ends in यञ् or इञ्, which takes the Yuvan affix फक्; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 S. 1380 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वैप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुरर्थिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

११०४ । शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साग्नायणेषु । ४ । १ । १०२ ॥

गोत्रे फक् । अञिञोरपवादः । आद्यौ बिदादी । शारद्वतायनो भार्गवश्चेत् । शारद्वतोऽन्यः । शौनकायनो वात्स्यश्चेत् । शौनकोऽन्यः । दार्भायण आग्नायणश्चेत् । दार्भिरन्यः ॥

1104. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the words 'śaradvat', śunaka' and

'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Âgrâyana respectively.

The first two words शरद्वत् and शुनक belong to बिदादि class, and therfore would by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 have taken the affix अञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sûtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead. This debars the affixes अञ् and इञ्॥ The affix फक् is a Gotra affix here.

Thus शारद्वतायनः = भार्गवः otherwise शारद्वतः (formed by अञ्) शौनकायनः = वात्स्यः; otherwise शौनकिः, दाभार्यणः = आग्रायणः otherwise दार्भिः, formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95).

११०५। द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम्। ४। १। १०३॥

एभ्यो गोत्रे फग् वा। द्रौणायनः। द्रौणिः। पार्वतायनः। पार्वतिः। जैवन्तायनः। जैवन्तिः अनादिरिह द्रोणः। अश्वत्थाम्न्यनन्तरे तूपचारात्॥

1105. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Droṇa,' 'Parvata,' and 'Jîvanta.'

This debars इञ् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रौणायनः or द्रौणिः; पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः; जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रौणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase "अश्वत्थामा द्रौणायनः"? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhârât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descedants were called द्रौणायनाः॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Drauṇâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

११०६। अनृष्यान्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ्। ४। १। १०४॥

एभ्योऽञ् गोत्रे ये त्वत्रानृषयस्तेभ्य अनन्तरे। सूत्रे स्वार्थे ष्यञ्। बिदस्य गोत्रापत्यं बैदः। अनन्तरो बैदिः। बाह्वादेराकृतिगणत्वादिञ्। पुत्रस्यापत्यं पौत्रः। दौहित्रः॥

1106. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'Bida' &c, in denoting a remoter (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting an immediate descendant.

The word ânantarya in the sûtra is formed by the affix ष्यञ् without changing the sense. In fact आनन्तर्य is equal to अनन्तर "an immediate descendant." Thus the Gotra descendant of Bida will be बैदः; but the immediate descendant will be बैदिः formed by इञ् of IV. 1. 96 S. 1096, as it belongs to Bâhvâdi class which is an Akṛitigaṇa. Similarly the son of a son (putra) will be पौत्रः ॥ So also दौहित्रः ॥

Note:—This Sûtra consists of four words: अनृषि "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage"; आनन्तर्ये 'in expressing an *immediate* descendant." बिदादिभ्यः "after Bidâdi words" अञ् "the affix अञ्" Thus of the words falling in Bidâdi class, the words like पुत्र 'son,' दुहितृ daughter,' नानान्दृ 'sister-in law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting the immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः 'grand-son.' दुहितृ + अञ् = दौहित्रः "daughter's son.' But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus बिद + अञ् = बैदः 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that, of Bida.'

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes we come to this two fold meaning of this sûtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word 'anṛishi' is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्य is the same as अनन्तर् the affix ष्यङ् being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendants of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means:—'after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'añ' is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.'

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words बिद &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus बिद forms बैदिः 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 S. 1096 इञ् and not by ऋष्यण् of IV. 1. 114, because बिद is supposed to belong to the Akṛitigaṇa of Bâhvâdi.

1 बिद, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज 6 उपमन्यु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किंदर्भ) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिषेण (ऋष्टिषेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्व, 13 प्रियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्वत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 बिन्दु. 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अश्वावतान, 26 श्यामक, 27 श्यानक, 28 श्यावलि, 29 श्यापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किंदास, 32 बह्यस्क. 33 अर्कजूष (अर्कलूक) 34 बध्योब, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रक्षित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मठर, 45 मृडाकु, 46 मृपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पुत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्द। 52 परस्त्री परशुं च। 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक. श्यायक ॥

The word **परस्त्री** in the above list is replaced by **परशु** when taking the affix **अञ्** ॥ Thus **परस्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशवः** (the son of a Brâhmaṇa begotten on a Śûdra woman, who though married to the Brâhmaṇa is **परस्त्री** 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word **परस्त्री** occurs in **अनुशतिकादि** (VII. 3. 20 S. 1438) and **कल्याण्यादि** (IV. 1. 126 S. 1131) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called **परस्त्री**, the form will be **पारस्त्रैणेयः**, with double vṛiddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20 : S. 1438; which does not take place in the **पारशवः** ॥

११०७। गर्गादिभ्यो यञ्। ४। १। १०५॥

गोत्र इत्येव। गार्ग्यः। वात्स्यः॥

1107. The affix **यञ्** comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus **गार्ग्यः**, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also **वात्स्य** &c.

गर्ग, 2 **वत्स**, 3 **बाजासे**, 4 **संस्कृति**, 5 **अज**, 6 **व्याघ्रपात्**, 7 **विदभृत्**, 8 **प्राचीनयोग**, 9 **अगस्ति**, 10 **पुलस्ति**, 11 **चमस**, 12 **रेभ**. 13 **अग्निवेश**, 14 **शंख**, 15 **शट**, 16 **शक**, 17 **एक**, 18 **धूम**, 19 **अवट**, 20 **मनु**, 21 **धनंजय**, 22 **वृत्त**, 23 **विश्वावसु**, 24 **जरमाण**, 25 **लोहित**, 26 **शंसित**, 27 **बभ्रु**, 28 **वल्गु**, 29 **मण्डु**, 30 **गण्डु**, 31 **शंकु**, 32 **लिगु**, 33 **गुहलु**, 34 **मन्तु**, 35 **मंक्षु**, 36 **अलिगु**, 37 **जिगीषु**, 38 **मनु**, 39 **तन्तु**, 40 **मनायी**, 41 **सूनु**, 42 **कथक**, 43 **कन्थक**, 44 **ऋक्ष**, 45 **तृक्ष** (**वृक्ष**) 46 **तनु**, 47 **तरुक्ष**, 48 **तलुक्ष**, 49 **तण्ड**, 50 **वतण्ड**, 51 **कपिकत**, 52 **कत**, 53 **कष**, 54 **भूत**, 55 **कुरुकत**, 56 **अनडुह**, 57 **कवि**, 58 **पुरुकुत्स**, 59 **शक्ति** 60 **कण्व**, 61 **शकल**, 62 **गोकक्ष**, 63 **अगस्त्य**, 64 **कुण्डिनी**, 65 **याज्ञवल्क**, 66 **पर्णवल्क**, 67 **अभयजात**, 68 **विरोहित**, 69 **वृषगण**, 70 **रहूगण**, 71 **शण्डिल**, 72 **वर्णक** (**चणक**) 73 **चुलुक**, 74 **मुद्गल**, 75 **मुसल**, 76 **जमदग्नि**, 77 **पराशर**, 78 **जतूकर्ण**, (**जातूकर्ण**) 79 **महित**, 80 **मन्त्रित**, 81 **अश्मरथ**, 82 **शर्कराक्ष**, 83 **पूतिमाष**, 84 **स्थूरा**, 85 **अदरक** (**अरक**) 86 **एलाक**, 87 **पिङ्गल**, 88 **कृष्ण**, 89 **गालन्द**, 90 **उलूक**, 91 **तितिक्ष**, 92 **भिषज** (**भिषज्**) 93 **भिष्णज**, 94 **भण्डित**, 95 **भण्डित**, 96 **दल्भ**, 97 **चेकित**, 98 **चिकित्सित**, 99 **देवह**, 100 **इन्द्रह**, 101 **एकलू**, 102 **पिप्पल**, 103 **बृहदग्नि**, 104 **सुलोहित्**, 105 **सुलाभित्**. 106 **उक्थ**, 107 **कुटीगु**, 108 **संहित**, 109 **पथ**, 110 **कन्थु**, 111 **ध्रुव**, 112 **कर्कटक**, 113 **रुक्ष**, 114 **प्रचुल**, 115 **विलम्ब**, 116 **विष्णुज** ॥

Note:—The word **मनु** is found in the **लोहितादि** sublist of this class. It ought to take **ष्फ** after **अञ्** in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, S. 476; how then the form **मानवी**

in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyâsa the son of Parâsara is called पाराशर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्ररूपाध्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatya forms are by ऋष्यञ् (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाराशरः ॥ In forming the plural of गार्ग्य the following rule applies :—

१११८ । यञञोश्च । २ । ४ । ६४ ॥

गोत्रे यञन्तमञन्तं च तदवयवयोरेतयोर्लुक्स्यात्तत्कृते बहुत्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । गर्गाः । वत्साः । बिदाः । ऊर्वाः । तत्कृते इति किम् ! प्रियगार्ग्याः । स्त्रियां तु गार्ग्यः स्त्रियः । गोत्रे किम् । द्वैप्याः । औत्साः । प्रवराध्यायप्रसिद्धमिह गोत्रम् । तेनेह न । पौत्राः । दौहित्राः ॥

1108. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and अञ् (IV. 1 104 S. 1106) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यञ् = गार्ग्यः ; plural गर्गाः 'the male Gotra descendants of Garga.' So also वत्साः 'the male Gotra descendants of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः ॥ Similarly, बिद + अञ् = बैदः (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) ; plural बिदाः, similarly और्वः singular ; ऊर्वाः plural.

Why do we say tat-krite bahutve 'when the plural is of that word alone'? But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a Bahuvrîhi compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gârgya is beloved;' प्रियबैदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.' Here the Plural is not of the word Gârgya, but of those who love Gârgya.

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः is the feminine plural of गार्गी ॥

Why do we say "when these denote Gotra descendants"? Otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यञ् = द्वैप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वैप्याः ; here the affix यञ् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः ॥ Here the Gotra is taken in the sense of a founder of a class, Pravara ; i. e. what is read in pravara list, and is not a Grammatical Gotra. Hence this अञ् is not elided in पौत्राः, दौहित्राः ॥

११०९। मधुबभ्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः। ४। १। १०६॥

गोत्रे यञ्। माधव्यो ब्राह्मणः। माधवोऽन्यः। बाभ्रव्यः। कौशिकऋषिः। बाभ्रवोऽन्यः। बभ्रुशब्दस्य गार्गादिपाठात्सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम्। गर्गादिपाठफलं तु लोहितादिकार्यार्थम्। बाभ्रव्यायणी॥

1109. The affix **यञ्** comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words **मधु** and **बभ्रु**, when the words so formed mean 'a Brâhmaṇa' and 'a Kauśika' respectively.

Thus **माधव्यः**=**ब्राह्मणः** 'Brâhmaṇa.' Otherwise **माधवः** "son of Madhu." **बाभ्रव्यः**=**कौशिकः** Ṛishi. Otherwise **बाभ्रवः**॥

The word **बभ्रु** belongs to the Gargâdi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sûtra also. The present sûtra declares a niyama or restriction, viz. **बभ्रु** takes **यञ्** then only when **कौशिक** is denoted. Its being read in the Gargâdi class serves another purpose: as it belongs to the sub-class **लोहितादि**, the rule IV. 1. 18 S. 476 becomes applicable to it; so that its feminine is formed by **ष्फ**॥ Thus **बाभ्रव्यायणी**॥

Note:—In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapâtha, instead of writing **बभ्रु** alone, there was '**बभ्रु कौशिके**॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sûtra.

१११०। कपिबोधादाङ्गिरसे। ४। १। १०७॥

गोत्रे यञ् स्यात्। काप्यः। बोध्यः। आङ्गिरसे किम्। कापेयः। बौधिः॥

1110. The affix **यञ्** comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words **कपि** and **बोध**, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus **कपि**+**यञ्**=**काप्यः** 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras'. So also **बौध्यः**॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe **कापेयः** (IV. 1 122 S. 1125) 'the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also **बौधिः** formed by **इञ्** because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bâhvâdi (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096) class.

Note:—The word **कपि** occurs in Gargâdi class. The present sûtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargâdi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18 S. 476. Thus **काप्यायनी** "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi".

१११११ । वतण्डाच्च । ४ । १ । १०८ ॥

आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वातण्डयः । अनाङ्गिरसे तु गर्गादौ शिवादौ च पाठाद्यञ्णौ । वातण्ड्यः । वातण्डः ॥

1111. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant, of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः = आंगिरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and in the Sivâdi class (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). It would have taken both affixes यञ् and अण् ॥ The present sûtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, than वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवादि class : and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both those affixes e. g. वातण्ड्यः and वातंडः any decendant of Vâtaṇḍa.

१११२ । लुक् स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । १०९ ॥

वतण्डाच्चेति विहितस्य लुक् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । शार्ङ्गरवादित्वात् ङीन् । वतण्डी । आनाङ्गिरसे तु वातण्ड्यायनी । लोहितादित्वात् फ्यः । आणि तु वातण्डी । ऋषित्वादुच्यमाणः ष्यङ् न ॥

1112. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine. As the word belongs to Śarangaravâdi class it takes ङीन् in the feminine by IV. 1. 73.

In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + ङीन् (IV. 1. 73 S. 527) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Aṅgirasa." Why do we say "of Aṅgirasa?" Observe वातण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitâdi rule (IV. 1. 18 S. 476). When वतण्ड takes अण् under Sivâdi class, its feminine is वातण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अङ्, yet in the feminine, there is not ष्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

१११३ । अश्वादिभ्यः फञ् । ४ । १ । ११० ॥

गोत्रे । आश्वायनः ॥ पुंसि जाते * ॥ पुंसीति तु प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । जातस्य गोत्रापत्यं जातायनः । पुंसीति किम् । जातायां अपत्यं जातेयः ॥

1113. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛitti of âṇgirasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व+फञ्=अश्व+आयन (VII. 1. 2 S. 475)=आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'.

Note:—Similarly आश्मायनः ॥ There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आत्रेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि+ढक् (IV. 1. 122 S. 1125), वैल्य=विलि (a Rajarshi)+ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189), and आनडुह्य=अनडुह+यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). The word शय takes phañ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शायायनः, otherwise शायिः, with इञ् or शायः with अण् ॥

Vârtika:—The word जात takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं=जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं=जातेयः with ढक् ॥

The word आत्रेय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhâradvaja, as आत्रेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, S. 3399 leaving the form आत्रेयः ॥

The words भारद्वाज आत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhâradvâja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhâradvaja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. 1. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अश्मन् 3 शंख 4 शूद्रक 5 विद 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर) 9 खरजार 10 बस्त 11 पिजूल 12 भण्डिल 13 भडिल 14 भण्डित 15 भडित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 क्षान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलांक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 श्रविष्ठ 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 श्याम 31 धूम 32 धूम्र 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 ग्रीष्म 41 अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशंप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुंप 48 दासक 49 वैल्य 50 (बैल्य) प्राच्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 56 सुमनस् 57 दुर्मनस 58 नम 59 (मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आत्रेय भरद्वाजे 62 भरद्वाज आत्रेये 63 उत्स 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वद 67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिव् 70 खदिर 71 भण्डिक 72 ग्रीवा 73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76 वीक्ष्य, 77 वह, 78 खेड, 79 नक्त 80 ओजस, 81 नम ॥

१११४। भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते। ४। १। १११ ॥

गोत्रे फञ्। भार्गायणस्त्रैगर्तः। भार्गिरन्यः ॥

1114. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भार्गायणः = त्रैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गिः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095).

१११५। शिवादिभ्योऽण्। ४। १। ११२॥

गोत्र इति निवृत्तम्। शिवस्यापत्यं शैवः। गाङ्गः। पक्षे तिकादित्वात् फिञ्। गाङ्गायनिः। शुभ्रादित्वाद्ढक्। गाङ्गेयः॥

1115. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words **शिव** &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word **गोत्रे** (IV. 1. 98 S.1099) does not extend to this sûtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix **अण्** debars **इञ्** &c. Thus **शिव + अण् = शैवः** 'a descendant of Śiva'.

Note :—The word **तक्षन्** 'a carpenter' occurs in this class. Being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix **इण्** by IV. 1. 153 ; the present sûtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of **ण्य** ordained by IV. 1. 152. S. 1176. Thus **तक्षन् + अण् = ताक्षणः॥ तक्षन् + ण्य = ताक्ष्ण्यः॥** The **अ** is elided by VI. 4. 134.

The word **गंगा** occurs in this class, as well as in the Śubhrâdi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) and the Tikâdi (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178). There are thus three forms of this word :—**गांगः** ; **गांगायनिः** with **फिञ्** and **गांगेयः** with **ढक्॥**

The word **विपाशा** occurs in this class as well as in the Kuñjâdi class (IV. 1. 98 S. 1099). It has thus two forms : **वैपाशः** and **वैपाशायन्यः** with chphañ.

The affix **अण्** will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river : the affix **ढक्** (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) would have debarred the **तन्नामिक अण्** of (IV. 1. 113 1116) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name **त्रिवेणी** would be formed by **अण्** (IV. 1 113 S. 1116), as **त्रैवेण:** but this is replaced by **त्रिवण:॥**

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 दण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुभ् (ककुभा) 10 अनभिम्लान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुस्थ 16 कहोड 17 कोहड 18 कहय 19 कहय 20 रोध 21 कपिंजल (कुपिंजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 तृणकर्ण 25 क्षीरह्रद 26 जलह्रद 27 परिल 28 पषिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हैहय 31 पार्षिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मंजीरक 37 38 मञ्जिरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्मार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विश्वकर्ण 47 स्वर्ण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 ग्रीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तक्षाक 54 नभाक 55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कारु 57 पूथा 58 उल्लेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका

62 आर्यश्वेत (अर्यश्वेत) 63 सुपिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जुरकर्ण 67 खदूरक 68 तत्तन् 69 ऋष्टिषेण 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 ह्रह्य 75 अयःस्थूण 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भलन्दन 79 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी 83 ह्यचो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कबोध 88 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

१११६। अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः । ४ । १ । ११३ ॥

अवृद्धेभ्यो नदीमानुषीनामभ्योऽण् स्यात् । ढकोऽपवादः । यामुनः । नार्मदः । चिन्तिताया अपत्यं चैन्तितः । अवृद्धेभ्यः किम् । वासवदत्तेयः । नदीत्यादि किम् । वैनतेयः । तन्नामिकाभ्यः किम् । शोभनाया अपत्यं शौभनेयः ॥

1116. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vṛiddham words; and when they are used as names and not as adjectives.

ढक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases. The present sûtra is an exception to that.

Note:—The word Vṛiddham in the sûtra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sûtras like IV. 1. 166, S. 1092 but means the Vṛiddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word whose first syllable is a Vṛiddhi letter (1. 1. 73 S. 523). The word **अवृद्धाभ्यः** shows the *orthography* of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word **नदीमानुषीभ्यः** declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word **तन्नामिकाभ्यः** applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus **यमुना**—**यामुनः** 'a son of the Yamunâ'. **नार्मदः** 'son of the Narmadâ'. These are all *names* of rivers. Similary **चैन्तितः** 'son of **चिन्तिता**' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vṛiddha word'? Observe **वासवदत्तेयः** formed by **ढक्** (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why do we say being 'names of *rivers* or *women*'. Observe **वैनतेयः** ॥ Why do we say "when it is a *name*?" Observe **शोभनाया अपत्यं=शौभनेयः** "the son of a beautiful woman'.

१११७। ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ११४ ॥

ऋषयो मन्त्रद्रष्टारः । वासिष्ठः । वैश्वामित्रः । अन्धकेभ्यः, श्वाफल्कः । वृष्णिभ्यः, वासुदेवः । अनिरुद्धः । शौरिरिति तु बाह्वादित्वादिञ् । कुरुभ्यः, नाकुलः । साहदेवः । इञ एवायमपवादो मध्येपवादन्यायात् । अत्रिशब्दात्तु परत्वाद्ढक् । आत्रेयः ॥

1117. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem danoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vṛishṇi, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इञ् ॥ The Ṛishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvâmitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also श्वाफल्कः, रान्धसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka; and वासुदेवः, आनिरुद्धः being persons belonging to the familiy of Vṛishṇi. The word शौरिः however, is formed by इञ् because it belongs to Bâhvâdi class. And नाकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

This sûtra debars इञ् only, on the maxim मध्येऽपवादः ॥ The word अत्रि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sûtra enjoins अण्; but IV. 1. 122 S. 1125. enjoins ढक्; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of अत्रि will be formed not by अण् but by ढक ॥ Thus आत्रेयः ॥

Similarly उग्रसेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ष्यञ्; and not by अण्; so also वैष्वक्सेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi family; so also भैमसेन्यः 'son of Bhîmasena' a person of Kuru family.

१११८। मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः । ४ । १ । ११५ ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्य मातृशब्दस्योदादेशः स्यादण्प्रत्ययश्च । द्वैमातुरः । सांमातुरः । षाण्मातुरः । भाद्रमातुरः । आदेशार्थं वचनं, प्रत्ययस्तूत्सर्गेण सिद्धः । स्त्रीलिङ्गनिर्देशोऽर्थापेक्षः । तेन धान्यमातुर्नं । संख्येति किम् । सौमात्रः । शुभ्रादित्वाद्वैमात्रेयः ॥

1118. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mâtṛi when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mâtṛi,

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुरः "the son of two mothers i. e. the son of one and adopted by another". (द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमात् + उ + अ = द्वैमात् + उ + र् + अ I. 1. 51 S. 70). Similarly षाण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sûtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the ऋ of मातृ: for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. S. 1073 The sûtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes a female.

Thus संमिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be सांमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'.

Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumâtṛi'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 S. 1126 as belonging to Śubhrâdi class.

१११९। कन्यायाः कनीन च। ४। १। ११९॥

ढक्कोऽपवादोऽण् तत्सन्नियोगेन कनीनादेशश्च। कानीनो व्यासः कर्णश्च। अनूढाया एवापत्यमित्यर्थः॥

1119. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word **कन्या**, and when this affix is added, **कनीन** is the substitute of 'kanyâ'.

Thus कन्यायाः अपत्यं = कानीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz. Karṇa or Vyâsa. This debars the ढक् of IV. 1. 121.

Note:—The word **कन्या** means 'a virgin' the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् वा पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती॥

११२०। विकर्णशुङ्गच्छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु। ४। १। ११७॥

अपत्येऽण्। वैकर्णो वात्स्यः। वैकर्णिरन्यः। शौङ्गो भारद्वाजः। शौङ्गिरन्यः। छागल आत्रेयः। छागलिरन्यः। केचित्तु शुङ्गेत्याबन्तं पठन्ति तेषां ढक् प्रत्युदाहरणम्। शौङ्गेयः॥

1120. The affix **अण्** comes after the words **विकर्ण**, **शुङ्ग**, and **छगल**, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvâja and Atri respectively.

Thus वैकर्णः = वात्स्यः otherwise वैकर्णिः॥ शौङ्गः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः॥ छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः॥

In some texts the word शुंगा ending with the feminine affix आप् is used and not शुंग॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः॥

११२१। पीलाया वा। ४। १। ११८॥

तत्रामिकाणं बाधित्वा व्यचइति ढकि प्राप्ते पक्षेऽण् विधीयते। पीलाया अपत्यं पैलः। पैलेयः॥

1121. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by IV. 1. 113 S. 1116; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 S. 1124 as it is a disyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sutra. Thus पैलः or पैलेयः 'son of Pîlâ."

११२२। ढक् च मण्डूकात्। ४। १ ११९॥

चादण्। पक्षे इञ्। माण्डूकेयः। माण्डूकः।माण्डूकिः॥

1122. The affix ढक् comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण्॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डुक+ढक्=मांडुकेयः; मंडूक+अण्=माण्डूकः मण्डूक+इञ्=माण्डूकिः (IV. 1. 95).

११२३। स्त्रीभ्यो ढक्। ४। १। १२०॥

स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो ढक् स्यात्। वैनतेयः। बाह्वादित्वात्सौमित्रिः। शिवादित्वात्सापत्नः॥

1123. The words ending in a feminine affix take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes टाप् &c,' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता+ढक्=वैनतेयः (IV. 1. 2 S. 183). So also सौपर्णेयः "the son of Vinatâ or Suparṇi." But the son of सुमित्रा will be सौमित्रिः as it belongs to Bâhvâdi class. (IV. 1. 96. S. 1096). Similarly the son of सपत्नि will be सापत्नः as it belongs to Śivâdi class. (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115).

But ऐडबिडः and दारदः formed by अण् meaning sons of इडबिड and दरद, for though these words are feminine, they do not *end in feminine affixes*.

The affix ढक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष॥ Thus बाडवेयः=वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be बाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

The feminine words क्रुञ्चा and कोकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलाः "the son of a cuckoo.'

११२४। द्व्यचः। ४। १। १२१॥

द्व्यचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक्। तन्नामिकाणोऽपवादः। दाक्षेयः। पार्थ इत्यत्र तु तस्येदमित्यण्॥

1124. The affix 'dhak' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113. S. 1116.

Thus दत्तायाः अपत्यं = दात्तेयः 'the son of Dattâ' But the son of पृथा is however, पार्थः by अण् of IV. 3. 120 S. 1500.

Note:—Why do we say. 'having two vowels?' Observe यामुनः "son of यमुना', which is a trisyllabic word and not disyllabic.

११२५। इतश्चानिञः। ४। १। १२२॥

इकारान्ताद् द्व्यचोऽपत्ये ढक् स्यात् न त्विञन्तात्। दौलेयः। नैधेयः॥

1125. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इञ्॥

The anuvṛitti of 'strî' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sûtra is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word द्व्यचः of the last sûtra. Thus दौलेयः 'the son of Duli'. नैधेयः 'the son of निधि'॥

Note:—Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षिः "the son of दक्ष"॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इञ्'? Observe दाक्षायणः 'the son of दाक्षि'॥ Here though दाक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95. S. 1095); so also प्लाक्षायनः॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचि"॥

११२६। शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च। ४। १। १२३॥

ढक् स्यात्। शुभ्रस्यापत्यं शौभ्रेयः॥

1126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शौभ्रेयः॥

Note:—This debars इञ् and other affixes. The word च in the sûtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an

आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पांडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गांगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलाथल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाभ्रू, 7 लेखाभ्रू, (लेखाभ्र), 8 विकंसा, (विकाश), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिशु, 13 शालूक, 14 अजवस्ति, 15 शर्कांधि, 16 विमातृ, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक, 19 विश, 20 देवतर, 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र, 24 ज्ञातल, (शतल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सृकण्डु, 27 विस्रि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्डु, 32 शाताहर, 33 पवण्डुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वासिष्ठे। 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण; 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 सृकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदत्त, 49 सुवत्तस्, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कद्रु, 52 तुद, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुठारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्माशिन् 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदत्त, 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खडूर, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मत्ता, 68 अनुदृष्टिन्, (अनुदृष्टि) 69 जरातिन्, 70 बलिवर्दिन्, 71 विम्र, 72 बीज, 73 जीव, 74 श्वन्, 75 अश्मन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर 78 शतावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यण्डु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकथु, 86 यमण्डु, 87 कण्डु, 88 सृकण्ड, 89 शुद, 90 रुद, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥ The word Pravahaṇa (39) which belongs to this class, is governed by the sûtra 1129 in forming its derivative.

११२७। विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे। ४। १। १२४।

अपत्ये ढक्। वैकरणेयः। कौषीतकेयः। अन्यो वैकर्णिः। कौषीतकिः ॥

1127. The affix 'ढक्' comes after the words 'vikarna' and 'kushîta', when they mean the descendants of Kâśyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौषीतकेयः=काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौषितकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

११२८। भ्रुवो वुक् च। ४। १। १२५ ॥

चाड्ढक्। भ्रौवेयः ॥

1128. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus भ्रू+ढक्=भ्रू+वुक्+ढक् (I. 1. 46 S. 36)=भ्रूव्+ढक्=भ्रौवेयः (VII. 1. 2.)

११२९ । प्रवाहणस्य ढे । ७ । ३ । २८ ॥

प्रवाहणशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्यात्रामादेरचो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ढे परे ॥ प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं प्रावाहणेयः । प्रवाहणेयः ॥

1129. Before the affix ढ (एय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥

Note :—The affix ढक् IV. I. 123, S. 1126 is added, here. Similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculation prohibited). Or we may translate the sûtra as " Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi ", and omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, S. 842 (जाते) ॥

११३० । तत्प्रत्ययस्य च । ७ । ३ । २९ ॥

ढान्तस्य प्रवाहणस्योत्तरपदस्यादेरचो वृद्धिः, पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ॥ प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं प्रावाहणेयिः । प्रवाहणेयिः ॥ बाह्यतद्धितनिमित्ता वृद्धिर्ढाश्रयेण विकल्पेन बाधितुं न शक्यते इतिसूत्रारम्भः ॥

1130. Even in a new derivative from प्रवाहणेय itself when formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member.

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयिः, ॥ In other words, the external vṛiddhi might have been caused by इञ् is not able to supersede the internal optional vṛiddhi de-pendent upon ढ ॥ Hence a separate sûtra.

११३१ । कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ् । ४ । १ । १२९ ॥

एषामिनङादेशः स्यात् ढक् च । काल्याणिनेयः । बान्धकिनेयः ॥

1131. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इनङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

Note :—In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sûtra teaches merely the substitution of इनङ् for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1 120. S. 1123. But in the case of other words, the Sûtra teaches both the substitution of इनङ् and the addition of ढक् ॥

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'the son of Kalyâṇî.' So also बान्धकिनेयः ॥

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुदृष्टि, 6 अनुसृति (अनुसृष्टि) 7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्दी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

११३२ । कुलटाया वा । ४ । १ । १२७ ॥

इनङ्मात्रं विकल्प्यते ढक् तु नित्यः पूर्वेणैव । कौलटिनेयः । कौलटेयः । सती भिक्षुकन्यत्र कुलटा । या तु व्यभिचारार्थं कुलान्यटति तस्याः क्षुद्राभ्यो वेति पक्षे ढूक् । कौलटेरः ॥

1132. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलटा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलटा has another meaning also of a nun. Literally it means one who wanders (अटति) from one family (कुल) to another. i. e. "a chaste woman but a beggar or (2) secondly an unchaste woman." This sûtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलटा would have always taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120 S. 1123. Thus कुलटा + ढक् = कुलटिन् + ढक् = कौलटिनेयः, or कौलटेयः 'son of a chaste woman who is a beggar'. This word कुलटा when meaning an unchaste woman, being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढूक् by IV. 1. 131 S. 1137. Thus कौलटेरः ॥ In this case there are two forms only कौलटेरः and कौलटेयः and never कौलटिनेयः ॥

Note :—See Amarakosha II. 6. 26.

११३३ । हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

हृदाद्यन्ते पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भिति णिति किति च । सहृदोऽपत्यं सौहार्दः सुभगाया अपत्यं सौभागिनेयः । सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः सक्तुसिन्धवः । तेषु भवः साक्तुसैन्धवः ॥

1133. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ण्, ञ् or क् ॥

As सुहृदयोऽपत्यं = सौहार्दम्, सौभागिनेयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), ॥

Note :—The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyânâdi class (IV. I. 126 S. 113) and the affix ढक् and इन् augment are added, सुभग also occurs in Udgâtṛi class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vṛiddhi in the second member, as महते सौभगाय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly.

Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (=सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have साक्तुसैन्धवेः (=सक्तुसिन्धुषु भवः)॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhâdi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण्॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed thereunder.

The words सुहृद् and दुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4, 150.
The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or an ocean'.

११३४। चटकाया ऐरक्। ४। १। १२८॥

चटकस्येति वाच्यम *॥ लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्त्रिया अपि। चटकस्य चटकाया वा अपत्यं चाटकैरः॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये लुग्वक्तव्यः *॥ तयोरेव स्त्र्यपत्यं चटका। अजादित्वाट्टाप्॥

1134. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the Patronymic.

Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭakâ'.

Vârt:—It should be rather stated that the word चटकः (masc) takes the affix ऐरक्॥ For if the rule be enunciated with regard to the word chaṭaka, it would be extended to the feminine chaṭakâ also, by the maxim liṅgavishishṭa &c. Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

Vârt:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका, will be चटका, the टाप् being added, as it belongs to the Ajâdi class IV. 1. 4,

११३५। गोधाया ढ्रक्। ४। १। १२९॥

गौधेरः। शुभ्रादित्वात्पक्षे ढक्। गौधेयः॥

1135. The affix 'ढ्रक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा॥

Thus गोधा + ढ्रक् = गौधेरः॥

Of the affix 'ḍhrak,' the letter ढ् is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475.), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118 S. 1076) and makes the udâtta accent fall on the final (VI. 1. 165 S. 3712) Thus the real affix is एय्र्, but the र् is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873 and so the affix that is actually added is एर॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śúbhrâdi class IV. 1. 123, S. 1126 also, thus it takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गौधेयः॥

११३६। आरगुदीचाम्। ४। १। १३०॥

गौधारः। रकासिद्धे आकारोच्चारणमन्यतो विधानार्थम्। जडस्यापत्यं जाडारः। पण्डस्यापत्यं पाण्डारः॥

1136. The affix 'आरक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गौधारः ॥ It might be objected that the affix आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pâṇini uses this affix आरक, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix, as जाडारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

११३७। क्षुद्राभ्यो वा। ४। १। १३१ ॥

अङ्गहीनाः शीलहीनाश्च क्षुद्रास्ताभ्यो वा ढ्रक्। पक्षे ढक्। काणेरः। काणेयः। दासेरः। दासेयः ॥

1137. The affix 'ढ्रक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting contemptible objects.

The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. The anuvṛitti of ढ्रक् is to be read in this sûtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. This sûtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेयः, दासेरः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

११३८। पितृष्वसुश्छण्। ४। १। १३२ ॥

अणोपवादः। पैतृष्वस्रीयः ॥

1138. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसृ' ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसृ + छण् = पैतृष्वस्रीयः, 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ affix is replaced by ईय ॥

११३९। ढकि लोपः। ४। १। १३३ ॥

पितृष्वसुरन्त्यलोपः स्याद्ढकि। अत एव ज्ञापकात् ढक्। पैतृष्वसेयः ॥

1139. The final vowel of '**पितृ-ष्वसृ**' is elided when the affix '**ढक्**', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus **पितृष्वसृ + ढक् = पैतृष्वसेयः** ॥ This sûtra teaches merely elision, but indicates by jñâpaka that the word **पितृष्वसृ** takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

११४० । मातृष्वसुश्च । ४ । १ । १३४ ॥

पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तदस्यापि स्यात् । मातृष्वस्रीयः । मातृष्वसेयः ॥

1140. So also, after the word '**मातृ-ष्वसृ**' the affix '**ण**' is added, and the final is elided when '**ढक्**' follows, in forming patronymics.

Whatever has been taught in the sûtras IV. I, 132, 133 S. 1138, 1139 above, as regards pitṛisvasṛi, apply to **मातृष्वसृ** also. As **मातृष्वस्रीयः** or **मातृष्वसेयः** 'the son of a mother's sister.'

११४१ । चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ् । ४ । १ । १३५ ॥

1141. The affix '**ढञ्**' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars **अण्** &c. Thus **कमण्डलु + ढञ्** ॥ Now applies the following sûtra.

११४२ । ढे लोपोऽकद्र्वाः । ६ । ४ । १४७ ॥

कद्रूभिन्नस्योवर्णान्तस्य भस्य लोपः स्यात् ढे परे । कामण्डलेयः । कमण्डलुशब्दश्चतुष्पाज्जातिविशेषे ॥

1142. The **ऊ** or **उ** of a bha stem is elided before the affix **एय** (**ढ**), but not of the stem 'Kadrû'.

Thus **कामण्डलेयः**, but **काद्रवेयो मन्त्रमपश्यत्** ॥ Here the word **कमण्डलु** means a certain quadruped.

११४३ । गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

एभ्यो ढञ् स्यात् । अण्ढकोरपवादः । गार्ष्टेयः । मित्रेयोरपत्यम् । ऋष्यणि प्राप्ते ढञ् ॥

1143. The affix '**ढञ्**' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words, '**गृष्टि**' &c.

This debars अण् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ष्टेयः; हार्ष्टेयः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last sûtra. The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विभ्रि, 6 कुद्रि, 7 अजवस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ॥

The word मित्रयु also belongs to this class and takes ढञ् instead of अण् of Ṛishi (IV. 1. 113 S. 1116) Thus मित्रयोरपत्यम्=मित्रयु+ढञ् ॥ Now the following sûtra would apply causing the substitution of इय् for the यु of मित्रयु ॥

११४४ । केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः । ७ । ३ । २ ॥

एषां यकारादेरियादेशः स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परे । इति इयादेशे प्राप्ते ॥

1144. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As कैकेयः (=कैकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1168): similarly मैत्रेयिका formed with वुञ् (V. 1. 134 S. 1799) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया श्लाघते ॥ The word Gotra in that sûtra V. 1. 134 S. 1799 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रालेयम् (=प्रलयादागतं) ॥ As प्रालेयमुदकं ॥

Thus मित्रयु+ढञ्=मैत्र+इय्+एय ॥ This would give the form मैत्रेयेयः; which is wrong. Hence the following sûtra.

११४५ । दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायनाथर्वणिक जैह्माशिनेय वाशिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारवैक्ष्वाक मैत्रेय हिरण्मयानि । ६ । ४ । १७४ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । इति युलोपः । मैत्रेयः । मैत्रेयौ ॥

1145. The following are irregularly formed; 1. Dâṇḍinâyana, 2. Hâstinâyana, 3. Âtharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmâśineya, 5. Vàsinâyani, 6. Bhrauṇahatya, 7. Dhaivatya, 8. Sârava, 9. Aikshvâka, 10. Maitreya and 11 Hiraṇmaya.

Note:—These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दाण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from दण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is फक् (IV. 2. 91 S. 1310). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: दाण्डिनोऽपत्यं=

दाण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantâdi class (IV. 2. 63 S. 1273). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvaṇika: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशिन् and वासिन् are Jaihmâśineya and Vâsinâyani, the former with the affix ढक् of the Śubhrâdi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126). and the latter with the affix फिञ् of IV. 1. 157 S. 1181. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भ्रूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix ष्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त = भ्रूरुणन्नो भावः, धीव्नो भावः ॥ हन् takes त before affixes having an indicatory ण् or ञ् by VII. 3. 32 S. 2574: it might be said त would be added to भ्रूणहन् before ष्यञ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like भ्रौणघ्नी, वार्त्रघ्नः ॥ The त in Bhraṇṇhatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरय्वां भव, = सारवसुदकं ॥ (9) The son of इक्ष्वाकु, with अञ् affix (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186), the final उ is elided, or ईक्ष्वाकुषु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐक्ष्वाकः with अण् (IV. 2. 132 S. 1356). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐक्ष्वाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकः, the sûtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sûtra gives ऐक्ष्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grishṭyâdi class IV. 1. 136, S. 1143 and takes ढञ् as मित्रयु+एय, Here VI. 4. 146, S. 84 requires Guṇa, but VI. 4 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of उ, but VII. 3. 2, S. 1144 required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, S. 311 before एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22 S. 2183; however the result is the same, for अ+ए=ए by VI. 1. 97S. 191; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The dual is मैत्रेयौ: ॥ The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskâdi class and loses the affix in the plural by the following, sûtra.

Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2 S. 1144. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidâdi class (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106), it would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु+अञ्=मित्र+इय (VII. 3. 2 S. 1144)+अ=मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskâdi class (II. 4. 63 S. 1146) for then by II. 4. 63, S. 1146 अञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अञ् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV. 3. 127, S. 1507 and not with वुञ् under IV. 3. 126 S. 1506; but

we require वुञ्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्मेय from हिरण्य with मयट् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः=हिरण्मयः ॥

११४६ । यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे । २ । ४ । ६३ ॥

एभ्योऽपत्यप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात्तत्कृते बहुत्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । मित्रयवः ॥

1146. After the words **यस्क** &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

Therefore the plural of मैत्रेय is मित्रयवः ॥

Note :—यस्क + अण् = यास्कः, a descendant of Yaska not nearer than grandson. In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः, 'the descendants of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क ॥ 2. लह्य ॥ 3. द्रुह्य ॥ 4. अयस्थूण ॥ 5. अयः स्थूण ॥ 6. तृणकर्ण ॥ 7. सदामत्त ॥ 8. कम्बलहार ॥ 9. बाह्योंग ॥ 10. कर्णाढक ॥ 12. पिण्डी जङ्घ ॥ 13. वकसक्थ ॥ 14. वकसक्थ ॥ 15. विभ्रि ॥ 16. कुद्रि ॥ 17. अजबस्ति ॥ 18. मित्रयु ॥ 19. रत्नोमुख ॥ 20. जङ्घारथ ॥ 21. उल्कास ॥ 22. कटुक ॥ 23. मथक ॥ 24 मन्थक ॥ 25. पुष्करद् ॥ 26. पुष्करसद् ॥ 27. विषपुट ॥ 28. उपरिमेखल ॥ 29. क्रोष्टुकमान ॥ 30. क्रोष्टुमान ॥ 31. क्रोष्टुपाद ॥ 32. क्रोष्टुमाथ ॥ 33. शीर्षमाथ ॥ 34. श्वरप ॥ 35. पदक ॥ 36. वधुक ॥ 37. भलन्दन ॥ 38 भण्डिल ॥ 39. भण्डिल ॥ 40, भडित ॥ 41. भण्डिल ॥

११४७ । अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च । २ । ४ । ६५ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् तत्कृते बहुत्वे नतु स्त्रियाम् । अत्रयः । भृगवः । कुत्साः । वसिष्ठाः । गोतमाः । अङ्गिरसः ॥

1147. And after the words **अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस,** there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + ढक IV. 1. 122 S. 1125). the descendant of अत्रि, is अत्रयः, the regular plural of अत्रि ॥ So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः ; singular कौत्सः, plural कुत्साः ; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमा, अङ्गिरसः ॥

In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृगु + अण् = भार्गवः 'the descendant of Bhrigu.' Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes ढक् and अण् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः, भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयौ, भार्गवौ; plural अत्रयः, भृगवः &c.

Note:—But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियात्रेयाः or प्रियभार्गवाः ॥

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आत्रेय्यः स्त्रियः ॥

११४८। बह्वच इञः प्राच्यभरतेषु। २। ४। ६६ ॥

बह्वचः परो यो इञ् प्राच्यगोत्रे च वर्तमानस्तस्य लुक् स्यात्। पत्रागाराः। युधिष्ठिराः ॥

1148. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इञ् (IV. I. 95 S. 1095) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पत्रागारिः is पत्रागारः, there being elision of इञ्; so also मंयरेषणाः plural of मान्थरेषणिः; so the plural of यौधिष्ठिरिः is युधिष्ठिराः 'the descendants of Yudhishthira."

Note:—But वैकिः and पौष्पिः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्यः and पौष्प्यः ॥

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prâchyas and Bhâratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाकयः plural of बालाकिः, हस्तिदासयः plural of हस्तिदासिः ॥

Though the Bhâratas are Prâchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prâchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhâratas as in V. 4. 60 S. 2131. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhâratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनिः father, आर्जुनायनः son.

११४९। न गोपवनादिभ्यः। २। ४। ६७ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात्। बिदाद्यन्तर्गणोऽयम्। गोपवनाः। शैग्रवाः ॥

1149. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus गोपवन + अञ् = गौपवनः, plural गौपवनाः ; singular शैग्रवः, plural शैग्रवाः ॥ The गोपवन &c., belong to Bidâdi class, *vide* IV. 1. 104. S. 1106 and are the following :—गोपवनः शिग्रु. बिन्दु, भजन्, अश्व, अवतान. श्यामक and श्वापर्ण ॥ The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

११५० । तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुत्वे लुक् स्यात् द्वन्द्वे । तैकायनयश्च कैतवायनयश्च । तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् तस्य लुक् । तिककितवाः ॥

1150. After the words **तिक-कितव** &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-élision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिञ् = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178). Its plural is तैकायनयः । तैकायनयः + कैतवायनयः = तिककितवाः ॥ There is elision of फिञ् ॥

So also बांखरिः plural बांखरयः (IV. I. 95 S. 1095) + भण्डीरथयः = बंखरभंडीरथयः ; there is elision of इञ् (IV. 1. 95. S. 1095). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बङ्खरभण्डीरथाः 3. उपकल्मकाः (औपकायनाः + लामकायनाः, IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. elision of फक्). 4. पफकनरकाः (पाफकयः + नारकयः IV. 1. 95, elision of इञ्). 5. वकनखगुदपरिणद्धाः, 6. उब्जककुभाः (औब्जयः IV. 1. 95 S. 1095. + काकुभाः IV. 1. 112, S. 1115 then the elision of इञ् and अण्). 7, लङ्कशान्तमुखाः (the elision of इञ् IV. 1. 95 as in 4). 8. उत्तर-सलङ्कदाः or उरसलंकदाः (औरसायनः IV. 1. 154, + लांकटयः IV. 1. 95, S 1095 elision of फिञ् and इञ् ॥ 9. भ्रष्टक कपिष्टलाः (elision of इञ् as in 4) 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इञ्) 11. अग्निविश—दासेरकाः (आग्निवेश्यः IV. 1. 105 S. 1107 + दासेरकयः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of both यञ् and इञ्) ॥

११५१ । उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६९ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुत्वे लुग्वा स्यात् द्वन्द्वे चाद्वन्द्वे च । औपकायनाश्च लामकायनाश्च नडादिभ्यः फक् तस्य लुक् । उपकलमकाः । औपकायनलामकायनाः । भ्राष्ट्रककपिष्टलाः । भ्राष्ट्रकिकापिष्टलयः । उपकाः । औपकाः । लमकाः । लामकायनाः ॥

1151. After the words **उपक** &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the words take the plural, whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavâdi of the last sûtra. According to the Kâshikâ the elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, or औपकायन-लामकायनाः ॥ भ्राष्टककापिष्ठलाः, or भ्राष्टकि-कापिष्ठलयः ॥ कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः ॥ But the plurals of औपकायनः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99 S. 1101) is उपकाः or औपकाः (or औपकायनाः) of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of भ्राष्टकि is भ्राष्टकाः or भ्राष्टकयः, or भ्राष्टकायनाः ॥ The plural of कापिष्ठलिः is कपिष्ठलाः or कापिष्ठलयः ॥ The plural of काष्णाजिनः is कृष्णार्जिनाः, or काष्णार्जिनयः ॥ The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or काष्णसुन्दरयः ॥

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow :—

1. पण्डारक ॥ 2 अण्डारक ॥ 3. गडुक ॥ 4. सुपर्यक ॥ 5. सुपिष्ट ॥ 6. मयूरकर्ण ॥ 7. खारीजङ्घ ॥ 8. शलावल ॥ 9. पतञ्जल ॥ 10. कठेरणि ॥ 11. कुषीतक ॥ 12. काशकृत्स्न ॥ 13. निशाघ ॥ 14. कलशीकण्ठ ॥ 15. दामकण्ठ ॥ 16. कृष्णपिंगल ॥ 17. कर्णाक्ष ॥ 18. पर्णक ॥ 19. जटिलक ॥ 20. वधिरक ॥ 21. जन्तुक ॥ 22. अनुलोम ॥ 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक ॥ 24. प्रतिलोम ॥ 25. प्रतान 26. अनभिहित ॥ 27. चूडारक ॥ 28. उदङ्क ॥ 29. सुधायुक ॥ 30. अबन्धक ॥ 31. पदञ्जल ॥ 32. अनुपद ॥ 33. अपजग्ध ॥ 34 कमक ॥ 35. लेखाभ्र ॥ 36. कमन्दक ॥ 37. पिञ्चल ॥ 38 मसूरकर्ण ॥ 39. मदाघ ॥ 40. कदामत्त ॥ 41. दामकण्ठ) ॥

११५२। आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच्। २। ४। ७०॥

एतयोरवयवस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्याऽणो यञश्च बहुषु लुक् स्यादवशिष्टस्य प्रकृतिभागस्य यथासंख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् एतावादेशौ स्तः। अगस्तयः। कुण्डिनाः॥

1152. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes **अण्** and **यञ्** of the words **आगस्त्य** and **कौण्डिन्य**, when they take the plural; and the words **अगस्ति** and **कुण्डिनच्** are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of **आगस्त्य** is **अगस्तयः** (as if it was the plural of **अगस्ति**) and of **कौण्डिन्यः** is **कुण्डिनाः**॥ The affix **अण्** (IV. I. 114 S. 1117). after **आगस्त्य** and the affix **यञ्** (IV. I. 105 S. 1105) after **कौण्डिन्य** are elided.

११५३। राजश्वशुराद्यत्। ४। १। १३७॥

राज्ञो जातावेवेति वाच्यम्*॥

1153. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of the descendant after the words '**राजन्**' and '**श्वशुर**' ॥

This debars **अण्** and **इञ्** respectively.

Vârt:—In the case of **राजन्**, the affix **यत्** would be added, if the word so formed denotes a caste (Jâti). Thus **राजन्+यत्** ॥ Now applies the following sûtra which prevents the elision of **अन्** before **यत्** ॥

११५४ । ये चाभावकर्मणोः । ६ । ४ । १६८ ॥

यादौ तद्धिते परे अन् प्रकृत्या स्यान्न तु भावकर्मणोः । राजन्यः । श्वशुर्यः । जातिग्रहणाच्छूद्रासुत्पन्नो राजनः ॥

1154. The syllable **अन्** of a stem ending in **अन्**, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with **य**, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus **राजन्यः** (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Râjâ' So also **श्वशुर्यः** 'son of the father-in-law.'

As the word Jâti is used in the vârtika under IV. 1. 137 S. 1153. a son born of a Śûdrâ wife by a Kshatriya will be **राजनः** ॥

११५५ । अन् । ६ । ४ । १६७ ॥

अणि अन्प्रकृत्या स्यादिति टिलोपो न । अभावकर्मणोः किम् । राज्ञः कर्म भावो वा राज्यम् ॥

1155. The syllable **अन्** of a stem ending in **अन्** remains unchanged, before **अण्** affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As **सामानः, वैमनः, सौत्वनः, जैत्वनः**, from **सामन्, वेमन्, सुत्वन्** and **जित्वन्** ॥

Thus **सामसु साधुः = सामान्यः, ब्राह्मण्यः** ॥

Why have we used the words "when it does not denote an abstract noun or an avocation" in the sûtra VI. 4. 168 S. 1154.? Observe **राज्यम्** meaning the "royalty," the state of being a king or the avocation. But **राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा = राज्यम्** ॥ **राजन्** belongs to the Purohitâdi class and takes **यक्** (V. 1. 128).

११५६ । संयोगादिश्च । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

इन्प्रकृत्या स्थादणि परे । चक्रिणोऽपत्यं चाक्रिणः ॥

1156. The syllable **इन्** of a stem ending in **इन्** remains unchanged before **अण्**, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus चक्रिणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रिणः ॥

११५७ । न मपूर्वोऽपत्येऽवर्मणः । ६ । ४ । १७० ॥

मपूर्वोऽन्प्रकृत्या न स्यादपत्येऽणि । भाद्रसामः । मपूर्वः किम् । सौस्वनः । अपत्ये किम् । चर्मणा परिवृतश्चार्मणो रथः । अवर्मणः किम् । चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

वा हितनाम्नइति वाच्यम * ॥ हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं हैतनामः । हैतनामनः ॥

1157. In a stem in **अन्** with a preceding **म**, with the exception of **वर्मन्**, the ending **अन्** does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix **अण्** ॥

Thus भाद्रसामः from भाद्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म'? Observe सौस्वनः, preceded by स ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चर्मणा परिवृतो रथः = चार्मणः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167 S. 1155. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vârt.:—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हैतनामः or हैतनामनः ॥

११५८ । ब्राह्मोऽजातौ । ६ । ४ । १७१ ॥

योगविभागोऽत्र कर्तव्यः । ब्राह्म इति निपात्यते अनपत्येऽणि । ब्राह्मं हविः । ततोऽजातौ । अपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणष्टिलोपो न स्यात् । ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं ब्राह्मणः । अपत्ये किम् । ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

1158. **ब्राह्म** is irregularly formed from **ब्रह्मन्**, when not meaning 'a caste or jâti.'

This sûtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Potronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मं हविः, ॥ (2) अजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jâti; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix: as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmaṇa'. When jâti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥ ब्राह्मोमुहूर्त्तः, ब्राह्मः स्थालीपाकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it denotes a caste'? Observe ब्राह्मोनारदः 'Nârada the son of Brahmâ'.

११५९ । औक्षमनपत्ये । ६ । ४ । १७३ ॥

अणि टिलोपो निपात्यते । औक्षं पदम् । अनपत्ये किम् । उक्षणोऽपत्यम् ॥

1159. From **उक्षन्** is formed **औक्ष**, when not meaning a descendant.

As **औक्षंपदम्** ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning a descendant? Observe **औक्षणः**=**उक्षणोऽपत्यम्**, the **अ** is elided by VI. 4. 135 S. 1160 as given below.

११६० । षपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि । ६ । ४ । १३५ ॥

षपूर्वो योऽन् तस्य हनादेश्च भस्यान्तो लोपोऽणि । औक्षणः । ताक्षणः । श्रौणघ्नः । धृतराज्ञोऽपत्यं धार्तराज्ञः । षपूर्वेति किम् । सामनः । अणि किम् । ताक्षण्यः ॥

1160 Of a Bha stem ending in **अन्** with a preceding **ष**, as well as of **हन्** and **धृतराजन्** the **अ** is elided before the affix **अण्** ॥

Thus **औक्षणः**, **ताक्षणः**, **श्रौनघ्नः**, **धार्तराज्ञः** ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a **ष**'? Observe **सामनः** and **वैमनः** from **सामन्** and **विमन** formed with the affix **अण्**; here neither the **अ** of **मन्** nor the final syllable **अन्** is elided, since VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

Why do we say before the affix **अण्**? Observe **ताक्षण्यः** formed by the affix **ण्य** under IV. 1. 152 S. 1176 added to the artisan denoting word takshan.

११६१ । क्षत्राद्घः । ४ । १ । १३८ ॥

क्षत्रियः । जातावित्येव । क्षात्रिरन्यः ॥

1161. The affix 'gha 'comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'Kshattra.'

Thus **क्षत्रियः** 'a Kshatriya'. This is also a *class* name. The *son* of **क्षत्र** will be **क्षात्रिः** ॥

Note :—The affix **घ** here should not be confounded with the technical **घ** which means the affixes **तरप्** and **तमप्** (I. 1. 22).

११६२ । कुलात्खः । ४ । १ । १३९ ॥

कुलीनः । तदन्तादपि । उत्तरसूत्रेऽपूर्वपदाधिक्षिलिङ्गात् । आढ्यकुलीनः ॥

1162. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula'.

Thus कुलीनः ॥ The affix applies to compounds ending in कुल ॥ Because in the next sûtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'ḍhakañ'. That indicates by implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus आढ्यकुलिनः ॥

११६३ । अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यड्ढकञौ । ४ । १ । १४० ॥

कुलादित्येव । पक्षे खः । कुल्यः । कौलेयकः । कुलीनः । पदग्रहणं किम् । बहुकुल्यः । बाहुकुलेयकः । बहुकुलीनः ॥

1163. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula', when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally', we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

Why do we say 'पद'? The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14 S. 29. The word बहु is not a pada but an affix (see V. 3. 68. S. 2023). Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

११६४ । महाकुलादञ्खञौ । ४ । १ । १४१ ॥

अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवर्तते । पक्षे खः । माहाकुलः । माहाकुलीनः । महाकुलीनः ॥

1164. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula'.

The word anyatarsyâm 'optionally' of the preceding sûtra is understood here also. So we have ख also in the other alternative.

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139 S. 1162.

११६५ । दुष्कुलाद्ढक् । ४ । १ । १४२ ॥

पूर्ववत्पक्षे खः । दौष्कुलेयः । दुष्कुलीनः ॥

1165. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkula.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

११६६ । स्वसुश्छः । ४ । १ । १४३ ॥

स्वस्रीयः ॥

1166. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वस्रीयः 'the sister's son'.

११६७ । भ्रातुर्व्यच्च । ४ । १ । १४४ ॥

चाच्छः । अणोऽपवादः । भ्रातृव्यः । भ्रात्रीयः ॥

1167. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sûtra, we get the affix छ as well. This debars अण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रात्रीयः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यत् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

११६८ । व्यन्सपत्ने । ४ । १ । १४५ ॥

भ्रातुर्व्यन् स्यादपत्ये प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायेन शत्रौ वाच्ये । भ्रातृव्यः शत्रुः । पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येणेति तूपचारात् ॥

1168. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ', when the sense is that of 'a brother's son who is an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197). Thus भ्रातृव्य शत्रुः nephew who is an enemy पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". Here, of course, there is no sense of patronymic, and bhrâtrivya means 'an enemy' simply, but this is an extended figurative use of the word, rather than its original meaning. According to Kâshikâ, this bhâtṛivya with acute on the first, never means nephew, but 'an enemy' pure and simple: the force of the affix is not that of a patronymic.

११६६ । रेवत्यादिभ्यष्ठक् । ४ । १ । १४६ ॥

1169. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars ढक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वपालिकः (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170). The ठ is replaced by इक by the next sûtra.

1 रेवती, 2 अश्वपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 द्वारपाली, 5 वृकवञ्चिन्, 6 वृकबन्धुः, 7 वृकग्राह, 8 कर्णग्राह, 9 दण्डग्राह, 10 कुक्कुदात्त, 11 (ककुदात्त) 12 चामरग्राह,

११७० । ठस्येकः । ७ । ३ । ५० ॥

अङ्गात्परस्य ठस्येकादेशः स्यात् । रैवतिक ॥

1170. For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिकः 'the son of Revati.'

११७१ । गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च । ४ । १ । १४७ ॥

गोत्रं या स्त्री तद्वाचकाच्छब्दात् णठकौ स्तः कुत्सायाम् । सामर्थ्यादूनि । गार्ग्यो अपत्यं गार्गी गार्गिको वा जाल्मः ॥ भस्याढे तद्धिते इति पुंवद्भावाद्गार्ग्यशब्दाण्णठकौ । यस्येति लोपः । आपत्यस्येति यलोपः ॥

1171. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sûtra, we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः जाल्मः ॥ By the vârtika भस्याढे &c. (VI. 3. 35 S. 836), there is masculisation, and so the affixes ण and ठक् are added to गार्ग्य and not गार्गी ॥ Then by the sûtra VI. 4. 148. S. 311 the अ of गार्ग्य is elided. Then by VI. 4. 151. S. 1082, the य् is elided. Thus we get the form गार्गः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लौचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायनः and ग्लौचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix.

Note:—Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant.' Observe कारिकेयो जाल्मः (formed by ढक् IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why 'do we say female descendant? Observe औपगविर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माणवकः which is to be explained as गार्ग्यो अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मातामहादेरुपलक्षणार्थोयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

११७२ । वृद्धाट्ठक् सौवीरेषु बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १४८ ॥

सुवीरदेशोद्भवाः सौवीराः । वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्राद्यूनि बहुलं ठक् स्यात् कुत्साया्म् । भागवित्तेर्भागवित्तिकः । पक्षे फक् । भागवित्तायनः ॥

1172. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant, after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras.

Thus भागवित्तिकः 'the son of Bhâgavitti.' In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) as भागवित्तायनः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed we have भागवित्तायनः only.

११७३ । फेरछ च । ४ । १ । १४९ ॥

फिञन्तात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छः ठक् च कुत्सने गम्ये । यमुन्दस्यापत्यं यामुन्दायनिः । तिकादित्वात् फिञ् । तस्यापत्यं यामुन्दायनीयः । यामुन्दायनिकः । कुत्सने किम् । यामुन्दायनिः । औत्सर्गिकस्याणो ण्यञिञियेति लुक् । सौवीरेति किम् । तैकायनिः ॥

1173. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix फिञ् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्द will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178) as this word belongs to the Tikâdi class. The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यामुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

Why do we say 'contempt.'? For when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + ० (II. 4. 58 S. 1270) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Sauvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

Note:—The फेः of the sûtra refers to फिञ् and not to फिञ्, for a stem formed by फिञ् will not have a Vriddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called Vriddham'; the anuvritti of this word is understood in the sûtra.

According to a Kârikâ, three फिञन्त stems, all belonging to Tikâdi class, are only governed by this sûtra, viz. वसुन्द, सुवामा and वार्ष्यायणिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vârshyâyaṇi.

११७४ । फाण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञौ । ४ । १ । १५० ॥

सौविरेषु । नेह यथासंख्यम् । अल्पाच्तरस्य परनिपाताच्छ्राद्धादिति वृत्तिकारः । भाष्ये तु यथासंख्यमनेनेति स्थितम् । फाण्टाहृतः । फाण्टाहृतायनिः । मैमतः । मैमतायनिः ॥

1174. The affixes ण and फिञ् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvîra country, after the words Phâṇṭâhṛita and Mimata.

This debars फक् ॥ The Sauvîra is understood here also. The rule of I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply. For according to Kâśikâ the reason is this. "By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, S. 905 the word मिमत consisting of less syllables than फाण्टाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sûtra indicates, that Sûtra I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and फिञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively." But according to the Mahâbhâṣhya. The rule I. 3. 10 S. 128 applies, and ण and फिञ् are added respectively. Thus फाण्टाहृतः or फाण्टाहृतायनिः ; मैमतः or मैमतायनिः ॥

Note :—When not denoting Sauvîra Gotras, we have फाण्टाहृतायनः and मैमतायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 S. 1103 and IV. 1. 99 S. 1101). The word मिमत belongs to the Naḍâdi-class (IV. I. 99).

११७५ । कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । ४ । १ । १५१ ॥

अपत्ये । कौरव्या ब्राह्मणाः । बाबदूक्याः ॥ साम्राज्यः क्षत्रिये * ॥ साम्राज्यः । साम्राज्योऽन्यः ॥

1175. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु+ण्य=कौरव्य ; ॥ So also नार्य्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 so that the form कौरव्यः is evolved both under the present sûtra and sûtra IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 ; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 is a Tadrâja affix (see II 4. 62 S. 1193) ; but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sûtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्याः ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikâdi class (IV. 1, 154 S. 1178), and it takes as such the affix फिञ् ॥ As कौरव्यायणिः ॥ So also बाबदूक्याः ॥

Note :—The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakâra. Rathakâra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yajnyavalkya Smriti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ष्यञ् not by this Sûtra, but by the succeeding sûtra.

Note :—The word कैशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be कैशिन्यः ॥ There will not be puñvadbhâva as required by VI. 3. 34 S. 83 &c. For had there been puñvadbhâva, then by भस्यढे तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become puñvad before a taddhita affix except ढ ॥ Therefore कैशिनी + ष्यञ् = कैशिन् + ष्यञ् ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 S. 1059 will appear and cause the elision of इ and we shall have केश् + ष्यञ् = कैश्य ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word कैशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

Note :—The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore the form वैन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

Note :—The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvâdi class, a subdivision of Gargâdi (IV. I. 105 S. 1107). Thus the pupils of वामरथ्यः will be formed by the affix अण् (IV. 2. 111 S. 1332). As वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्यः (VI. 4. 151 S. 1082), The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 65 S. 1147). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16 S. 471) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV. 1. 17 S. 473). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c. is expressed (IV. 3. 127 S. 1507): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvâdi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by शेष, that is, it will have udâtta on the last syllable.

Vârt :—The word सम्राज् takes the affix ष्यञ् when denoting a Kshatriya. Thus साम्राज्यः ; otherwise साम्राजः ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग K.), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक K.), 5 रथकार, 6 वावदूक, 7 सम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति K.), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्) 12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमत्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि K.), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 दामोष्णीषि, 18 गणकारि, 19 कैशोरि, 20 कुड, 21 शलाका (शालाका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक K.), 25 शुभ्र*, 26 शभ्र, 27 इर्भ, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 शूपर्णाय 31 इयावनाय, 32 इयावरथ, 33 इयावपुत्र, 34 सत्संकार, 35 वडभीकार' 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्कु, 40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्दु, 44 हनू, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (वृनपिण्डी K.), 47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिवत्स्वरवर्जम् ॥ (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्कोण्टक, 51 वातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार ॥

११७६ । सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १५२ ॥

एभ्यो ण्यः । एति संज्ञायामिति सस्य षः । हारिषेण्यः । लाक्षण्यः । कारिः शिल्पी तस्मात् तान्तुवाय्यः । कौम्भकार्यः । नापित्यः ॥

1176. The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshaṇa,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus हारिषेण्यः, (स is changed to ष by VIII. 3, 99 S. 1023) लाक्षण्यः, तान्तुवाय्यः, कौम्भकार्यः नापित्यः ॥

११७७ । उदीचामिञ् । ४ । १ । १५३ ॥

हारिषेणिः । लाक्षणिः । तान्तुवायिः । कौम्भकारिः । नापितात्तु परत्वात् फिञेव । नापितायनिः ॥ तक्षणोऽण उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ताक्षणः । पक्षे ताक्षण्यः ॥

1177. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshaṇa,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus हारिषेणिः, लाक्षणिः, तान्तुवायिः कौम्भकारिः ॥ The word नापित being a Vṛiddha, non gotra word, will take फिञ् under IV. 1. 157 S. 118 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

Vârtika:—The affix अण comes after तक्षन् carpenter,' (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 and VI. 4. 65 S. 1160. Thus it will have ताक्षणः or ताक्षण्यः but will not take इञ् ॥

११७८ । तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् । ४ । १ । १५४ ॥

तैकायनिः ॥

1178. The affix 'फिञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, ॥

The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वार्ष्यायणिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Khsatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word औरश=उरसा भवते=उरशः क्षत्रियः, his son will be auraśa with añ, which end in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV. 1. 150 S. 1174

will take the affix इञ् and not फिञ् of this Sûtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68 S. 1276, 1150.

1 तिक 2 किलव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला, (बाल K.) 5 शिखा, 6 उरस् (उरस), 7 शाल्व (शाल्व K.) 8 सैन्धव, 9 शमुन्द, 10 रूप्य, 11 शाल्य, 12 नील, 13 अमिच, 14 गौकक्ष्य, 15 कुरु (करु K.) 16 देवरथ, 17 तैतल (तैतिल K.) 18 औरस (औरश,) 19 कौरव्य 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौलिकि, 22 चौपयत, 23 चैटयत, 24 शौकयत (शौकयत K.) 25 चैनयत, 26 वाजयत (ध्वाजयत K.) 27 चन्द्रमस्, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 सुषामन्, 32 आरड्ग (आरटव), 33 वह्यका, 34 खल्यका (खल्या; खल्य K.) 35 इष, 36 लोमक, 37 उदञ्च (उदन्य K.) 38 बज्र, 39 सुयामन्, 40 कूरथ (कूप्य), 41 भीत, 42 जाजल, 43 रस, 44 लावक, 45 ध्वजवद, 46 वसु, 47 बन्धु, 48 आवन्धका (as well as आबन्धका) ॥

११७९ । कौशलयकार्मार्याभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १५५ ॥

अपत्ये फिञ् । इञोऽपवादः ॥ परमप्रकृतेरेवायमिष्यते * ॥ प्रत्ययसंनियोगेन प्रकृतिरूपं निपात्यते । कुशलस्यापत्यं कौशल्यायनिः । कर्मारस्यापत्यं कार्मार्यायणिः ॥ छागवृषयोरपि * ॥ छाग्यायनिः । वार्ष्यायणिः ॥

1179. The affix फिञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kauśalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कौशल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायणिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौशल्य or कार्मार्य", but they mean "the son of कौशल, and कर्मार," because of the following Ishti.

Ishti:—The affix however denotes the descendant of the first orginal words कुशल and कर्मार ॥

Vârt:—The words छाग and वृष take the augment युट् before the affix फिञ् ॥ Thus छाग्यायनिः and वार्ष्यायणिः ॥

११८० । अणो द्यचः । ४ । १ । १५६ ॥

अपत्ये फिञ् । इञोऽपवादः । कार्षायणिः । अण इति किम् । दाक्षायणः । द्यचः किम् । औपगविः ॥ त्यदादीनां फिञ् वा वाच्यः * ॥ त्यादायनिः । त्यादिः ॥

1180. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कार्षायणिः 'son of Kârtra', हार्षायणिः 'son of Hârtra'.

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dâkshi (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say 'dissyllabic word'? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vârt:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix फिञ् ॥ Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

११८१ । उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात् । ४ । १ । १५७ ॥

आम्रगुप्तायनिः । प्राचां तु । आम्रगुप्तिः । वृद्धात्किम् । दाक्षिः । अगोत्रात्किम् । औपगविः ॥

1181. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, after a word with a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आम्रगुप्तायनिः "son of आम्रगुप्त", ॥

But according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians the form will be आम्रगुप्तिः ॥ Why do we say 'after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable'? Observe दाक्षिः 'son of दक्षः' ॥ Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

११८२ । वाकिनादीनां कुक् च । ४ । १ । १५८ ॥

अपत्ये फिञ् वा । वाकिनस्यापत्यं वाकिनकायनिः । वाकिनिः ॥

1182. The augment कुक् (Kuk) is added to the words Vâkina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

Thus वाकिनकायनिः॥ This debars इञ् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः ॥

1 वाकिन. 2 गौधेर (गारेध K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कव्य K.), 4 आक, 5 लङ्का, 6 चर्मिवर्मिनलापश्च ॥

११८३ । पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १५९ ॥

अस्माद्वा फिञ् सिद्धस्तस्मिन्परे पुत्रान्तस्य वा कुक् विधीयते । गार्गीपुत्रकायणिः । गार्गीपुत्रायणिः । गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

1183. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pûtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

Note:—The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read

into this sûtra. Of course a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिञ् by IV. I. 157 S. 1181; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment फुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

११८४ । प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १६० ॥

ग्लुचुकायनिः ॥

1184. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka'.

Note:—Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजदन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sûtra viz प्राचां and बहुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of sûtra construction. In some places this affix फिञ् is not at all added, as आत्रेः. प्लाक्षिः ॥

११८५ । मनोर्जातावञ्यतौषुक च । ४ । १ । १६१ ॥

समुदायार्थो जातिः । मानुषः । मनुष्यः ॥

1185. The affixes अञ् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment षुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that the whole word so formed denotes a class (jâti).

Thus मनु + षुक् + अञ् = मानुषः "a man or man-kind", So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥

Note:—These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण as मनु + अण् = मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानवीप्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, where न is changed into ण denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

११८६ । जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् । ४ । १ । १६८ ॥

जनपदवाचिनः क्षत्रियवाचकादञ् स्यादपत्ये । दाण्डिनायनेति सूत्रे निपातनाद्ढिलोपः । ऐक्ष्वाकः । ऐक्ष्वाकौ ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् । तद्राजमाचक्षाणस्तद्राज इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञासामर्थ्यात् । पञ्चालानां राजा पाञ्चालः ॥ पूरोरण् वक्तव्यः * ॥ पौरवः ॥ पाण्डोर्ढ्यण् * ॥ पाण्ड्यः ॥

1186. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which, while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus ऐक्ष्वाकः, dual ऐक्ष्वाकौ, plural इक्ष्वाकवः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. The final उ of इक्ष्वाकु is elided before this affix अञ् and we get the form ऐक्ष्वाकः because this anomalous form is so shown in VI. 4. 174 S 1145.

Note :—Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriyas, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण् ; the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Drûhya' ; पौरवः 'the son of Puru'. Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriya? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) 'the son of Pañchâla a Brahmana' ; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king there of. Thus पंचालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pâñchâla or of the country of Pâñchâlas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

Vârt :—Let the affix अण् come after पूरु ॥ Thus पौरवः ॥ "The king of the Pûrus." The word pûru is not the name of a country. The form would have been evolved by Pragdivyatîya अण्, the present vârtika is made in order to give it a tadrâja designation.

Vârt :—The affix 'ḍyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pâṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पाण्ड्यः, otherwise it will be पाण्डवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

Note :—The words Pañchâla &c. originally are names of the Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them' is elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatirya tribe as well as the country called Pañchâla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchâla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pâṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sûtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sûtra IV. 2. 81 S. 1293. These words when denoting a country are always in the Plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya it is in the singular.

११८७ । साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६६ ॥

आभ्यामपत्येऽञ् । वृद्धेदिति ञ्यङोऽपवादः । साल्वेयः । गान्धारः । तस्य राजन्यप्येवम् ।

1187. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhâri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sûtra IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyaṅ', the present sûtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya', or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhâri or the king of Gândhâri?' The vârtika under sûtra IV 1. 168 S. 1186 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'.

११८८ । द्व्यञ्मगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादण् । ४ । १ । १७० ॥

अञोऽपवादः । द्व्यच् । आङ्गः । वाङ्गः । सौह्मः । मागधः । कालिङ्गः । सौरमसः । तस्य राजन्यप्येवम् ॥

1188. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatryas.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus आंगः, वांगः, सौह्मः, मागधः, कालिंगः, and सौरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Vanga, Suhma, Magadha, Kalinga and Sûramasa.' The Vârtika 'तस्य राजनि' given above applies to this also, as आंगो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c.

११८९ । वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ् । ४ । १ । १७१ ॥

वृद्धात् । आम्बष्ठ्यः । सौधीर्यः । इत् । आवन्त्यः । कौसल्यः । अजादस्यापत्यं आजाद्यः ॥

1189. The affix 'ञ्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus, to give an example of Vṛiddha words, आम्बष्ठ्यः, सौधीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambaṣhṭha and Sauvîra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः 'the sons or kings of Avanti.' which is a word ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजाद्यः, which are neither Vṛiddha nor end in short इ ॥

११९० । कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः । ४ । १ । १७२ ॥

कौरव्यः । नैषध्यः । स नैषधस्यार्थपतेरित्यादौ तु शैषिकोऽण् ॥

1190. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'aṇ' and 'añ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषध्यः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥

Note :—How do you explain the form नैषधीर्हसि चेदिमम् ? This is an ârchaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपतेः सुतायां ? This is a poetic license, or the अण् affix added here to form the word नैषध is the śaishika aṇ of IV. 2. 92 S. 1312.

११९१ । साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकाद्विञ् । ४ । १ । १७३ ॥

साल्वो जनपदस्तदवयवा उदुम्बरादयस्तेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथादिभ्यश्चाभिधेयेभ्य इञ् । अणोऽपवादः । औदुम्बरिः । प्रात्यग्रथिः । कालकूटिः । आश्मकिः ॥ राजन्यप्येवम् ॥

1191. The affix इञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sâlva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakûṭa', and 'Aśmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriyâ woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) formed by ढक्; also साल्वः formed by अण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz, Udumbarâḥ, Tilakhalâḥ, Madrakârâḥ, Yugandharâḥ, Bhulingâḥ, and Śaradaṇḍâḥ. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तैलखलिः माद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शारदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'iñ' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to the Mahâbhâshya, the words Busa, Ajamîḍa, and Ájakanda also take this affix, as बौसिः, आजमीढिः and आजकन्दिः ॥

११९२ । ते तद्राजाः । ४ । १ । १७४ ॥

अमादय एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः ॥

1192. These (viz. the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 S.1186. &c) are called Tadrâja ('the king there of') affixes.

Note :—The affixes treated of in these six sûtras 168 to173 are called Tadrâja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of

before IV. I. 168 S. 1186; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan. See II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

११९३। तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम्। २। ४। ६२॥

बहुत्वयोर्यत्तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात्तदर्थकृते बहुत्वे सति स्त्रियाम्। इक्ष्वाकवः। पञ्चालाः इत्यादि। कथं तर्हि कौरव्याः पशवः। तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्या इति च। कौरव्ये पाण्ड्ये च साधव इति समाधेयम्। रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये, निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथंचिदिति तु रघुयदुशब्दयोस्तदपत्ये लक्षणया॥

1193. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174 S. 1192) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that, the plural number is taken by the tadrâja-modified base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that, the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अंग + अण् (IV. 1. 170 S. 1188) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural आङ्गाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vṛidhih vanishes with it too (I. 1. 63 S. 263); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आंगी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवांगः 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural प्रियवांगाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vaṅga,' there being no elision.

Thus इक्ष्वाकवः the princes of Ikshwâku tribe; plural of ऐक्ष्वाकः; the tadrâja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) is elided in the plural and so also पञ्चालाः (plural of पाञ्चालः) the princes of the Pañchalâs.

Why are the tadrâja affixes not elided in the plural of कौरव्यः and पाण्ड्यः, in the following phrases :—"कौरव्याः पशवः"॥ "तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः"॥

The affix य after कुरु and पाण्डु in the above is not the tadrâja affix य, but the तत्साधुः (IV. 4. 98 S. 1650) affix यत्॥ We should explain the above forms by कौरव्य or पाण्ड्ये च साधवः = कौरव्याः or पाण्ड्याः॥

Why are the affixes elided in the plural in the case of रघु and यदु in the following, for these words not being names of countries, the apatya affixes added to them can never get the designation of tadrâja, and so the rule of elision can not apply to them, but we see them elided in "रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये"॥ "निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथञ्चित्"॥ In other words, why have not the forms been राघवाणां and यादवैः? Ans. Here the words रघु and यदु have been used by a figure of speech or indirect application for the descendants of रघु and यदु॥ So the words have taken no apatya affix, and so there is no occasion for eliding any affix in the plural.

११९४। कम्बोजाल्लुक्। ४। १। १७५॥

अस्मात्तद्राजस्य लुक्। कम्बोजः। कम्बोजौ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम्॥ चोलः। शकः। ह्यञ्जलक्षणस्याणो लुक्। केरलः। यवनः। अम्रो लुक्। कम्बोजाः समरे इति पाठः सुगमः। दीर्घादिपाठे तु कम्बोजोऽभिजनो येषामित्यर्थः। सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञावित्यण्॥

1194. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix.

Namely, the affix अञ् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided even in the singular and dual. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja'. कम्बोजौ "the two princes of the Kambojas".

Vârt :—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus चोलः 'the king of the Cholâs'. Here as well as in शकः the अण् (IV. 1. 121. S. 1124.) that comes after a dissyllabic word is elided. So also शकः, केरलः, यवनः॥ The elision in the last two is of अञ्॥ "कम्बोजाः समरे" is a better reading than काम्बोजाः समरे॥ If, however, the second reading be taken, we explain the form by saying that काम्बोजाः is formed by अण् of the sûtra IV 3. 93 S. 1473 :—in the sense of "whose native land is Kamboja"; and as it is not a Tadrâja, it is not elided in the plural.

११९५। स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च। ४। १। १७६॥

तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात्। अवन्ती। कुन्ती। कुरूः॥

1195. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'fiyaṅ'. (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'ण्य' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरूः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. S. 521.

Note :—Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः॥

११९६। अतश्च। ४। १। १७७॥

तद्राजस्याकारस्य स्त्रियां लुक् स्यात्। शूरसेनी। मद्री। कथं माद्रीसुतावितिं। ह्रस्व एव पाठ इति हरदत्तः। भर्गादित्वं वा कल्प्यम्॥

1196. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शूरसेनी ; *m.* माद्रः, *f.* मद्री ॥

The word अतः of the sûtra should not be construed by the rule of tadanata vidhi (I. I. 72 S. 26). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrâja affix ending in अ is elided". There have been taught five Tadrâja affixes, namely 'añ (अ)', 'an (अ)', 'ñyaṅ (य)', 'ñya (य)' and 'iñ (इ)' ॥ Of these the first four all end in अ ; therefore, all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity for the previous sûtra, for then the present sûtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti', and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sûtra IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 indicates by ज्ञापक, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore the feminine of आम्बष्ठ्यः is आम्बष्ठ्या, of सौवीर्यः is सौवीर्या ॥

How do you explain the form माद्री in माद्रीसुतौ ? According to Haradatta it is wrong, the proper form is मद्रीसुतौ ॥ Or the form माद्रीसुतौ is valid under the Bhargâdi class (IV. 1. 178. S. 1197) and so the Tadrâja affix is not elided.

११९७ । न प्राच्यभर्गादि यौधेयादिभ्यः । ४ । १ । १७८ ॥

एभ्यस्तद्राजस्य न लुक् । पाञ्चाली । वैदर्भी । आङ्गी । वाङ्गी । मागधी । एते प्राच्याः । भार्गी कारूषी । कैकेयी । केकयीत्यत्र तु जन्यजनकभावलक्षणे पुंयोगे ङीष् । युधा । शुक्रा । आभ्यां द्वय इति ढक् । ततः स्वार्थे पश्चादियौधेयादिभ्योऽणभावित्यम् । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञ इति ङीन् । अतश्चेति लुकि तु ङगन्तत्वात् ङीप्युदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः स्यात् । यौधेयी शौक्रेयी ॥

1197. The Tadarâja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c. and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sûtra debars the elision of the Tadrâja affix अ (required by the last sûtra). Thus पांचाली, वैदेभी, आंगी, वाङ्गी, मागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in the countries east of the Sarasvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, कारुणी, कैकेयी ॥ The form केकयी without vriddhi is formed by the feminine affix ङीष् added to केकय with the force of showing the relation of father and daughter. So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, शौभ्रेयी and शौक्रेयी ॥ The forms are thus derived. To युधा and शुक्र is added the affix ढक् because they are dissyllabic words (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124). Then is added to them अञ् without change of signification, by V. 3. 117 S. 2070. This अञ् is a Tadrâja affix by virtue of V. 3. 119 S. 2072. Thus we get यौधेयः and शौक्रेयः ॥ Their feminine is formed by ङीन् as they end in the affix अञ् ॥ (IV. 1. 73. S. 527). Now had we elided the affix अञ् (V. 3. 117 S. 2070) which is a Tadrâja, by the last sûtra IV. 1. 178 S. 1196 ; the words would have been ढक्-ending nouns, and would have formed their feminines in ङीप् which being anudâtta would have been destroyed by its coalition with the

final udâtta by VI. 1. 161 S. 3651. and so ङीप् would become udâtta, and the feminines would be final acute. But it is desired that the final should not be udâtta. Hence अञ् is not elided. Thus we have यौधेयी and शौक्रेयी with udâtta on the initial as formed by ङीष् (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686), and not यौधेयी and शौक्रेयी ॥

The Tadrâja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the Fifth Adhyâya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अञ्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 S. 1196 applies not only to the Tadrâja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrâja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119 S. 2066 &c. Thus the Tadrâja affix अण् in (V. 3. 117) added to पर्शु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्शवः f पर्शु, m आसुरः f असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करूश (करूष K.) 3 केकय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 सुस्थाल, 7 उरस् (उरस and उरस K). 8 कौरव्य ॥

1 यौधेय, 2 शौक्रेय, 3 शौभ्रेय, 4 व्याघ्राणेय (वाघाणेय K.), 5 धार्तेय (धार्तेय; धार्तेव K.) 6 विगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उशीनर ॥ K. 9 वार्तेव ॥

११९८। अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः ष्यङ् गोत्रे। ४। १। ७८ ॥

ष्याङीनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपमुपोत्तमम्। गोत्रे वाच्येऽणिञौ विहितावनार्षौ तदन्तयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः प्रातिपदिकयोः स्त्रियां ष्यङादेशः स्यात्। निर्दिश्यमाणस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव। यङावितौ। यङश्चाप्। कुमुदगन्धेरपत्यं स्त्री कौमुदगन्ध्या। वाराह्या। अनार्षयोः किम्। वासिष्ठी। वैश्वामित्री। गुरूपोत्तमयोः किम्। औपगवी। जातिलक्षणो ङीष्। गोत्रे किम्। अहिच्छत्रे जाता आहिच्छत्री ॥

1198. Of the affixes अण् and इञ् used in denoting a Gotra descendant there is the substitute य (ष्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes in the feminine, and there is added the long ई under IV. 1. 74 S. 528; provided that, they do not denote Ṛishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable.

Note:—The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिञोः 'of *an* and *iñ*,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi,' (3) गुरूपोत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) ष्यङ् 'the substitute is shyaṅ. (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotrâ.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by ष्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denote non-ṛishi gotras, and have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word uttama meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sûtra does not apply to forms like दाक्षि &c.

Paribhâshâ :—Substitutes take the place of that which is actually ennunciated in a rule. (See p. 117). Therefore the substitute ष्यङ् replaces अण् and इञ् only.

Of the substitute ष्यङ् the letter ष् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ष् differentiating this affix from ष्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both.

In forming the feminine we shall have to add टाप् by IV. 1. 74 S. 528. Thus कुमुदगन्धि 'having the smell of the white lotus', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण्॥ Thus कुमुदगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088). Now we replace this affix by ष्य and have कौमुदगन्ध्या॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इञ् (as taught in Sûtra अतइञ् IV. 1. 75 S. 529): as वाराहि: gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या॥

Note :—Why do we say 'of अण् and इञ्' ॥ Witness आर्तभागा from ऋतभाग॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to विशादि gana, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अञ् in forming the gotra patronymic : this affix अञ् is not replaced by ष्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15 S. 470); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इञ्॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी which is formed by ङीष् denoting jâti. (IV. 1. 63. S. 518). Why do we say 'denoting Gotra?' Witness आहिच्छत्री 'a woman born in Ahichhatra'.

११९९। गोत्रावयवात्। ४। १। ७९॥

गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमताः कुलाख्यास्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिञोः स्त्रियां ष्यङादेशः स्यात्। अणुरूपोत्तमार्थ आरम्भः। पौणिक्या। भौणिक्या॥

1199. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, ष्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इञ्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase अणिञोः of the last sûtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अणुरूपोत्तमः॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras, i. e. names of kulas i. o. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक, भुणिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list (Pravara-adhyâya). भौणिक्या and मौखर्या॥

Note :—The word अवयव in the sûtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like दैवदत्त्या याज्ञदत्त्या॥ These

forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the क्रौड्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant which means a grandson and down, can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhâraya samâsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्याय ॥ These are however, technically called कुल ॥

१२०० । क्रौड्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८० ॥

स्त्रियां ष्यङ् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अगुरूपोत्तमार्थोऽनणिञर्थश्चारम्भः । क्रौड्या । व्याड्या । सूत युवत्याम् * ॥ सूत्या ॥ भोज क्षत्रिये * ॥ भौज्या ॥

1200. The affix ष्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words क्रौडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इञ् ॥ In fact ष्यञ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus क्रौड्या 'a female kraudi", So also व्याड्या 'a female vyâdi'.

1 क्रौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपस्तम्बि, These are formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). 6 चौपयत, 7 चैटयत (चैट्यत), 8 सैकवत (शैकयत) 9 वैल्वयत (कल्पयत्), These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि ॥ This is formed by इञ् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. 1. 97 S. 1097) added to सुधातृ ॥

11 सूतयुवत्याम् *Vârtika*:—The word सूत takes ष्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden, as सूत्याः; otherwise सूता 'a daughter', formed by टाप्, or सूती by ङीष् denoting a jâti.

12. भोजक्षत्रिये । *Vârtika*:—This debars ङीष् of jâti as भोज्याः, (otherwise टाप् as भोजाः भाजयतीति), 13 यौतकि, 14 कौटि, 15 भौरिकी, 16 भौलिकी, 17 शाल्मलि, 18 शालास्थाल, 19 कापिष्ठाल 20 गौकक्ष्य (गौलक्ष्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by अ of Gargâdi class.

१२०१ । दैवयज्ञिशौचिवृक्षिसात्यमुग्रिकाण्ठेविद्धिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ८१ ॥

एभ्यश्चतुर्थ्यः ष्यङ्वा । अगोत्रार्थमिदं गोत्रेऽपि परत्वात्प्रवर्तते । पक्षे इतो मनुष्येति ङीष् । दैवयज्ञ्या । दैवयज्ञी । इत्यादि ॥

1201. The affix ष्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्ठेविद्धि ॥

Thus दैवयज्ञ्या or दैवयज्ञी ॥ These words end in the affix इञ्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sûtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyañ would have come by that sûtra, it would have come

by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sûtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sûtra be taken to apply to immediate descendants, as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87 S. 1079. In the alternative when ष्यङ् is not added, ङीष् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 S. 520.

:o:

अथ तद्धित चातुरर्थिक प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE QUADRUPLE SIGNIFICANT AFFIXES.

१२०२ । तेन रक्तं रागात् । ४ । २ । १ ॥

रज्यतेऽनेनेति रागः । कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं काषायम् । माञ्जिष्ठम् । रागात् किम् । देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम् ॥

1202. The affix **अण्** already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour, in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb **रञ्ज्** means to change the white color into another color. That by which a thing is colored is called **रागः** 'color'. **तेन** 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus **कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम्** 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also **माञ्जिष्ठम्** ॥

Why do we say **रागात्** "after the name of a color"? Observe **देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्**, here the affix **अण्** will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

Note:—In the sentence "**काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हारिद्रौ कुक्कुटस्य पादौ**" the words **काषायौ** and **हारिद्रौ** are used metaphorically.

From this sûtra up to IV. 2. 12 S. 1213 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word, which is in the instrumental case in construction, in a sentence IV. 1. 82 S. 1072): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

१२०३ । लाक्षारोचनाट्टक् । ४ । २ । २ ॥

लाक्षिकः । रौचनिकः ॥ शकलकर्दमाभ्यामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ शाकलिकः । कार्दमिकः । आभ्यामण्-पीति वृत्तिकारः । शाकलः । कार्दमः ॥ नील्यां अन् * ॥ नील्या रक्तं नीलम् ॥ पीताट्टक् * ॥ पीतकम् ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामञ् * ॥ हारिद्रम् । माहारजनम् ॥

1203. The affix **टक्** comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lâkshâ, and rochanâ, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लाक्षाया रक्तं वस्त्रं = लाक्षिकम्, so also रौक्मिकम्.

Vârtika :—So also after शाकल and कर्दम ॥ Thus शाकलिकः and कार्दमिकः ॥

According to the opinion of the author of Kâśikâ the affix अण् also comes after शाकल and कर्दमः। Thus शाकलः and कार्दमः ॥

Vârt :—The affix अन् comes after नीली: as नील्या रक्तं = नीलं वस्त्रं ॥ This debars अण् ॥

Vârt :—The affix कन् (I. 3. 8 S. 195) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्तं = पीतकम् ॥

Vârt :—The affix अम् comes after हरिद्रा and महारजन, as हारिद्रम् and माहारजनम्।

१२०४। नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ।।४।२।३॥

पुष्येण युक्तं पौषमहः। पौषी रात्रिः ॥

1204. The affix अण् already ordained by IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

Note :—A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms ; when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism, in order to denote the time of such conjunction.

Thus पुष्य + अण् = पौष: (VI. 4. 149 S. 499) e. g. पौषमहः and पौषीरात्रिः "the night in which the moon is in the Pushya",

Note:—Why do we say नक्षत्रेण 'connected with the asterism'? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्ता रात्रिः ॥ Why do we say कालः 'time'? Observe पुष्येण युक्तश्चन्द्रमाः ॥

१२०५। लुबविशेषे।४।२।४॥

पूर्वेण विहितस्य लुप्स्यात् षष्टिदण्डात्मकस्य कालस्यावान्तरविशेषश्चेन्न गम्यते। अत्र पुष्यः। कथं तर्हि पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषीति। विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्य इति निर्देशेन पौर्णमास्यामयं लुब् नेति ज्ञापितत्वात्। श्रवणशब्दात्तु अत एव लुप् युक्तवद्भावाभावश्च। अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि। श्राः श्रौ ॥

1205. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification of any particular portion of a day consisting of twenty-four hours.

That is, the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided, if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of the day and night which consists of 60 dandas (24 hours) such as night &c. A full day and

night of 24 hours is the period (Kâla) which the moon takes (or is conventionally supposed to take) in crossing an asterism. To denote this full time of 24 hours by an affix is to denote a time *generally* (aviśesha). To denote a portion of this 24 hours, is to express it specifically. This can be done by affixes. Thus अद्य पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya; but by 'to day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular, nor any hour in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

If the full day of 24 hours, being aviśesha, is denoted by the mere name of the asterism in which the moon happens to be that day, why is an exception made when that day happens to be a *full*-moon day? In other words, though it is correct to say अद्यपुष्याः पञ्चमी &c for all days (*tithis*) generally, yet it is not correct if the day happens to be *full* moon day; for then we must say अद्य पौषी पौर्णमासी and not अद्यपुष्याः पौर्णमासी॥

Why is the affix not elided in पौषी in the sentence पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषी (Amara Kosha I. 26). by the present sûtra? The affix denoting day (24 hours) in general is not elided after an asterism giving its name to that day, if it is a *full*-moon in that asterism. This rule we deduce by inference from the sûtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225, where Pâṇini has exhibited the words Phâlgunî, Kârtikî, and Chaitrî without the elision of the case-affix.

The words Phâlgunî &c there mean "the day in which the full-moon is in the asterism Phalgunâ, Kṛittikâ, or Chitrâ" That sûtra relates to the naming of months after full-moon-asterism, see IV. 2. 21. S. 1221.

That sûtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225 teaches also that in the case of the asterism श्रवणा there is lup-elision of the day-denoting affix, even where such day is the full-moon day. For the full-moon day would have been श्रावणी like फाल्गुणी, but that sûtra shows it as श्रवणा॥ The word श्रवणा means that Paurnamâsî day when the full moon is in Śravanâ. Not only this, but there is further anomaly, that though the affix is elided by lup after श्रवणा yet the rule I. 2. 51 S. 1294 does not apply. That rule declares that where there is a lup-elision of a Taddhita affix there is concordance between the gender and number of the derivative word with those of the original. The form ought to have been श्रवणः and not श्रवणा had I. 2. 51 S. 1294 applied,: as we find मूलः and श्रवणाः in मूलेनावाहयेद् देवीं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत् see II. 3.45 S. 642.

The form श्रावणी without lup-elision is also valid, on the maxim अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि "The anomalous forms (nipâtanas) are also non-deterrents i. e. they do not debar the regular forms". Therefore the irregular श्रवणा

and the regular श्रावणी both meaning "the day when the full-moon is in Śravaṇâ" are valid.

Any conjunction of the moon with an asterism measures a period of time of 24 hours. Such a time is expressed by a derivative formed from the name of the asterism. (1) As पौषीरात्रिः 'the night in which the moon is in the asterism Pushya.' पौषमहः "the day in which &c." (2) But when the *full* period of such conjunction is denoted, without specifying whether it is day or night, then the name of the asterism without any modification denotes such time also. As अद्यपुष्यः "Today is the day when the moon is in the asterism Pushya or shortly, today is Pushya." In other words, days are named directly, after the asterisms. (3) But to this there is an exception in the case of that day when the moon is full. There the affix must be added. As अद्यपौर्णी "today is the day when the *full*-moon is in Pushya."

Not only days are named after asterisms, but months also. In the case of months, that asterism gives the name to it, in which the moon is *full*. As पौषो मासः "that month in which the full moon occurs in the asterism of Pushya."

१२०६। संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम्। ४। २। ५॥

विशेषार्थोऽयमारम्भः। श्रवणा रात्रिः। अश्वत्थो मुहूर्तः। संज्ञायां किम्। श्रावणी। आश्वत्थी॥

1206. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Śravaṇâ and Aśvattha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

This sûtra applies where there is specification of the portion of the day, of 24 hours, such as night or day or prahara &c.

Thus श्रवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्थो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇâ; the Muhûrta called Aśvattha". Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Saṅjñâ?' Observe श्रावणी or आश्वत्थी॥

१२०७। द्वन्द्वाच्छः। ४। २। ६॥

नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वाद्युक्ते काले छः स्यात् विशेषे सत्यसति च। तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः। राधानुराधीया रात्रिः॥

1207. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, to signify the time of the moon's connection with those asterisms; whether there be a specification or not of any particular portion of that time.

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः ॥

Note :—So also when there is no specification of any portion of the day, as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sûtra, will debar IV. 2. 4. S. 1205 which ordains lup (1. 4. 2 S. 175). Kâśikâ; Or the अ is not elided on the maxim मध्येऽपवाद "an apavâda rule in the middle, debars the rules that precede and not those that succeed it." Therefore अण् which precedes IV. 2. 4 S. 1205 will be debarred and not अ which succeeds it.

१२०८। दृष्टं साम। ४। २। ७ ॥

तेनेत्येव। वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं वासिष्ठं साम ॥ अस्मिन्नर्थेऽण् ङित्त्वावक्तव्यः * ॥ उशनसा दृष्टमौशनम् ॥ औशनसम् ॥

1208. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of "seen"—the thing seen being the Sâma Veda.

Thus वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं = वासिष्ठं साम "the portion of the Sâma seen by (or revealed to) Vasiṣṭha".

Vârt :—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory ङ् when the sense is that of "the Sâma-Veda seen." Thus उशनसा दृष्टं साम = औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of ङित् being to elide the इ portion; VI 4. 143 S. 316).

१२०९। कलेर्ढक्। ४। २। ८ ॥

कलिना दृष्टं कालेयं साम ॥

1209. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना दृष्टं साम = कालेयं ॥ "The Sâma Veda revealed to Kali". This sûtra is really a Vârtika and not a sûtra of Pâṇini.

Vârt :—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of the Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना दृष्टं साम = आग्नेयम् 'the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भवं = अग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428) अग्नेरागतं, "what has come from Agni" = आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेयम् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vârt :—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as ङित् provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sûtras up to IV. 4. 2 S. 1550 by

force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ढक् of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शातभिषः or शातभिषजः ॥

Vârt :—The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वैतीयीकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तार्तीयीकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vârt :—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vârt :—The affix वुञ् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "the Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. Thus औपगवकम् or कापटवकम 'the Sâma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kâpaṭava'. The affix वुञ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charana. The following Kârikâ sums up the above vârtikas.

दृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विरण्डङ्ग्वादयस्यते ।
तीयादीकक् न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्ग्वादयस्यते ॥

१२१० । वामदेवाड्ड्यड्ड्यौ । ४ । २ । ९ ॥

वामदेवेन दृष्टं साम वामदेव्यम् ॥

सिद्धे यस्येतिलोपेन किमर्थौ यतौ डितौ ॥

अहणं माऽतदर्थे भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

1210. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come after the word Vâmadeva, in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन दृष्टं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory त् in 'ḍyat' shows that य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 185 S. 3729).

Kârika :—Why the affixes य and यत् have an indicatory ड, when the elision of the final इ would have taken place by यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148. S. 311) even? Ans. They are ङित् in order to prevent the final of वामदेव्य becoming udâtta when a negative particle is added to it. It serves the purpose of regulating नञ् accent.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided by the rule VI. 4. 148 S. 311, without making this affix ङित्, then what is the use of making this affix ङित्?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhâshâs निरनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had य and यत् been only taught instead of 'ḍya' and 'ḍyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 S. 3890 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2. S. 3736). As अँवामदेव्यं ॥

१२११ । परिवृतोः रथः । ४ । २ । १० ॥

वस्त्रैः परिवृतो वास्त्रो रथः । रथः किम् । वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः । समन्ताद्वेष्टितः परिवृत उच्यते । तेनेह न । छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

1211. The affix **अण्** comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded'; the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus **वस्त्रैः परिवृतो रथः = वास्त्रः** "a chariot surrounded with cloth". Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe **वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः** 'the body surrounded with cloth.' The word **परिवृत** means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used, if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As **छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः** "the chariot surrounded by pupils."

१२१२ । पाण्डुकम्बलादिनिः । ४ । २ । ११ ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलेन परिवृतः पाण्डुकम्बली । पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दो राजास्तरणवर्णकम्बलस्य वाचकः । मत्वर्थीयेनैव सिद्धे वचनमणो निवृत्त्यर्थम् ॥

1212. The affix **इनि** comes after the word **पाण्डुकम्बल**, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **पाण्डुकम्बली रथः** 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word **पाण्डुकम्बल** means a white royal blanket used as the housing of a royal elephant. The form **पाण्डुकम्बलिन्** would have been obtained by the affix **इनि** of V. 2. 115, which has the sense of matup, the present sûtra is made in order to debar the affix **अण्** ॥

१२१३ । द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् । ४ । २ । १२ ॥

द्वीपिनो विकारो द्वैपम् । तेन परिवृतो द्वैपो रथः । एवं वैयाघ्रः ॥

1213. The **अञ्** comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus **द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः** 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also **वैयाघ्रः** ॥

Note :—This affix **अञ्** debars **अण्**, the difference between these two being in accent only.

१२१४ । कौमारापूर्ववचने । ४ । २ । १३ ॥

कौमारीत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः । अपूर्वत्वे निपातनमिदम् । अपूर्वपतिं कुमारीं पतिरुपपन्नः कौमारः पतिः । यद्वा । अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिमुपपन्ना कौमारी भार्या ॥

1214. The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारः पतिः = अपूर्वपतिं कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin'. i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

Note :—The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्यां भावः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

१२१५ । तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः । ४ । २ । १४ ॥

शराव उद्धृतः शाराव ओदनः । उद्धरतिरिहोज्झणपूर्वके निधाने वर्तते । ङेन सप्तमी । उद्धृत्य निहित इत्यर्थः ॥

1215. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon', after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i, e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्र means 'vessels': उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse of dinner'. Thus शरावेषूद्धृतः = शाराव ओदनः "boiled rice placed on an earthen dish." That is, the uchchishṭa or leavings of food already eaten; or the remainder of food that remains after dinner. So also मालिकः, कार्परः ॥ The word uddhṛitam here means being taken out first from one vessel and then placed on another. Hence the Locative. In other words uddhṛita means here "placed".

Note :—Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाणावुद्धृत ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sûtras upto IV. 2. 20 S. 1223 inclusive.

१२१६ । स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते । ४ । २ । १५ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । सप्तम्यन्तेन चेद्व्रतं गम्यते । स्थण्डिले शेते स्थाण्डिलो भिक्षुः ॥

1216. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्यैं=स्थाण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachârî.

Note:—Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्तः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by the religious codes'.

१२१७। संस्कृतं भक्षाः। ४। २। १६॥

सप्तम्यन्तादण् स्यात्संस्कृतेऽर्थे यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाश्चेत्ते स्युः। भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भ्राष्ट्रा यवाः। अष्टसु कपालेषु संस्कृतोऽष्टाकपालः पुरोडाशः॥

1217. The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा=भ्राष्ट्राः 'barley fried in the pan'. Simllarly अष्टाकपालः पुरोडाशः here अण् is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080.

Note:—Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः॥

१२१८। शूलोखाद्यत्। ४। २। १७॥

अणोपवादः। शूले संस्कृतं शूल्यं मांसम्। उखा पात्रविशेषः। तस्यां संस्कृतम् उख्यम्॥

1218. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं=शौल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also औख्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'. For accent see VI. 1. 213 S. 3701.

१२१९। दध्नष्ठक्। ४। २। १८॥

दधि संस्कृतं दाधिकम्।

1219. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधि संस्कृतं=दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'.

Note:—This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3 S. 1551, but the दाधिकम् formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd; while the दाधिकं of this sûtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

१२२०। उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम्। ४। २। १९॥

ठक् स्यात्पक्षेण॥

1220. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उदश्वित् ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदश्वितम् by अण् ॥ The word औदश्वित्कम् is thus formed. उदश्वित् + ठक् ॥ Here applies the following rule.

१२२१ । इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः । ७ । ३ । ५१ ॥

इस् उस् उक् त एतदन्तात्परस्य ठस्य कः स्यात् । उदकेन श्वयति वर्धते इत्युदश्वित् । तत्र संस्कृतः औदश्वित्कः । औदश्वितः । इसुसोः प्रतिषेधोक्तर्णोर्महणान्नेह । आशिषा चरति आशिषिकः । उषा चरति औषिकः ॥

दोष उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ दोर्ष्णा चरति दौष्कः ॥

1221. क is substituted for ठ after a stem ending in इस्, उस्, उक्, (उ, ऊ, ऋ) and त् ॥

This word udaśvit literally means that which grows by water. It is the name of whey in which *half* is water and *half* curd. Thus औदश्वित्कः, or औदश्वितः by अण् ॥ The इस् and उस् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, आशिषिकः (= आशिषा चरति), औषिकः (= उषा चरति) ॥

Vârt :—So also after दोस्, as दौष्कः (दोर्ष्णा चरति) ॥

१२२२ । क्षीराड्ढञ् । ४ । २ । २० ॥

अत्र संस्कृतमित्येव संबध्यते नतु भक्ष्य इति । तेन यवाग्वामपि भवति । क्षैरेयी ॥

1222. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared', after the word 'kshîra', ending in the locative case in construction.

The word 'prepared' only is applicable here, and not 'food'; and therefore the derivative applies to यवागू (which is not an article of food. ?).

This debars अ ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृता: = क्षैरेयी यवागूः 'milky gruel'.

१२२३ । सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति । ४ । २ । २१ ॥

इतिशब्दात्संज्ञायामिति लभ्यते । पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् पौषो मासः ॥

1223. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word इति in the sûtra indicates that we should read संज्ञायाम् here.

Note :—The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction".

अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of reading the word संज्ञायाम् in the sûtra. It does not occur in the original sûtras of Pâṇini; but is added by the author of the Kâśikâ from a Vârtika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sûtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year".

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन्=पौषो मासः 'the month Pausa i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'.

Note:—Similarly पौषाऽद्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarâtra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sûtra by the Vârtika is a redundancy.

Note:—The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुर्णो मासः=पूर्णमासः, पूर्णमास इयम्=पौर्णमासी ॥ The word मासः means "moon".

१२२४। आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाट्ठक् । ४ । २ । २२ ॥

अग्रे हायनमस्या इत्याग्रहायणी । प्रज्ञादेराकृतिगणत्वादण् । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति णत्वम् । आग्रहायणी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् आग्रहायणीको मासः । अश्वत्थेन युक्ता पौर्णमासी अश्वत्थः । निपातनात्पौर्णमास्यामपि लुप् । आश्वत्थिकः ॥

1224. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of the locative case, after the words 'âgrahâyanî' and 'aśvattha' ending in the first-affix in construction and being the name of a full-noon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sûtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ The word âgrahâyanî is a Bahuvrîhi, meaning agre hâyanam asyâh: "that which has the *year* (hâyana) before it"—or with which the year commences. It takes the affix अण्, because it belongs to Prajñâdi class which is an âkritigaṇa (V. 4. 38 S. 2106). Thus अग्र+हायन+अण्=आग्रहायण ॥ The न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 3. S. 857. Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः 'the month called Âgrahâyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahâyaṇa. Similarly the day in which the full moon occurs in the asterism aśvattha is called aśvattha. The affix denoting time is elided as nipâtana. From it we have आश्वत्थिकः ॥

१२२५ । विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः । ४ । २ । २३ ॥

एभ्यष्ठञ्वा पक्षेऽण् । फाल्गुनिकः । फाल्गुनो मासः । श्रावणिकः । श्रावणः । कार्तिकिकः । कार्तिकः । चैत्रिकः । चैत्रः ॥

1225. The affix ठक् optionally comes after the words 'Phâlgunî', 'Śravanâ', Kârtikî' and 'Chaitrî' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year.) in which the moon is full in those asterisms.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिक, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् which also comes in the alternative.

१२२६ । साऽस्य देवता । ४ । २ । २४ ॥

इन्द्रो देवताऽस्येति ऐन्द्रं हविः । पाशुपतम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । स्तूयमानद्रव्ये उद्देश्यविशेषो देवता मन्त्रस्तुत्या च । ऐन्द्रो मन्त्रः । आग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतयेति तु शैषिकेऽर्थे सर्वत्राग्नीति ठक् ॥

1226. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of "as his".

सा='after a word in the first case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रोदेवताऽस्य=ऐन्द्रम् हविः 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly पाशुपतम् 'oblation belonging to Paśupati.' So also बार्हस्पत्यम् ॥

Why do we say "after the name of a *deity*"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥

In the sentence ऐन्द्रोमन्त्रः the word aindra means the *hymn* by which Indra is praised while oblation is offered. The affix is added, therefore, to denote the mantra by which a devatâ is praised, and who is referred to. while the offering is thrown into fire. (Mantra-stutyâ = mantrena stutyâ. Stutyâ is a feminine word in apposition with devatâ, and formed by kyap and ṭâp. See III. 1. 109. S. 2857). And in आग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणोदेवतयेति the affix ठक् is added by IV. 2. 33 S. 1236 in the śaiśika sense to agni. It is is added by analogy.

Note :—The whole phrase साऽस्य देवता governs up to sûtra IV. 2. 35 S. 1238. Though the word स was understood in this sûtra by anuvṛitti from sûtra IV. 2. 21 S. 1223, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not

extend to it. The affix ordained by this sûtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍâsâ &c offered in a sacrifice'.

१२२७ । कस्येत् । ४ । २ । २५ ॥

कशब्दस्य इत्वादेशः स्यात्प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन । यस्येति लोपात्परस्वादादिवृद्धिः । को ब्रह्मा देवतास्य कायं हविः । श्रीर्देवतास्य श्रायम् ॥

1226. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = काय "oblation sacred to Ka". As काय हविः ॥ Similarly श्राय from श्री "the oblation sacred to Śrî. The rule VI. 4. 148. S. 311 required the elision of इ before अण्; but it is prevented by the rule of vṛiddhi VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 which is subsequent to it.

१२२८ । शुक्राद्घन् । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

शुक्रियम् ॥

1228. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'śukra.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् हविः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽध्वायः ॥

१२२९ । अपोनप्त्रपाद्भ्यां घः । ४ । २ । २७ ॥

अपोनप्त्रियम् । अपान्नप्त्रियम् । अपोनपात् अपान्नपाच्च देवता । प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन तूक्तं रूपं निपात्यते । अत एवापोनपाते अपान्नपातेऽनुब्रूहीति प्रैषः ॥

1229. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptṛi' and 'apânnaptṛi' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपांनप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपांनपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्त् when the affix is to be added, otherwise they retain their form. As in the directory sentence: अपोनपाते अपान्नपातेऽनुब्रूहि ॥

१२३० । छ च । ४ । २ । २८ ॥

योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिवृत्त्यर्थः । अपोनप्त्रीयम् ॥ अपांनप्त्रीयम् ॥

शतरुद्राद्भश्च * ॥ चाच्छः । शतं रुद्रा देवता अस्य शतरुद्रियम् । शतरुद्रीयम् । घच्छयोर्विधानसामर्थ्यादाद्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये इति न लुक् ॥

1230. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptṛi' and 'Apânnaptṛi' in the sense of 'that its deity,.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptṛi and Apânnaptṛi. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आपोनप्त्रीयं or आपान्नप्त्रीयम् 'oblaton secred to Aponapât or Appânnapât'.

Note :—This is made a separate sûtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule I. 3. 10 S. 128. For if it was included in the last, the sûtra would have run thus : "The affixes घ and छ come after Aponaptṛi and Apânnaptṛi", the meaning of which according to I. 3. 10 S. 128 would have been "the affix घ comes after Aponaptṛi, and छ after Apânnaptṛi". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sûtras.

Vârt :—The word शतरुद्र takes घ and छ both in the sense of 'that its deity.' e. g. शतरुद्रीयम् and शातरुद्रियं ॥ The luk-elision of taddhita after Dvigu words taught by IV. 1. 88 S. 1080 does not take place here; for then the Vârtika would have become useless. The very fact that affixes are ordained after the Dvigu word śatarudra sets aside the rule of elision by implication.

१२३१ । महेन्द्राद्घाणौ च । ४ । २ । २९ ॥

घाञ्छः । महेन्द्रियं हविः । माहेन्द्रम् । महेन्द्रीयम् ॥

1231. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेन्द्रीयम् हवीः = माहेन्द्रम् and महेन्द्रियम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

१२३२ । सोमाट् ष्यण् । ४ । २ । ३० ॥

सौम्यम् । स्त्रियाङ्ङीप् ॥ सौमी ऋक् ॥

1232. The affix ष्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of ष्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ष causes the affixing of ङीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) = सौम + ई (VI. 4. 150 S. 472) = सौमी ॥

१२३३ । वाय्वृतुपित्रुषसो यत् । ४ । २ । ३१ ॥

वायव्यम् । ऋतव्यम् ॥

1233. The affix यत् comes after the names of 'vâyu', 'ṛitu', Pitṛi' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम् ॥ The next form पितृ + यत् requires the following sûtra for its evolution.

१२३४ । रीङृतः । ७ । ४ । २७ ॥

अकृत्यकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे च्वौ च परे ऋदन्ताङ्गस्य रीङादेशः स्यात् । यस्येति च । पित्र्यम् उषस्यम् ॥

1234. री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Krit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix क्विप् ॥

The anuvṛitti of कित्ङिति is, however, not understood in this sûtra; that of च्वौ and अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोः is present. The कित् and ङित् not being understood here, we have पितादेवताअस्य=पित्र्यम् which is thus formed पितृ+यत्=पित्री+य=पित्र्+य (ई being elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311). So also दृषद्यम् ॥

Note:—Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चेकीर्यते, from कॄ विक्षेपे, with अई कनाइ धातोः and हलि च lengthening. निर्जिगिरिष्यते from कॄ and गॄ ॥

१२३५। द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च। ४। २। ३२ ॥

द्यावत्। द्यावापृथिवीयम्। द्यावापृथिव्यम्। शुनासीरीयम्। शुनासीर्यम् ॥

1235. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyâvâ-Prithivî', 'Śunâsîra', 'Marutvat', Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अण् and ण्य ॥ Thus द्यावापृथिवीयम् or द्यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Śuna (Wind) and Sîra (Sun)' (VI. 3. 26 S. 922 for the lengthening of the अ of शुन) मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्नीषोमीयम् or अग्नीषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

Note:—According to Haradatta, Śunâsîra is an epithet of Indra, Marutvân is also a name of Indra, meaning 'Lord of Maruts'. Agnishoma is formed by VI. 3. 27. S. 923. Vâstospati is an irregularly formed word=Vâstunah pati.

१२३६। अग्नेर्ढक्। ४। २। ३३ ॥

आग्नेयम् ॥

1236. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निर्देवताऽस्य=आग्नेयः ॥

१२३७। कालेभ्यो भवत्। ४। २। ३४ ॥

मासिकम्। प्रावृषेण्यम् ॥

1237. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 to IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 (read with IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), the affix ठञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there.' The same affix will also come in the sense of तदस्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवं = मासिकम् (मास + ठञ् = मास + इक VII. 3. 50 S. 1170); प्रावृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17 S. 1388) meaning 'monthly' and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासो देवताऽस्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

१२३८। महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाट्ठञ् । ४ । २ । ३५ ॥

माहाराजिकम् । प्रौष्ठपदिकम् ॥

1238. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshṭhapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्य = माहाराजिकम्, प्रौष्ठपदिकं ॥

१२३९। देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ७ । ३ । २१ ॥

अत्र पूर्वोत्तरपदयोराद्यचो वृद्धिः स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च परे । आग्निमारुतम् ॥

1239. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of the both members of a Dvanda compound of the names of Devatas.

As आग्निमारुती in आग्निमारुतीमनड्वाहीमालभेत् ॥ आग्निमारुतं कर्म ॥

Note:—The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि) ॥ Therefore, not here. स्कान्दविशाखौ देवतेऽस्य = स्कान्दविशाखः (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226). So also ब्राह्मप्राजापत्यम् by ण्य from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26 S. 922.

The short इ in the अग्नि in आग्निमारुत, आग्निवारुणम् is by VI. 3. 28 S. 925. A compound relates to a sûkta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to the sacrificial offering.

१२४०। नेन्द्रस्य परस्य । ७ । ३ । २२ ॥

परस्येन्द्रस्य वृद्धिर्न स्यात् । सौमेन्द्रः । परस्य किम् । ऐन्द्राग्नः ॥

1240. But the Vṛiddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्रः, आग्नेन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्राग्नमेकादशकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥

Note:—There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the अ or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148 S.

311, and the other (i. e. the इ) coalesces with the last vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण् = सोम + इन्द्र् + अ = सोमे + न्द्र् + अ ॥ Now, *no* vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim: बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वे कार्ये भवति, पश्चादेकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गोऽप्येकादेशो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel of the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does not, even when it is antaranga, take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वैषुकामशम (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vriddhied.

१२४१। दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य। ७। ३। २३॥

दीर्घात्परस्य वरुणस्य न वृद्धिः। ऐन्द्रावरुणम्। दीर्घात्किम्। आग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत॥ तस्मिन्वर्तत इति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ नावयज्ञिकः कालः। पाकयज्ञिकः॥ पूर्णमासादण् वक्तव्यः * ॥ पूर्णो मासोऽस्यां वर्तते इति पौर्णमासी तिथिः॥

1241. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणौ &c (VI. 3. 26 S. 922). Why do we say 'a long vowel'? Observe आग्निवारुणीम् in आग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत् where a short vowel precedes it.

Note:—This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणौ the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27 S. 923. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28 S. 925, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

Vârt:—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः ॥

Vârt:—After the words पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

१२४२। पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः। ४। २। ३६॥

एतेनिपात्यन्ते॥

पितुर्भ्रातरि व्यत् * ॥ पितुर्भ्राता पितृव्यः॥ मातुर्डुलच् * ॥ मातुर्भ्राता मातुलः॥

मातृपितृभ्यां पितरि डामहच् ॥ मातुः पिता मातामहः। पितुः पिता पितामहः॥ मातरि णिच * ॥ मातामही। पितामही॥

अवेर्दुग्धे सोढदूसमरीसच्चो वक्तव्याः * ॥ सकारपाठसामर्थ्यान्न षः । अविसोढम् अविदूसम् अविमरीसम् ॥

तिलान्निष्फलात्पिञ्जेपञ्जौ * ॥ तिलपिञ्जः । तिलपेञ्जः । वन्ध्यस्तिल इत्यर्थः ॥

पिञ्जश्छन्दसि ङिच्च * ॥ तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

1242. The words pitrivya, 'a father's brother', mâtula, 'a mother's brother', mâtâmaha, 'a mother's father' and pitâmaha, 'a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following.

Vârtika :—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ डुलच्चौ "the affixes व्यङ् and डुलच् come respectively after the words pitṛi and mâtṛi in the sense of his or her brother'. Thus पितृव्यः and मातुलः respectively.

Vârtika :—भाभ्यां पितरि डामहच् , मातरिविच्च ॥ The affix ḍâmahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ङ् ॥ Thus पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vârt :—The affixes सोढ, दूस, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेर्दुग्धम् = अविसोढम् or अविदूसम or अविमरीसम् ॥ The स is not changed to ष in these; for if it was so changed, the author would have read षोढम् &c in the rule, in order to shorten the process. The fact of his using सोढम् &c shows that the स is not to be changed to ष in these examples.

Vârt :—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेञ्ज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्फलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेञ्जः ॥

Vârt :—The affix पिञ्ज् is treated like ङित् in the Chhandas. As तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

१२४३ । तस्य समूहः । ४ । २ । ३७ ॥

काकानां समूहः काकम् । वाकम् ।

1243. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

Thus काकानां समूहः = काकम् ॥ So also वाकम् ॥

Note :—The affix अण् (IV. I. 83 S. 1073) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction in the sense of collection. What is the example

of this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udâtta accent on the first syllable, which does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sûtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix ठक् by IV. 2. 47 S. 1256, a word having anudâtta on the first syllable will have the affix अञ् IV. 3. 44 S. 1419, a Gotra word will take वुञ् IV. 2. 39 S. 1246 and especial words like केदार &c take यञ् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is:—काकानां समूहः=काकम् 'a collection of crows' वाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sûtras up of sûtra IV. 2. 51 S. 1260 inclusive.

Vârt:—The affix ग्रामच् comes after the words गुण &c. As गुणग्रामः 'a collection of qualities', करणग्रामः &c. The following are some of such words:—गुण, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an âkṛitigaṇa.

१२४४। भिक्षादिभ्योऽण्। ४। २। ३८॥

भिक्षाणां समूहो भैक्षम्। गर्भिणीनां समूहो गार्भिण्यम्। इह भस्याढ इति पुंवद्भावे कृते॥

1244. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshâ' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sûtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः=भैक्षम् "what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गार्भिणम्॥ It is thus formed गर्भिणी+अण्=गर्भिण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory ढ, भस्याढि तद्धिते See VI. 3. 35. S. 836 Vârtika) Now the sûtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679 requires the elision of the syllable इन् of गर्भिन्, but the following sûtra prevents that.

१२४५। इनण्यनपत्ये। ६। २। १६४॥

अनपत्यार्थेऽणि परे इन् प्रकृत्या स्यात्। तेन नस्तद्धित इति टिलोपो न। युवतीनां समूहो यौवनम्। शबन्तादनुदात्तादेरञि यौवतम्॥

1245. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Therefore there is not the elision of the final syllable, though required by VI. 4. 144 S. 679. Thus we get गार्भिणम्॥ Similarly यौवनम् from युवति॥ This word is anudâtta-accented on the first syllable, and would have taken

अम् (IV. 2. 44. S. 1253) but takes अण्, and hence it is included in the Bhikshâdi class. When युवति becomes masculine, the ति ceases, and we have युवन् + अण् = यौवनम् "a collection of young women."

The word यौवतम् however is another form. Here the affix added is अञ् (IV. 2. 44 S. 1253) and not अण्, and it is added to युवत् ending in शतृ affix; which has anudâtta on the first syllable.

१२४६ । गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजादवुञ् । ४ । २ । ३९ ॥

एभ्यः समूहे वुञ् स्यात् । लौकिकमिह गोत्रं तदापत्यमात्रम् ॥

1246. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushṭra', 'urabhra', 'râjan', 'râjanya', 'râjaputra' 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. The उ of the affix वुञ् is replaced by अक by the following sûtra.

१२४७ । युवोरनाकौ । ७ । १ । १ ॥

यु वु एतयोरनुनासिकयोः क्रमादेन अक एतावादेशौ स्तः । ग्लुचुकायनीनां समूहो ग्लौचुकायनकम् । औक्षकमित्यादि । आपत्यस्य चेति यलोपे प्राप्ते ॥

प्रकृत्याऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः * ॥ राजन्यकम् । मानुष्यकम् ॥
वृद्धाच्चेति वक्तव्यम * ॥ वार्धकम् ॥

1247. For यु and वु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

Note :—यु and वु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces वु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) = अन, as नन्द + ल्यु = नन्दनः रमणः ॥ So also ट्यु and ट्वुल् (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391), as सायंतनः, चिरंतनः ॥ वु we find in ण्वुल् (III. 1. 133 S. 2895), as कृ + ण्वुल् = कारकः, हारकः ॥ So also वुन् (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478) as वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Thus ग्लुचुकायनीनां समूहः = ग्लौचुकायनकम् । So also औक्षकम् from उक्ष, औष्ट्रकम् from उष्ट्र; औरभ्रकम् from उरभ्र and राजकम् from राज ॥ But राजन्य + वुञ् requires the elision of य by VI. 4. 151 S. 1082. This, however, is prevented by the following vârtika.

Vârtika :—The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक is added (VI. 4. 150 S. 472). Thus राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥

The other words of sûtra IV. 2. 39. S. 1246 exhibit no irregularity. As राजपुरुषकम्, वास्सकम् and आजकम् ॥

Vârtika :—The affix वुञ् comes also after the word वृद्ध e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men.

Why do we say nasalised यु and वु? Observe ऊर्णायु: (V. 2. 123, S. 1929). Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णायुः ॥ So also in भुजिपृङ्भ्यां युक्त्युकौ ॥ Here the यु of युक् and ष्युक् (Un III. 21) a re not replaced by अन ; as भुज्युः and पृथ्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

१२४८ । केदाराद्यञ्च ४ । २ । ४० ॥

वार्तिकम् । कैदार्यम् । कैदारकम् ॥

गणिकाया यञिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गाणिक्यम् ॥

1248. The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof.'

This debars ठक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः = कैदार्यम् or कैदारकम् ॥

Vârt :—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गाणिक्यम् ॥

१२४९ । ठञ्कवचिनश्च । ४ । २ । ४१ ॥

आत्केदारादपि । कवचिनां समूहः कावचिकम् ॥ कैदारिकम् ॥

1249. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'kedâra', and also after the word 'kavachin'.

We read the anuvṛitti of केदार in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus कवचिनां समूहः = कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 164 S. 1245) ; and कैदारिकम्

१२५० । ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यत् । ४ । २ । ४२ ॥

ब्राह्मण्यम् । माणव्यम् । वाडव्यम् ॥

पृषादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पृष्ठ्यम् ॥

1250. The affix यत् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof,' after the words 'brâhmaṇa', 'mâṇava', and 'vâḍava'.

The indicatory ञ् of यत् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vârt :—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठ्यम् ॥

१२५१ । ग्रामजनबन्धुभ्यस्तल् । ४ । २ । ४३ ॥

ग्रामता । जनता । बन्धुता ॥

गजसहायाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गजता । सहायता ॥

अह्नः खः क्रतौ * ॥ अहीनः । अहर्गणसाध्यसुत्याकः क्रतुरित्यर्थः । क्रतौ किम् । आह्नः । ह्नः खण्डिकादिभ्यो ब्रुच् । अह्नष्टखोरेवेति निषामाद्विलोपो न ॥

पर्श्वा णस् वक्तव्यः * ॥

1251. The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'grâma', 'jana', and 'bandhu'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages.' The words ending in तल् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives'.

Vârt:—The affix '*tal*' comes after गज and सहाय also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'. सहायता 'a collection of allies."

Vârt:—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice', e. g. अहीनः 'a Soma sacrifice lasting for several days., Kratu means a Soma-sacrifice extending over several days. Otherwise the form is आह्नः by अम् (see IV. 2. 45. S. 1254) The final अन् here is not elided because of the restriction enunciated in VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

Vârt:—The affix णस् comes after पर्शु, e. g. पार्श्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final उ of पर्शु, is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word and not a Bha-word by the next sûtra :—

१२५२ । सिति च । १ । ४ । १६ ॥

सिति परे पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं स्यात् । अभस्वादंगुणो न । पर्शूनां समूहः पार्श्वम् ॥

1252. When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

Therefore the उ of पर्शु does not take guṇa substitution. So we have पशूनांसमूहः=पार्श्वम and not पार्शवम्.

१२५३ । अनुदात्तादेरञ् । ४ । २ । ४४ ॥

कापोतम् । मायूरम् ॥

1253. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudâtta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः=कापोतम्, मायूरम् ॥

१२५४ । खाण्डिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४५ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । खण्डिकानां समूहः खाण्डिकम् ॥

1254. The affix **अञ्** comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'khaṇḍika &c.

This sûtra applies to words having anudâtta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e.g. **खाण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥**

१२५५ । चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

काठकम् । छान्दोग्यम् ॥

1255. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof,.

Note :—The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like **कठ, कलाप** &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sûtras IV. 3. 126. S. 1506 &c. The word **धर्म** does not occur in the Sûtra IV. 3. 126, S. 1506 or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishti* under that Sûtra :—**चरणद्धर्माम्नायेषु ॥**

Thus **कठानां धर्म=काठकम्**, so also **कठानां समूहः=काठकम् ॥** Similarly **छान्दोग्यम् ॥**

१२५६ । अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् । ४ । २ । ४७ ॥

सान्तुकम् । हास्तिकम् । धैनुकम् ॥

1256. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of non-living things and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars **अण्** and **अञ्** ॥ The **अपूपानां समूहः=आपूपिकम् । सान्तुकम् ॥** The affix **ठक्** is replaced by **इक्** (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170) or **क** (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170). Thus **हास्तिकम्, धैनुकम्, शाष्कुलिकम् ॥**

१२५७ । केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । ४८ ॥

पक्षे ठगणौ । कैश्यम् । कैशिकम् । अश्वीयम् । आश्वम् ॥

1257. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words **केश** and **अश्व ॥**

Thus **कैशानां समूहः=कैश्यम्** or **कैशिकम्** (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256), **अश्वानां समूहः=आश्वम्** (IV. 1. 63 S. 518) or **अश्वीयम् ॥**

१२५८ । पाशादिभ्यो यः । ४ । २ । ४९ ॥

पाश्या । तृण्या । धूम्या । वन्या । वास्या ॥

1258. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words **पाश** &c.

Thus पाश्या, तृण्या, धूम्या, वन्या and वात्या. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 तृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पाटल (पाटलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 इल, 13 मद (नड K.). 14 वन 15 बालक ॥

१२५९ । खलगोरथात् । ४ । २ । ५० ॥

खल्या । गव्या । रथ्या ॥

1259. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that the next rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

१२६० । इनित्रकट्यचश्च । ४ । २ । ५१ ॥

खलादिभ्यः क्रमात्स्युः । खलिनी । गोत्रा । रथकट्या ॥

खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः * ॥ डाकिनी । कुटुम्बिनी । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1260. The affixes 'ini' 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा रथकट्या ।

Vârt :—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डालिनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥ This is an âkṛitigaṇa.

Vârt :—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमलखण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज, नलिनी, कैरविणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vârt :—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vârt,—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम् तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

१२६१ । विषयो देशे । ४ । २ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तादणादयः स्युरत्यन्तपरिशीलितेऽर्थे स चेद्देशः । शिबीनां विषयो देशः शैबः । देशे किम् । देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

1261. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

Thus शिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैबः 'The country within the sphere of the Śibis'. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

Note :—The anuvṛitti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) does not extend further: but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) is to be read into it. The whole sûtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country.' The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometimes it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः

'a village has been acquired.' Some times it means an object of perception, as चक्षुर्विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sûtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

१२६२ । राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । २ । ५३ ॥

राजन्यकः ॥

1262. The affix वुञ् comes after the words râjanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः=राजन्यकः, ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाभ्रव्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 देवयात (देवयातव; देवयान,) 6 भव्रीड, 7 वरत्रा*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकामेय, 12 अम्बरीषपुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बैल्वबन, 15 शैलूष, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 तीव्र*, 18 बैल्वज (बैल्वल्प) 19 आर्जुनायन, 20 संप्रिय, 21 दाक्षि, 22 ऊर्णनाभ, 23 आप्रीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वात्रक, ॥

१२६३ । भौरिक्यादिष्वेषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ । ४ । २ । ५४ ॥

भौरिकीणां विषयो देशः भौरिकिविधम् । भौलिकिविधम् । ऐषुकारिभक्तम् । सारसायनभक्तम् ॥

1263. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukári &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधम् भौलिकिविधम् &c. ऐषुकारिभक्तम्, सारस्वायनभक्तम् &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत*, 4 चैटयत (चौटयत), 5 काणेय, 6 वाणिजक, 7 वालिकाड्य (वाणिकाड्य; वालिज, वालिड्यक), 8 सैकयत (शैकयत), 9 वैकयत, 10 वैपेय ॥

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारस्यायन (सारस्वायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 द्याक्षायण, 5 ड्याक्षायण (ड्यायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासमित्रि, 10 दासमित्रायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्राण), 12 दाक्षायण, 13 शायण्डायन*, 14 तार्क्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 शयण्ड, 19 शौगंडि, 20 शयागड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डिरव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 सापिण्डि ॥ 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 अलायत, 30 औलालायत ॥

१२६४ । सोऽस्यादिरिति छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु । ४ । २ । ५५ ॥

अण् । पङ्क्तिरादिरस्येति पाङ्क्तः प्रगाथः ॥

स्वार्थ उपसंख्यानम् * । त्रिष्टुभैव षष्टुभम् ॥

1264. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning therewith.

Note.:—The words of this sûtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning

of the affix. आदिः 'beginning', this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragâtha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sûtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragâtha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragâtha beginning with that metre.

Thus पांक्त is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पांक्तः which means "a Pragâtha beginning with the metre Pankti". Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragâtha', the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragâtha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragâtha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvâka &c and not of a Pragâtha. Pragâtha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यत्र द्वे ऋचौ प्रगथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगायनात् पकर्षगानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vârt:—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishṭubha', जागतम् &c.

१२६५। संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः। ४। २। ५६ ॥

सोऽस्येत्यनुवर्तते। सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्येति सौभद्रः। भरता योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य भारतः ॥

1265. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

Note:—The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = सौभद्रः "A battle fought for Subhadrâ". Similarly भारतः ॥

Note:—Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य दानस्य 'Subhadrâ is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ॥

१२६६। तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः। ४। २। ५७ ॥

दण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां दाण्डा । मौष्टा ॥

1266. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sûtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction, denoting the name of a weapon; ण is added to denote a play. Thus दण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दाण्डा "a game played with sticks". So also मौष्टा "a game played with fists".

Note:—Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—खड्गः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 S. and 15), the feminine being formed by आ ॥

१२६७ । घञः सास्यां क्रियेति अः । ४ । २ । ५८ ॥

घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमान्तादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे अप्रत्ययः स्यात् । घञ इति कृद्ग्रहणाद्गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

1267. The affix अ, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ् denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that' अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sûtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the Ist case in construction, the affix अ is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

The घञ् formed word may be preceded by a *gati*, or a *kâraka*, or an *upapada*, and the rule will still apply, as घञ् is a Kṛit affix. Aṣ an example under this sûtra, let us take the घञ् formed word पातः preceded by the upapada श्येन ॥ Thus श्येन + पात + अ ॥ Now applies the following.

१२६८ । श्येनातिलस्य पाते ञे । ६ । ३ । ७१ ॥

श्येन तिल एतयोर्ङुनागमः स्यात् ञप्रत्यये परे पातशब्दे उत्तरपदे । श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते श्यैनंपाता मृगया । तिलपातोऽस्यां वर्तते तैलंपाता स्वधा । श्येनतिलस्य किम् । दण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौ वर्तते दाण्डपाता तिथिः ॥

1268. ङुन् is the augment of the words श्येन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ञ is added.

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते—श्यैनंपाता, so also तैलंपाता ॥ Thus श्यैनंपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey', तैलंपाता स्वधा "an

oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown". Why do we say श्येन and तिल only? Observe दण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौवर्तते = दाण्डपाता तिथिः; मौशलपाता तिथिः ॥

Note:—Why do we say before अ? Observe श्येनपातः ॥

१२६९। तदधीते तद्वेद। ४। २। ५९ ॥

व्याकरणमधीते वेद वा वैयाकरणः ॥

1269. The affix **अण्** (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In other words, the sûtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As व्याकरणमधीते = वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098) 'who knows grammar'. The word तद् is repeated in this sûtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

१२७०। क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक्। ४। २। ६० ॥

क्रतुविशेषवाचिनामेवेह ग्रहणम्। तेभ्यो मुख्यार्थेभ्यो वेदितरि तत्प्रतिपादकग्रन्थपरेभ्यस्त्वञ्येतरि। आग्निष्टोमिकः। वाजपेयिकः। उक्थं सामविशेषस्तल्लक्षणपरो ग्रन्थविशेषो लक्षणयोक्थम्। तदधीते वेद वा औक्थिकः ॥

मुख्यार्थात्तूक्थशब्दाद्गणौ नेष्येते * ॥ न्यायम् नैयायिकः। वृत्तिम् वार्तिकः। लोकायतम् लौकायतिक इत्यादि ॥

सूत्रान्तात्त्वकल्पादेरेवेष्यते * ॥ सांग्रहसूत्रिकः। अकल्पादेः किम्। काल्पसूत्रः ॥

विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ वायसविद्यिकः। गौलक्षणिकः। आश्वलक्षणिकः। पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

अङ्गक्षत्रधर्मत्रिपूर्वाद्विद्यान्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आङ्गविद्यः। क्षात्रविद्यः। धार्मविद्यः। त्रिविधा विद्या त्रिविद्या तामधिते वेद वा त्रैविद्यः ॥

आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च * ॥ यवक्रीतमधिकृत्य कृतमाख्यानमुपचाराद्यवक्रीतं तदधीते वेत्ति वा यावक्रीतिकः। वासवदत्तामधिकृत्य कृता आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता। अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यर्थे वृद्धाच्छः। तस्य लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलमिति लुप्। ततोऽनेन ठक्। वासवदत्तिकः। ऐतिहासिकः। पौराणिकः ॥

सर्वादेः सादेश्च लुग्वक्तव्यः * ॥ सर्ववेदानधीते सर्ववेदः। सर्वतन्त्रः। सवार्तिकः। द्विगोर्लुगिति लुक्। द्वितन्त्रः ॥

कल्पोत्तरपदात्शतषष्टेः षिकल्पथः * ॥ पूर्वपदिकः। उत्तरपदिकः। शतपथिकः। शतपथिकी। षष्टिपथिकः। षष्टिपथिकी ॥

1270. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word sûtra.

This debars अण् ॥ When the base has the primary sense of 'sacrifice', then the force of the affix is 'he who knows that sacrifice'; when it means the book treating of that sacrifice, then the force of the affix is, 'he who *studies* that book.' Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands Agnishṭoma Sacrifice or studies the book teaching it.". वाजपेयिकः, औक्थिकः ॥ Uktha is a kind of sâma. The book treating of it is also called Uktha by a figure of speech. लौकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः, सांग्रहसूत्रिकः, ॥

Iṣṭhi:—The affixes ठक् and अण्do not come after the word उक्थ when used in its primary sense. Therefore औक्थिकः always means 'one who studies the prâtiśâkhya of the Sâma Veda" and never means 'he who understands उक्थ ॥

Similarly न्यायम or नैयायिकः, वृत्तिम or वार्तिकः; लोकायतम् or लौकायतिकः &c. All these are words of the उक्थादि class, for a list of which see below.

As regards सूत्रान्त words to which also this sûtra is applicable, we must remember the following.

Isthi:—The affix ठक् comes after a stem ending with the word सूत्र when the preceding word in composition is not कल्प ॥ Thus सांग्रहसूत्रिकः from संग्रहसूत्र meaning 'one who studies Sangraha sûtra.' Why do you say 'when the preceding word is not कल्प'? Observe काल्पसूत्रः 'one who studies Kalpa sûtra'; formed by the affix अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vâr:—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविद्यिकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आश्वलक्षायिकः पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vârt:—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अंगविद्यामधीते=आङ्गविद्यः, क्षात्रविद्यः, धार्मविद्यः सांसर्गविद्यः, त्रैविद्यः ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

The word त्रैविद्यः; has this peculiarity that it is formed from the word त्रिविद्या meaning "three sorts of knowledge" (त्रिविधाविद्या) ॥ If we analyse the word as तिसृणांविद्यानांऽधीते then, the form would be त्रिविद्यः and not त्रैविद्यः for it would be then तद्धितार्थद्विगु in which the affix would be elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080.

Vârt:—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रितिकः, वासवदत्तिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः॥

The story describing the adventures of Yavakrîta, is called by a figure of speech Yavakrîta. He who studies or knows the work यवक्रीतम् is यावक्रीतिकः। Similarly the story relating to Vâsavadattâ is वासवदत्ता ॥ Here the affix ठ is ordained by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 with the force of the sûtra IV. 3. 87 S. 1467.

But this affix is elided by the *Vârtika* लुवाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम् 'there is diversely the elision of the affix after words denoting 'narratives'. So छ being elided, the form remains as वासवदत्ता to which is added ठक्॥ So we get वासवदत्तिकः॥

Vârt:—This affix is elided after words beginning with सर्व, and ह, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, 'one who studies all the Vedas'; So also सर्वतन्त्रः। सर्वार्तिकः॥

He who studies two Tantras will be called द्वितन्त्रः Here the samâsânta affix is elided by IV. 1. 88 S. 1080.

Vârt:—The affix इकन् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पथ्; as, पूर्वपथिकः and उत्तरपथिकः॥

Vârt:—The affix ष्किकन् comes in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and षष्टिपथ॥ As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498), षष्टिपथिकः (f. षष्टिपथिकी)॥

1 उक्थ; 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त 8 द्विपदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 चर्चा, 17 क्रमेतर, 16 लक्षण, 17 संहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद। क्रम) 19 संघट्ट (संघात also संघट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद्*, 22 संग्रह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st. गण, गुण), 25 आयुर्वेद, 26 अनुगुण॥

१२७१। क्रमादिभ्यो वुन्। ४। २। ६१॥

क्रमकः। क्रम, पद, शिक्षा, मीमांसा, इति क्रमादिः॥

1271. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

*This debars अण्॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 2. 1 S. 2297) पदकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्षा, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

१२७२। अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः। ४। २। ६२॥

तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यर्थे। ब्राह्मणसदृशो ग्रन्थोऽनुब्राह्मणं तदधीते अनुब्राह्मणी। मत्वर्थीयेनैव सिद्धे अण्बाधनार्थमिदम्॥

1272. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrâhmaṇa'.

*This debars अण्॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मतुप्, and by Sûtra V. 2. 115 S. 1932 अत इनिठनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ठन् in the sense of मतुप्; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense. Though it would have taken इनि by the V. 2. 115 S. 1922; its separate

mention here is for the sake of preventing the application of अण् । In the Bhâshya however this Sûtra is declared superfluous, which implies that अण् also is added.

१२७३ । वसन्तादिभ्यष्ठक् । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

वासन्तिकः । अथर्वाणमधीते आथर्वणिकः । दाण्डिनायनेति सूत्रे निपातनाद्ढिलोपो न ॥

1273. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'one who studies or who knows,' after the words 'vasanta' &c.

This debars अण । As, वासन्तिकः 'one who studies the book relating to the Spring.' आथर्वणिकः &c। The final अन् of अथर्वन् is not elided because the form is so exhibited in the sûtra VI. 4. 174 S., 1145.

1 वसन्त, 2 ग्रीष्म, 3 वर्षा, 4 शरद्, 5 हेमन्त, 6 शिशिर, 7 प्रथम, 8 गुण, 9 चरम, 10 अनुगुण, 11 अथर्वन्, 12 आथर्वन् ॥

१२७४ । प्रोक्ताल्लुक् । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

प्रोक्तार्थकप्रत्ययात्परस्याध्येतृवेदितृप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । पणन पणः । घञर्थे कविधानमिति कः । सोऽस्यास्तीति पणी, तस्य गोत्रापत्यं पाणिनः ॥

1274. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting 'one who studies or who knows that' are elided by 'luk.'

Note :—This sûtra may be rendered in the following way also :—"There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer." The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pâṇini.' पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also कापिशलः । The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning 'the system of Grammar,' and पाणिनीय formed with अण्, meaning 'who studies that Grammar' would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी । For, had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sûtra, in forming the feminine, ङीप् would be required by VI. 1. 15 S. 2409, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3 S. 3708). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by टाप्, and the accent is on the middle, owing to the ङ affix. (Phit Su 11. 19).

The word पाणिनी is thus derived : पण has the same meaning as पणन ; this last word is formed by the addition of the affix क having the force of the affix घञ् (See the *Vârtika* under III. 3. 58 S, 3234). One who has पण 'wealth' is called पणिन् which is formed by adding the affix इनि to पण by V. 2. 115. S. 1922 The gotra 'descendant' of पणिन् will be पाणिनः formed by the affix अण् । Thus पणिन् + अण् = पाणिन ॥ The final इन् of पणिन् is not elided by the following sûtra :—

१२७५ । गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च । ६ । ४ । १६५ ॥

एतेऽपि प्रकृत्या स्युः । इति ञिलोपो न । ततो यूनि इञ् । पाणिनिः ॥

1275. **गाथिन्, विदथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन्** and **पणिन्** remain unchanged before the Patronymic **अण्** also.

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्यं = गाथिनः । So also, वैदथिनः, कैशिनः, गाणिनः, and पाणिनः । This sûtra applies to Patronymics. To the word पाणिनः thus formed, we add the युवन् Patronymic affix इञ् । Thus we get पाणिनिः । Then applies the following sûtra :—

१२७६ । ण्यक्षत्रियार्षञितो यूनि लुगणिञोः । २ । ४ । ५८ ॥

ण्यप्रत्ययान्तात्क्षत्रियगोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादृष्यभिधायिनो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताद् ञितश्च परयोर्युवाभिधायिनोरणिञोर्लुक् स्यात् । कौरव्यः पिता । कौरव्यः पुत्रः । श्वाफल्कः पिता । श्वाफल्कः पुत्रः । वासिष्ठः पिता । वासिष्ठः पुत्रः । तैकायनिः पिता । तैकायनिः पुत्रः । एभ्यः किम् । शिवाद्यण् । कौहडः पिता । तत इञ् । कौहडिः पुत्रः । यूनि किम् । वामरथ्यस्य छात्राः वामरथाः । इति अणो लुक् तु न भवति । आर्षग्रहणेन प्रतिपदोक्तस्य कृष्यण एव ग्रहणात् । पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् । वृद्धाच्छः । इञश्चेत्यण् तु न । गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्तादिति वक्ष्यमाणस्यात् । ततोऽध्येतृवेदितृभ्योलुक् । स्त्रैरे स्त्रियां च विशेषः । पाणिनीयः । पाणिनीया ॥

1276. After a word ending with the Gotra affix **ण्य** (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi 'seer,' and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, the affix **अण्** and **इञ्** employed in forming **युवन्** (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendants,' are elided by the substitution of **लुक्** ॥

1. Thus by IV. 1. 151 S. 1175 (the affix **ण्य** comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendant) we get कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इञ् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). Now this इञ् is elided by the present sûtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendant of Kuru.' So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Note :—Now it may be objected : 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the तिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154 S. 1178, it will take the affix फिञ् । Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणिः (VII. 1 2 S. 457). To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of तिक् &c, is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding ण्य under rule IV. 1. 151 S. 1175 ; that Tikâdi word is formed by ण्य under rule IV. 1. 172 S. 1190, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. S. 1117 which tells us that 'the affix **अण्** may

be added to the words which are the names of Rishis or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishni or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and श्वफल्कः is a person of that family. Then श्वफल्क + अण् = श्वाफल्कः 'a descendant of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendant. In forming Yuvan descendant we have श्वाफल्क + इञ्। Now this इञ् must be elided by the present sûtra. So that श्वाफल्कः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishi family. The sûtra last mentioned (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः; and वसिष्ठ + अण् = वासिष्ठः; the Yuvan affix इञ् will similarly be elided after this; and thus the word वासिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory अ। Thus sûtra IV. 1. 104 S. 1106. declares 'the affix अञ् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendants.' Thus विद + अञ = वैदः। Then add इञ् to denote Yuvan descent, and we have वैदः + इञ्। By the present rule this इञ् is elided and thus we have वैदः both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix इञ्। Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अण्। The rule IV. 1. 154 S. 1178 says 'the affix फिञ् comes after the words तिक् &c. in denoting descendant.' Thus तिक + फिञ = तैकायनिः (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Then to form the Yuvan descendant we add अण् by IV. 1. 83. Thus तैकायनि + अण्। By the present sûtra, this अण् is elided and we have तैकायनिः both applicable to the father and the son.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 says:—'The affix अण् comes after शिव &c., in forming Gotra.' कौहड + अण् = कौहड। Now this is neither a word formed by एय nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having अ goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix इञ् will not be elided after this. Thus कौहड + इञ् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1195) = कौहडिः 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendant is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendant will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: वामरथ + एय = वामरथ्यः 'a descendant of Vâmaratha' (IV. 1, 115 S. 1118). Then to denote pupils we add अण् by IV. 2. 111 S. 1332. Thus वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्यः 'a pupil of Vâmarathya.'

Note:—Why do we say 'Yuvan affix अण् and इञ् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan descendant of दाक्षि 'grandson of दक्ष' will be दाक्षायणः। Here the affix फक (IV. 1, 101 S. 1103) is not elided.

In forming the word पाणिनि, the अण् which went to form the word पाणिनः is not elided because the elision taught by the present sûtra refers to the अण् denoting the 'Rishi' as specifically mentioned in the sútra and not the gotra अण्, for the अण् in पाणिनः is the general अण् and not the particular ऋषि denoting अण्। The work enunciated by Pâṇini is Pâṇiniyam, which is formed by the addition of the affix छ by IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. and not by the affix अण् of IV. 2, 112. S. 1333. For, though the word पाणिनि ends with the affix इञ् and so *prima facie* the sûtra IV. 2. 112. S. 1333 ought to apply to it, yet it is not so, because the इ referred to in that sûtra is the gotra affix इञ्, as will be explained hereafter; while the इञ् in पाणिनि is the युवन् affix इञ्॥

He who studies पाणिनीयम् is called पाणिनीयः formed by adding अण् to पाणिनीय। This अण् is elided and so the resultant word is the same in form. The difference is only in accent and in the formation of the feminine. Thus पाणिनीयः and पाणिनीया॥

१२७७। सूत्राच्च कोपधात्। ४। २। ६५॥

सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधाच्छ्येतृवेत्तृप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात्। अप्रोक्तार्थ आरम्भः। अष्टावध्याया: परिमाणमस्य अष्टके पाणिनेः सूत्रम्। तदधीयते विदन्ति वा अष्टकाः॥

1277. The affix denoting 'one who studies that or who knows that' is elided by luk, after the title of a sûtra work, having क as penultimate.

This sûtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pâṇini sûtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Ashṭaka.' So also दशका वैयाघ्रपदीयाः, विंशकाः काश्यपीयाः॥

Note:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a *numeral*: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः। So also कालापकः॥

Why do we say 'having क for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः॥

१२७८। छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि। ४। २। ६६॥

छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाणि स्युः। अध्येतृवेत्तृप्रत्ययं विना न प्रयोक्तव्यानीत्यर्थः। कठेन प्रोक्तमधीयते कठाः। वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिस्वाध्यायिनिः। तस्य कठचरकाभ्यामिति लुक्। ततोऽण् तस्य प्रोक्तात्लुक्॥

1278. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brâhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word प्रोक्त is to be read into this sûtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brâhmaṇa, is that of expressing 'one who studies' or 'one who knows.' तद्विषयाणि means 'this relation,' *i. e.* the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अध्येतृ or वेदितृ। In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer,' have the force of 'one who studies or one who knows' when added to Veda-Text or Brâhmaṇas. That is, a प्रोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brâhmaṇa, except when an अध्येतृ or वेदितृ affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brâhmaṇa, means 'he who studies or knows the Veda announced by.' In fact, there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Kaṭha Veda.' The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 S. 1484: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107 S. 1487, leaving the bare word कठ; then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. S. 1443. कठ + णिनि = कठ + ० (IV. 3. 107 S. 1487); = कठ + अण् = कठ (IV. 2. 64 S. 1443) Plural कठाः 'those who study the Veda announced by Kaṭha.'

Note :—Why is the word Brâhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sûtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brâhmaṇa Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brâhmaṇa announced by Yâjnavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि। Similarly सौलभानि। These Brâhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them. See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning 'and' is employed in the sûtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sûtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sûtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः 'those who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kâśyapa or Kuśika.' So also with regard to Sûtra texts: as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः 'the Bhikshus who study the Sûtras promulgated by Parâsara.' शौलालिनो नटाः, कर्मन्दिनः, कृशाश्विनः &c.

Why do we say 'Chhandas and Brâhmaṇas'? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its *own* significance, pure and simple; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम्। पैङ्गीकल्पः ॥

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CHAPTER XXVII—*(Continued).*

The Quadruply-significant Affixes.

१२७९ । तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि । ४ । २ । ६७ ॥

उदुम्बराः सन्त्यस्मिन्देशे औदुम्बरः ॥

1279. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of 'that thing is in this,' the place taking a name therefrom.

Note :—The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. **तद्** 'that,' *i. e.* the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. **अस्मिन्** 'in this'—this gives the meaning of the affix; **अस्ति** 'is' this qualifies the sense of the base. **इति** is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. **देशेतन्नाम्नि** 'a country having that name'; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists."

This sûtra and the three subsequent sûtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sûtras, are called **चातुरर्थिक** 'quadruple significants.'

Thus **उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः** । Audumbara 'the country in which there are glomerous fig trees,' formed by the universal affix **अण्** (IV. 1. 83).

This sûtra debars the **मत्वर्थीय** affixes.

१२८० । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता कौशाम्बी नगरी ॥

1280. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him,' when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase **देशे तन्नाम्नि** of the last sûtra governs this and the two subsequent sûtras. By these four sûtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus **कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी** 'the city of Kauśâmbi, completed by Kuśâmba.' A place is named after the means by which or the person through whom, it is established.

१२८१ । तस्य निवासः । ४ । २ । ६९ ॥

शिबीनां निवासो देशः शैबः ॥

1281. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place;' the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sûtra literally means 'his dwelling place.' A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैवः 'the country of the Śibis.'

१२८२ । अदूरभवश्च । ४ । २ । ७० ॥

विदिशाया अदूरभवं नगरं वैदिशम् । चकारेण प्राग्उक्ताऽत्रयोऽर्थाः संनिधाप्यन्ते । तेन वक्ष्यमाणप्रत्ययानां चातुर्थिकत्वं सिध्यति ॥

1282. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sûtra. It means, therefore, 'an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off,' the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूर भवं = वैदिशम् । Vaidiśam is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśâ flows.

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sûtras 1279 to 1282 form but one complete sûtra and hence the affixes to be taught hereafter are called châturarthika or quadruply significant.

१२८३ । ओरञ् । ४ । २ । ७१ ॥

अणोपवादः । कक्षतु,—काक्षतवम् । नद्यां तु परत्वान्मतुप् । इक्षुमती ॥

1283. The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus काक्षतवम from कक्षतु । But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumatî, named after the sugarcanes near it.' Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sûtra IV. 2. 85 S. 1304, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2. S. 175). The affix अञ् governs the six sûtras up to IV. 2. 77. S. 1289. The difference between अञ् and अण् consists in the accent. The अञ् is first-acute (IV. 1. 197 S. 3686).

१२८४ । मतौ च बह्वजङ्गात् । ४ । २ । ७२ ॥

बह्वच् अङ्गं यस्य मतुपस्तदन्ताद्अञ् नाऽण् । सैन्धुकावतम् । बह्वजिति किम् । आहिमतम् । अङ्गग्रहणं बह्वजिति तद्विशेषणं यथा स्यान्मत्वन्तविशेषणं मा भूत् ॥

1284. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बह्वजङ्गः is a compound of बह्वच् meaning literally 'many vowels' *i. e.* polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning 'stem.' A word which,

exclusive of the affix मतुप्, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ्। This debars अण्। Thus सैन्धुकावतम्॥

Why do we say 'after a polysyllabic stem'? Observe आहिमतम्, यावमतम्। Here though the word अहिमत् ends in the affix मतुप्, yet the अङ्ग or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming the names of countries. In fact, the word बहुच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मतुप्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावतां निवासः = मालवतम् by अण्॥

१२८५। बह्वचः कूपेषु। ४। २। ७३॥

अणोऽपवादः। दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्वृत्तो दैर्घवरत्रः कूपः॥

1285. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण्। Thus दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दैर्घवरत्रः 'a well completed by Dirghavaratra.'

१२८६। उदक्च विपाशः। ४। २। ७४॥

विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपास्तेष्वम्। अबहुजर्थ आरम्भः। दत्तेन निर्वृत्तो दात्तः कूपः। उदक् किम्। दक्षिणतः कूपेष्वणेव॥

1286. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem, in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâśâ.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus दात्तः 'a well completed by Datta.'

Why do we say on the 'northern bank'? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâśâ, then the affix अण् will apply; as दात्तः, the difference being in the accent.

११८७। सङ्कलादिभ्यश्च। ४। २। ७५॥

कूपेष्विति निर्वृत्तम्। सङ्कलेन निर्वृत्तं साङ्कलम्। पौष्कलम्॥

1287. The affix अञ् comes after the word 'sankala' &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण्। The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः। Thus सांकलः, पौष्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम, * 4 उडुप, 5 उडुप (उडुप), 6 उत्पुट, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुवर्च, 10 सुवर्त, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत, * 13 सुनेत्र, 14 सुमङ्गल, * 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत, * 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका, पूतीका), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 21 पलाश, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेष, 24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आत्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (चरण), 31 बहुल, 32 सयोज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोभृत्, 35 राजभृत्, 36 भक्त, * 37 मक्त. 38 माल। Also 39 शर्मन्, 40 गृह, 41 भूत॥

१२८८। स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राच्यु । ४ । २ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गेषु एषु देशेषु वाच्येष्वञ् । सौवीरे । दत्तामित्रेण निर्वृत्ता दात्तामित्री नगरी । साल्व वैधूमाग्री । प्राचि, माकन्दी ॥

1288. So also the affix अञ् comes when the place is situate in the lands of the Sâuvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशे तन्नाम्न (IV. 2. 67): so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दात्तामित्री 'the city founded by Dattâmitra' (in Sauvîra). So also वैधूमाग्री (in Sâlva). माकन्दी, (in the Eastern countries).

१२८९। सुवास्त्वादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ७७ ॥

अञोऽपवादः । सुवास्तोरदूरभवं सौवास्तवम् । वर्णु । वार्णवम् । अण्ग्रहणं नद्यां मतुपो बाधनार्थम् । सौवास्तवी ॥

1289. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV. 2, 71 and 73. S. 1283 and 1285. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvritti came from IV. 1. 83. is for the sake of indicating that this sûtra debars 'matup' of IV. 2. 85. S. 1304, in the case of river names even. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु. 2 वर्णु. 3 भण्डु 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवालिन् (सेचालिन्), 6 कपूरन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्न, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शटीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 ककन्धुमती (कर्कन्धू), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 आहतक्थ 16 वृत् ॥

१२९०। रोणी । ४ । २ । ७८ ॥

रोणीशब्दात्तस्ताच्च अण् । कूपाञोऽपवादः । रौणः ॥ आजकरौणः ॥

1290. The affix अण् comes after रोणी in the fourfold sense.

This debars अञ् of IV. 2. 74 S. 1286. This sûtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule, all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in the sûtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under *all* circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. Thus रौणः, आजकरौणः ॥

१२९१। कोपधाच्च । ४ । २ । ७९ ॥

अण् । अञोऽपवादः । कार्णिच्छुद्रकः कूपः । कार्कवाकवम् । त्रैशङ्कवम् ॥

1291. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अञ् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. S. 1283 and 1285 Thus कार्णच्छिद्रकः कूपः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम् । वैशङ्कवम् ॥

१२९२ । वुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरढञ्फ्यायफक्फिञ्ञ्यकंकठक्वरीहणकृशाश्वर्श्यकुमुदकाँशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसंकाशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः। ४ । २ । ८० ॥

एभ्यः सप्तदशभ्यः सप्तदश क्रमात्स्युश्चतुरर्थ्याम् । अरीहणादिभ्यो वुञ् । अरीहणेन निर्वृत्तमारीहणकम् । कृशाश्वादिभ्यश्छण् । कार्शाश्वीयम् । ऋश्यादिभ्यः कः । ऋश्यकम् । कुमुदादिभ्यष्ठक् । कुमुदिकम् । काशादिभ्य इलः । काशिलः । तृणादिभ्यः सः । तृणसम् । प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिः । प्रेक्षी । अश्मादिभ्यो रः । अश्मरः । सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् । साखेयम् । सङ्काशादिभ्यो ण्यः । साङ्काश्यम् । बलादिभ्यो यः । बल्यम् । पक्षादिभ्यः फक् । पाक्षायणः । पथः पन्थ च । पान्थायनः । कर्णादिभ्यः फिञ् । कार्णायनिः । सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् । सौतङ्गमिः । प्रगद्यादिभ्यो ण्यः । प्रागग्यः । वराहादिभ्यः कक् । वाराहकः । कुमुदादिभ्यष्ठक् । कौमुदिकः ॥

1292. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1 वुञ् (= अक) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (= ईय) after कृशाश्व &c. 3. क after ऋश्य &c. 4. ठक् (= इक) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल after काश &c. 6. स (or स) after तृण &c. 7. इनि (= इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अश्मन् &c. 9. ढञ् (= एय) after सखि &c. 10. ण्य (= य) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (= आयन) after पक्ष &c. 13. फिञ् (= आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इञ् (इ) after सुतङ्गम &c. 15. ञ्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16. कक् (क) after वराह &c. 17. ठक् (इक) after कुमुद &c.

Note :—The above affixes वुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words. आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sûtra upto ठक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-classes. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) आरीहणकम्, (2) कार्शाश्वीयम् (3) ऋश्यकम्, (4) कुमुदिकम्, (5) काशिलः (6) तृणसम्, (7) प्रेक्षिन्, (8) अश्मरः, (9) साखेयम्, (10) साङ्काश्यम्, (11) बल्यम्, (12) पाक्षायणः, पान्थ्यायणः, (13) कार्णायनिः, (14) सौतङ्गमिः, (15) प्रागग्य (16) वाराहकः, and lastly (17) कौमुदिकः ॥

Note :—The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes, viz. अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14) and वराहादि (3). Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82 S. 1301) therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

(1). 1 अरीहण, 2 द्रुघण,* 3 दुहण,* 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 क्किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 कौट्टायण, 9 औट्टायण,* 10 वैगर्तायन, 11 मैत्रायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमत्तायन), 14 गौमतायन (गो), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन. 17 धौमतायन,* 18 सौमायन,* 19 ऐन्द्रायण,*

20 कौन्द्रायण,* 21 खाडायन, 22 शाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विषय, 25 विपाश, 26 उद्दण्ड, 27 उदञ्चन, 28 खाण्डुकीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृत्स्न (कश), 31 जाम्बवत (वन्त) 32 शिंशपा, 33 रैवत (रेवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खदिर, 40 सुशर्मन् (सुशर्म K.), 41 दलतु,* 42 भलन्दन,* 43 खण्डु,* 44 कनल,* (कलन), 45 यज्ञदत्त,* 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन ॥

(2). 1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेश्मन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश,* 7 रोमश,* 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक,* 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 बर्बल,* 13 सुवर्चल,* 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सदृश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग,* 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 आजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता), 24 अवनत, 25 विकुव्यास (v. l. कुविव्यास; विकुघास), 26 पराशर,* 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्,* 29 मौद्गल्य, 30 यूकर,* (मौद्गल्याकर), 31 रोमन् 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अयावस् ॥

(3). 1 ऋश्य, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगूढ, 11 उपगूढ 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत,* 15 वेश्मन्,* 16 उत्तराश्मन्, 17 अश्मन्,* 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह्, 23 अरडु,* 24 परिवश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 दण्ड,* 29 परिवृक्ष, 30 कर्दम, 31 अंशु ॥

(4). 1 कुसुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यग्रोध, 4 इक्कट (इल्कट, उल्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास,* 11 शकट,* 12 कच,* 13 मधु,* 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व,* 16 अश्वत्थ, 17 बल्बज, 18 यवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 दशग्राम, 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 त्रिक, 25 कत ॥

(5). 1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूक्षा (पयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छूल,* 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (विश and विस) 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर,* 18 मधुर,* 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपित्थ,* 21 जतु, 22 शीपालः 23 नर, 24 कंटक ॥

(6). 1 तृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल,* 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण,* 8 बिल, 9 पुल,* 10 फल,* 11 अर्जुन,* 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण,* 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 बुस, 17 जन, 18 लव ॥

(7). 1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका, 4 ध्रुवका, 5 क्षिपका, 6 न्यग्रोध, 7 इक्कट (इर्कुट), 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट,* 11 कूप,* 12 बुक,* 13 पुक,* 14 पुट,* 15 मह (मझा), 16 परिवाप,* 17 यवाष,* यवास), 18 धुवका,* 19 गर्त,* 20 कूपक (कूपका), 21 हिरण्य,* 22 बुधका, 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 मुक ॥

(8). 1 अश्मन्, 2 यूथ, (also यूष), 3 ऊष (रूष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नद, 6 दर्भ, 7 वृन्द, 8 गुद,* 9 खण्ड, 10 नख, 11 शिखा, 12 कोट (काट), 13 पाम (पाम!), 14 कन्द,* 15 कान्द,* 17 गह्व,* 18 गुड,* 19 कुण्डल,* 20 पीन,* 21 गुह,* ॥

(9). 1 सखि. 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल, 7 पाल (भल्लपाल भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक,* 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासव,* 14 वीर,* 15 पूर,* 16 वज्र,* 17 कुशीरक,* 18 सहिर (शहिर; सीकर), 19 सरक (सकर), 20 सरस, 21 समर,* 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल, 29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

(10). 1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल्ल, 3 कश्मीर (कश्मर), 4 समीर, 5 सुरसेन (शूर), 6 सैरक, 7 सूर,* 8 सुपन्थिन (rightly सुपथीन्), पन्थ (सक्थ!) च, 9 यूप (यूथ), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग,* 12 नासा* 13 पलिन,* 14 अनुनाश,* 15 अश्मन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दश,* 19 कुम्भ,

20 शीर्ष,* 21 शिरत (शिरन्त; शिरस!), 22 समल,* 23 सीर,* 24 पञ्जर,* 25 मन्थ,* 26 मल,* 27 रोमन्,* 28 लोमन्,* 29 पुलिन,* 30 सुपरि* 31 कुटिप,* 32 सकर्णक,* 33 वृष्टि,* 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर,* 37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 धिकार, 40 विरह ॥

(11). 1 बल, 2 चुल (चुल), 3 नल,* 4 वल,* 5 वट,* 6 नकुल,* 7 हरल,* 8 पुल,* 9 मूल,* 10 हल, 11 डुलं, 12 वम, 13 कुल, 14 तुल 15 कवल ॥

(12). 1 पक्ष, 2 तुक्ष,* 3 तुष,* 4 कुण्ड,* 5 अण्ड,* 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बलिक), 7 वलिक,* 8 चिच, 9 अस्ति,* 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन). 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल (सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल. 17 अतिश्वन् (श्वन्). 18 रोमन्. 19 लोमन्. 20 हस्तिन्,* 21 मकर.* 22 लोमक. 23 शीर्ष.* 24 निवात,* 25 पाक,* 26 सिंहक. 27 अंकुश,* 28 सुवर्णक. 29 हंसक (हंसका) 30 तिलक,* 31 कुक्ष,* 32 खिल,* 33 खिल,* 34 समल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला,* 37 सकर्णक सकण्डक), 38 अश्मन्, 39 अग्निबल ॥

(13). 1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ. 3 शर्क. 4 शर्कलूष (लूष). 5 द्रुपद (द्रुपद), 6 आनडुह (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य. 8 स्फिज, 9 कुम्भी*,10 कुन्ती*, 11 जिस्वन् (जिस्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश 14 आण्डीवत (आण्डीवत्), 15 जब,* 16 जैव,* 17 आमक,* 18 अलुश, 19 शल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

(14). 1 सुसंगम, 2 सुनिश्चिन (चित्त), 3 विप्रश्चित (चित्त), 4 महाचित्त,* 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन,* 7 श्येन, 8 खडिक (गडिक). 9 शुक्र. 10 विम्र. 11 दीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 श्वन्, 14 अजिर. 15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विग्रह*,

(15). 1 प्रगदिन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 मददिन् (शरदिन्), 4 कदिल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खण्डिव), 6 गादित (गादिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार,* 10 कोविदार ॥

(16). 1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष. 4 पिनद्ध, 5 निवद्ध. 6 इलाह.* 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विटम्ब. 9 विजम्भ. 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न,* 12 बाहु. 13 खादिर, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनद्ध. 16 विरुद्ध. 17 मूल ॥

(17). 1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय. 3 रथकार. 4 दशग्राम, 5 अश्वत्थ. 6 शाल्मलि (ली), 7 शिरीषि, 8 मुसिस्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधुकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्द, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 बुधुकर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

१२९३। जनपदे लुप्। ४। २। ८१ ॥

जनपदे वाच्ये चातुरर्थिकस्य लुप्स्यात् ॥

1293. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup*-elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

Note:—The words within bracket, in the above sûtra are added by the reading together of this sûtra with sûtra I. 2. 51 S. 1299. Dr. Otto Bohtlingk the learned translator of Pâṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sûtra. The aphorism literally means: (The

quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद)। Thus पंचालानां निवासो जनपदः=पंचालाः ॥ So also कुरवः, मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्माः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples:. औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees.' वैदिशो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not *names* of kingdoms, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase तन्नास्ति is understood here also.

१२९४। लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने। १। २। ५१ ॥

लुपि सति प्रकृतिवल्लिङ्गवचने स्तः। पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः पञ्चालाः। कुरवः। अङ्गाः। वङ्गाः। कलिङ्गाः ॥

1294. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

Note :—This sûtra consists of four words: लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्ति. 'gender,' 4. वचनं number.' The form 'vyakti vachane' is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is elided by *lup* then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by *luk* rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by *lup*—rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees' the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पञ्चालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sûtra is not an approved rule; as is mentioned by Pâṇini in 1. 2. 53 following, and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पंचालाः are a class of Kshatriyas; as such the word is of masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchâlâs live is also called Pañchâlâs; similarly कुरवः, अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, कलिङ्गाः ॥

१२९५। तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्। १। २। ५३ ॥

युक्तवत् वचनं न कर्तव्यं संज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

1295. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and

substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of saṅjñâ (or conventional term or idiom).

Note:—The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word दाराः 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to female singular; similarly आपः 'water' is always feminine plural in form; so also गृहाः, वर्षाः, शिक्षाः ॥ This sûtra, therefore, modifies the former sûtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like Pañchâlâ, Kaurava &c., should not be considered as derivative words formed by the *lup* elision of a Taddhita affix, but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of Grammar.

१२९६ । लुब्योगाप्रख्यानात् । १ । २ । ५४ ॥

लुबपि न कर्तव्योऽर्थवत्त्वार्थस्येहाप्रतीतेः ॥

1296. The sûtras declaring lup-elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup-elision.

Note:—In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therfore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus वरणाः Varaṇâh is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणाः 'a kind of tree' because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no वरणा trees at all near the town Varaṇâ. Let us therefore call words like वरणाः, पञ्चालाः, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 S. 1281 and'82 (तस्य निवासः, अदूरभवश्च), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2. 81 and 82 S. 1293 and 1301 (जनपदे लुप् । वरणादिभ्य) ॥

१२९७। योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्। १।२।५५॥

यदि हि योगस्यावयवार्थस्येदं बोधकं स्यात्तदा तदभावे न दृश्येत॥

1297. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

Note:—This sûtra strengthens the former sûtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *lup*-elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पञ्चालाः &c. are not derivative words, but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Panchâlâs be the name of the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañchâlâs live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchâlâs. But we know, as a matter of fact, these are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called रूढि words.

१२९८। प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात्। १।२।५६॥

प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवंरूपं वचनमप्यशिष्यम्। कुतः अर्थस्य लोकत एव सिद्धेः॥

1298. The proposition (vachanam) that the meaning of the affix (pratyârtha) is the chief factor (pradhânam) in determining the sense of a word should not also be made, because the authority for the meaning of a word consists in something else.

Note:—The translation according to Kâshikâ is as follows:

(Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

Note:—This sûtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; 1. Pradhânaḥ 'Principal in a compound.' As in

the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word râja is Upasarjana and पुरुषः is pradhâna 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थ 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pâṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word ; and if a derivative word, then by the affix. Pâṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pâṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Râja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an आपणव he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

१२९९ कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् । १ । २ । ५७ ॥

अतीताया रात्रेः पश्चार्धेनागामिन्याः पूर्वार्धेन च सहितं दिवसोऽद्यतनः । विशेषणमुपसर्जनमित्यादि पूर्वाचार्यैः परिभाषितं तच्चाप्यशिष्यत्वं समानम् । लोकप्रसिद्धेः ॥

1299. And a rule fixing the meaning of Time (kâla) and Upasarjana (secondary term in a compound) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Thus adyatana (the period of the current day) has been defined by ancient grammarians to be that day which commences with the latter half of the past night, and ends with the first half of the succeeding night (that is from midnight to midnight). Similarly upasarjana has been defined as an adjective or attributive by the ancients. These also need not be taught, as the meaning of the words like adyatana &c. is also determined by usage.

Note :—Here Pâṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pâṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sûtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः काल: or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Âchâryas :—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound." The sage Pâṇini has not thought it worth his while to define

such words as upasarjana, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses. They say : "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say :—"वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sûtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sûtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are not taught by Pâṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrîhi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayîbhâva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

१३०० । विशेषणानां चाजातेः । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

लुबर्थस्य विशेषणानामपि तद्वल्लिङ्गवचने स्तो जातिं वर्जयित्वा । पञ्चाला रमणीयाः । गोदौ रमणीयौ । अजातेः किम् । पञ्चाला जनपदः । गोदौ ग्रामः ॥

हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः * ॥ हरीतक्याः फलानि हरीतक्यः ॥

खलतिकादिषु वचनम् * ॥ खलातकस्य पर्वतस्यादूरभवानि खलतिकं वनानि ॥

मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधः * ॥ मनुष्यलक्षणे लुबर्थे विशेषणानां न । लुबन्तस्य तु भवतीत्यर्थः । पञ्चभ्या अभिरूपः ॥

1300 And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup*-elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) except so far as the *jâti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (i. e. when not expressing *jâti*).

When a Taddhita is elided by *lup*; the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पञ्चालाः रमणीयाः, बह्वन्नाः, बहुक्षीरघृताः, बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchâlâs having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः pleasant &c. agrees in number and gender with the Pañchâlâḥ; being also in masculine plural. So also गोदौ रमणीयौ ॥ Why do we say; when not expressing jâti"? For when such a derivative is used as a jâti word; then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चालाः जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः ॥

Note :—Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchâlâḥ does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by

the *lup* of a Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बहुन्नः 'the country of Panchâlâs is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुन्नः qualify directly the word जनपदः, and indirectly the word Panchâlâs, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

Vârt:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्याः फलानि=हरीतक्यः 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine. Here the affix denoting fruit is lup-elided by IV. 3. 167. S. 1546. The resultant noun haritakî meaning the fruit of haritakî agrees in gender only.

Vârt:—The words खलतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकं वनानि 'mountain forests i. e, forests in the vicinity of mountains'. Here खलतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *viz.* neuter. Here the affix is lup-elided by IV. 2. 82. S. 1301.

Vârt—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कन् (V. §. 97 S. 2052) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus पंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have पंचा+कन्लुप् (लुम्मनुष्ये V. 3. 98 S. 2053)=पञ्चा। Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Therefore Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus पंचा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of a man.'

१३०१। वरणादिभ्यश्च। ४। २। ८२।

अजनपदार्थं आरम्भः। वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं वरणाः॥

1301. Also after the word वरणा &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरणाः and the rest, the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप्॥ The scope of this rule is in cases of nouns which are not names of kingdoms (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं=वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varaṇâ".

Note:—The word च in the sûtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि॥ As कटुकवदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 भृङ्गी. 3 शाल्मलि, 4 शुण्डी *, 5 शमाण्डी *, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वो गोदो पूर्वेण गौदी, अपरेण गोदो), 9 आलिङ्गायन, 10 जानपदी (जालपदी ; जालपद), 11 जम्बू *, 12 पुष्कर *, 13 चम्पा *, 14 पम्पा *, 15 वल्गु *, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 मथा, 18 मथुरा, 19 सङ्कशिला, 20 उरसा (उरशा), 21 गोमती *. 22 वलभी *, 23 कदुकबदरी (with कन्दुक), 24 शिरीषः 25 काञ्ची, 26 सदाण्डी, 27 वणिक्, 28 वणिक ॥ Is an आकृतिगण ॥

१३०२ । शर्कराया वा । ४ । २ । ८३ ॥

अस्माच्चातुरर्थिकस्य वा लुब्भवति ॥

1302. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

१३०३ । ठक्छौ च । ४ । २ । ८४ ॥

शर्कराया एतौ स्तः । कुमुदादौ वराहादौ च पाठसामर्थ्यात्पक्षे ठक्कञौ । वाग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पक्षे औत्सर्गिकोऽण् तस्य लुब्विकल्पः । षड् रूपाणि । शर्करा । शार्करम् । शार्करिकम् । शर्करीयम् । शार्करिकम् । शार्करकम् ॥

1303. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Why do we say "optionally" in S. 1302? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 classes 4 and 16), and must *necessarily* take the affixes ठक् and कञ् taught therein : for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality. And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83 S. 1013), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शार्करम्, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely, two formed by this sûtra, two by the last, and two by the sûtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शार्करम्, शार्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), शार्करकम् (formed by कञ्), शार्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), and शार्करीयम् (by छ).

१३०४ । नद्यां मतुप् । ४ । २ । ८५ ॥

चातुरर्थिकः । इक्षुमती ॥

1304. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river in the four-fold sense given above.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्). Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, चीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, दुर्मती ॥ See IV. 3. 119. S. 1499 by which

the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219. S 3705 by which the udâtta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10. S. 1898 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

Note :—The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैमरथी which are formed by अण् added under IV. 2. 68.

१३०५ । मध्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८६ ॥

मतुप् स्याच्चातुरर्थिकः । अनर्थ आरम्भः । मधुमान् ॥

1305. The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not *a river*. As मधुमान्, बिसवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्थाणु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर (किरीर), 8 हिम, 9 किंशरा, 10 शर्पण (शर्पण), 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्दली*, 13 शर, 14 इटका, 15 आसुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 शकल, 19 शलाका, 20 आमिषि (आमिषी), 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 शुष्टि (शुष्टि हुष्टि), 24 हृष्य, 25 तक्षशिला, 26 खड (खंडा), 27 वट*, 28 वेट (वेटा), 29 रथ, 30 ऋक्ष, 31 मरुव, दार्वाघाट ॥

१३०६ । कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो ड्मतुप् । ४ । २ । ८७ ॥

कुमुद्वान् । नड्वान् । वेतस्वान् । आद्ययोर्ह्रस्व इति भान्ये मादुपधया इति वक्ष्यमाणेन वः॥ महिषाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ ॥ महिष्मान्नाम देशः ॥

1306. The affix ड्मतुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुद्वान्, नड्वान्, वेतस्वान् ॥ In the case of the first two words (kumudvat, and nadvat) the म of the affix is changed to व by VIII. 2. 10 S. 1898; and in the case of the last word (vetasvat) by VIII. 2, 9 S. 1897.

Vart :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

१३०७ । नडशादाड्ड्वलच् । ४ । २ । ८८ ॥

नड्वलः । शादो जम्बालघासयोः । शाद्वलः ॥

1307. The ड्वलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नड्वलः and शाद्वलः ॥ The word शाद means "mud" and "young grass." (See Amarakosha III. 3. 89).

१३०८ । शिखाया वलच् । ४ । २ । ८९ ॥

शिखावलम् ॥

1308. The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sikhâ vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'.

Note :—The word शिखा takes वलच् by V. 2. 111 S. 1918, the affix having the same force as मतुप् V. 2. 94 S. 1891, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

१३०९ । उत्करादिभ्यश्छः । ४ । २ । ९० ॥

उत्करीयः ॥

1308. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses.

As उत्करीयः ॥

1 उत्कर 2 संफल, 3 शफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 अदमन, 7 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण) 8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 शणक* 12 दधन,* 13 पिचुक, 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 क्षुद्र (शकाक्षुद्र so काश क्षुद्र), 17 भस्मा, 18 शाल, 19 जन्या, 20 अजिर (अजिन), 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त (शान्त), 24 खदिर, 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 शवदनाथ, 27 नवाकव (नवकवक), 28 तृण,* 29 वृक्ष, 30 शाक,* 31 पलाश, 32 विजिन्निषा,* 33 अनक, 34 आतप, 35 फल, 36 संपर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक,* 41 इडा, 42 आरण्य, 43 निशान्त,* 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचायक,* 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 क्षार;* 49 विशाल, 50 वेत्र, 51 अरीहण* 52 खण्ड, 53 वानागर, 54 मल्वणाई,* 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष (नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष), 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष, 58 तृणव, 59 अन्य, 60 मञ्च, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष ॥

१३१० । नडादीनां कुक् च । ४ । २ । ९१ ॥

नडकीयम् ॥ क्रुञ्चा ह्रस्वत्वं च * ॥ क्रुञ्चकीयः ॥ तक्षनलोपश्च * ॥ तक्षकीयः ॥

1310. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c. when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड+कुक्+छ=नडकीयम्; तक्षकीयम्, &c.

Two Vârtikas :—The words क्रुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of क्रुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न is elided : e. g. क्रुञ्चकीयः and तक्षकीयः ॥

1 नड, 2 इक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेत्र, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तृण, 11 क्रुञ्चा (क्रुञ्चाया) ह्रस्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च ॥

१३११ । बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् । ६ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नडाद्यन्तर्गता बिल्वकादयस्तेभ्यश्छस्य लुक् तद्धिते परे । बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति सा बिल्वकीया । तस्यां भवा बैल्वकाः । वैत्रकीया । वैत्रकाः । छस्य किम । छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात्कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूत् । अन्यथा सन्नियोगशिष्टानामिति कुगपि निवर्तेत । लुग्ग्रहणं सर्वलोपार्थं । लोपो हि यमात्रस्य स्यात् ॥

1311 The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c. is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of the Naḍâdi class (IV, 2. 91 S. 1310); and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. S. 1310. After these words, with the augment क, the affix छ is elided when they take a *secondary* Taddhita affix. Thus बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः ; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53)= बैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वैचकीयाः, वैचकाः ॥

Why do we say the affix छ ? The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये (or अभावे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपायः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise'. The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय, and not merely of य ॥ Had the word lopa been used, then य only of ईय would have been elided, because its anuvṛitti is understood from VI. 4.149. S. 499.

Here ends the chapter on Quadrulpy Significant affixes.

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अथ तद्धितेषु शैषिकाः ॥

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ŚAISIKAS.

१३१२ । शेषे । ४ । २ । ९२ ॥

अपत्यादिचतुरर्थ्यन्तादन्योऽर्थः शेषस्तत्राऽणाद्दयः स्युः । चक्षुषा गृह्यते चाक्षुषं रूपम् । श्रावणः शब्दः । औपनिषदः पुरुषः । दृषदि पिष्टा दार्षदाः सक्तवः । उलूखले क्षुण्ण औलूखलो यावकः । अश्वैरुह्यते आश्वो रथः । चतुर्भिरुह्यते चातुरं शकटम् । चतुर्दश्यां दृश्यते चातुर्दशं रक्षः । शेष इति लक्षणं चाधिकारश्च । तस्य विकार इयतः प्राक् शेषाधिकारः ॥

1312. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification,' the last, be called शेष or the remainder '—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं visible ' viz. colour which is apprehen ded by vision ' from चक्षुष् ; श्रावणः ' audible ' viz. sound, from श्रवणः, औपनिषदः ' treated of in Upanishad ' i. e. soul, दार्षदः from दृषद्, ' ground on a stone ' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चातुरं ' ridden in by four persons ' viz. a cart ; चातुर्दशम् ' who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon ' viz. a goblin ; औलुखलः ' pounded in a wooden mortar ' viz. awn-less barley : आश्वः ' drawn by horses ' viz. a chariot.

The word शेषे is both a vidhi (lakshaṇa) and an adhikara sûtra. It is a vidhi sûtra in the senses of ' apprehension ' as in chakshushâ grihyate (apprehended by the eye), " pounding " (as in ulûkhale kshuṇṇa). &c. For no sûtras are taught in these senses.

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे " in the remainder " extends from this aphorism forword as far as IV. 3. 134 S. 1514. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of ' progeny ' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात ' being born ' (IV. 3. 25 S. 1393), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), आगतः (IV. 3. 74 S. 1453) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 87 S. 1467), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38 S. 1413).

Note :—Thus सौघ्नः means " born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25 S 1393), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srugna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38 S. 1413), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39 S. 1414), or suited to Srughna (IV, 3. 41 S. 1416), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), or what

has come from Srughna (IV. 3 74 S. 1453), or which has its rise in Srughna (IV, 3 83 S. 1463), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) a messenger going to Srughna (IV 3. 85 S. 1465), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86 S. 1463) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87 S. 1467), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89 S. 1469), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90 S. 1470)."

१३१३ । राष्ट्रावारपाराद्घखौ । ४ । २ । ९३ ॥

आभ्यां क्रमाद्घखौ स्तः शेषे । राष्ट्रियः । अवारपारीणः ॥

अवारपाराद्विगृहीतादपि विपरीता यांति वक्ष्यम ॥ अवारीणः पारीणः पारावारीणः । इह प्रकृतिविशेषाद्दयष्ठ्वुदयुलन्ताः प्रत्यया उच्यन्ते तेषां जातादेर्योऽर्थविशेषः सप्तमीविभक्तयश्च वक्ष्यन्ते ॥

1313. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus राष्ट्रियः 'born &c. in a country,' अवारपारीणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks.'

Vârt:—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीणः 'belonging to this bank of the river,' पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank,' पारावारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this.' Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes and the cases of the noun in construction, such as those of 'being born' &c. will be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 1393 and sûtras that follow it.

Note:—There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first where of is घ, and the last where of are ट्यु (IV. 3. 24 1392), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being producad there-from' IV. 2. 25 S. 1227, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable.

१३१४ । ग्रामाद्यखञौ । ४ । २ । ९४ ॥

ग्रम्यः । ग्रामीणः ॥

1314. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grâma.'

As ग्राम्यः and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic.'

१३१५ । कत्रेत्र्यादिभ्यो ढकञ । ४ । २ । ९५ ॥

कुत्सितानि यानि कत्रयः । तत्र जातादिः कात्रेयकः । नागरेयकः । ग्रामादित्यनुवृत्तेः ग्रामेयकः ॥

1315. The affix ढकञ् (एयक) comes after the words कत्रि &c.

As कात्रेयकः, नागरेयकः and if we take the anuvritti of grâma from the last sûtra, we have ग्रामेयकः ॥

1 कत्रि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्मती, 10 चर्मती, (चर्मण्वती) 11 उख्या, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुल्याया (कुलाया) यलोपश्च, 14 वज्जी, 15 भक्ति ॥

१३१६ ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु । ४ । २ । ९६ ॥

कौलेयकः श्वा । कौलोऽन्यः । कौक्षेयकोऽसिः । कौक्षोऽन्यः । ग्रैवेयकोऽलङ्कारः । ग्रैवोऽन्यः ॥

1316. The same affix ढकञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament.'

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 S. 1227 &c.): but the whole word has a specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौक्षेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath). ग्रैवेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and ग्रवः ॥

१३१७ । नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् । ४ । २ । ९७ ॥

नादेयम् । माहेयम् । वाराणसेयम् ॥

1317. The affix ढक् (एय) comes after the words 'nadî' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25 S. 1227 &c).

Thus नादेयं, 'pertaining to a river,' माहेयम 'earthen,' &c. वाराणसेयम ॥

1 नदी, 2 मही, 3 वाराणसी, 4 श्रावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशपरी* 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खाडिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 माया (मावा) 13 शाल्वा (साल्वा) 14 दार्वा*, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडबाया वृषे, 17 शाल्वा ॥

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पौर्वनगरेयम ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर्—वन—गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पौरेयम्, वनेयम् and गैरेयम् ॥

१३१८ । दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् । ४ । २ । ९८ ॥

दक्षिणेत्याजन्तमव्ययम् । दाक्षिणात्यः । पाश्चात्यः । पौरस्त्यः ॥

1318. After the words 'dakshiṇâ', 'paschât,' and 'puras', the affix 'tyak' (त्य) is added in the remaining senses.

As दाक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पाश्चात्यः 'occidental', पौरस्त्यः 'oriental'.

१३१९ । कापिश्याः ष्फक् । ४ । २ । ९९ ॥

कापिश्यां जातादि कापिशायनं मधु । कापिशायनी द्राक्षा ॥

1319. After the word 'Kâpiśî', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses: (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV. 1. 41 S, 498).

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

१३२० रङ्कोरमनुष्येऽण् च । ४ । २ । १०० ॥

चात् ष्फक् । राङ्कवो गौः । राङ्कवायणः । अमनुष्य इति किम् । राङ्कवको मनुष्यः ॥

1320 After the words रंकु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As राङ्कवो गौः or राङ्कवायणो गौः ॥ Why do we say 'non-human being'? Observe राङ्कवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Note:—Q. The word रंकु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण् and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sûtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanushya is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as राङ्कवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sûtra. The अण् is repeated in this sûtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रंकु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वुञ् of IV. 2 125 S. 1349, and वुञ् is debarred by टञ् of IV. 2. 119 S. 1343, and टञ् is debarred by अञ् of IV. 2. 132 S. 1356, as it has क् as penultimate, the present aûtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

१३२१ । युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् । ४ । २ । १०१ ॥

दिव्यम् । प्राच्यम् । अपाच्यम् । उदीच्यम् । प्रतीच्यम् ॥

1321. After the words '*div*', '*prâch*, '*apâch*', '*udach*' and '*pratyach*', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्. (IV. 4. 130 S. 3476) and प्रतीच्यम्॥ When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyul' and 'tyu' e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). the word अपाच् means south.

१३२२॥ कन्थायाष्ठक्। ४। २। १०२॥

कान्थिकः॥

1322. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिकः॥

१३२३। वर्णो वुक्। ४। २। १०३॥

वर्णुनदस्तस्य समीपदेशो वर्णुः तद्विषयार्थवाचिकन्थाशब्दाद्वुक् स्यात्। यथा हि जातं हिमवत्सु कान्थकम्॥

1323. To the same stem is added the affix वुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varṇu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293 Thus कान्थकम्॥ As in the sentence यथा हि जातं हिमवत्सु कान्थकम (?)

१३२४। अव्ययात्स्यप्। ४। २। १०४॥

अमेहकुतसित्रेभ्य एव * ॥ अमाऽन्तिकसहार्थयोः। अमात्यः। इहत्यः। ह्यस्त्यः। ततस्त्यः। तत्रस्त्यः। परिगणनं किम्। उपरिष्टाद्भव औपरिष्टः॥

अव्ययानां भमात्रे टिलोपः * ॥ अनित्योऽयं बहिषष्टिलोपविधानात्। तेनेह न। अरातीयः॥ त्यब्नेर्ध्रुव इति वक्तव्यम्। नित्यः॥

निसो गते * ॥

1324. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide and the following *vârtikas* restrict it.

Vârt. The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables:— अमा near or 'together' इह 'here', कु 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7 S. 1953) and त्र (V. 3. 10 S. 1957). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कुत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्रस्त्यः, &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्टः, formed from the Indeclinable उपरि॥

Vârt :—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables when they are Bha : As सौवर्गमिकः (स्वर्गमनमाह) This is an anitya rule because lopa is ordained of the इ syllable of bahis by vârtika under IV.1. 55 S. 1877. Had the इ elision of the present vârtika been universal then there would have been no necessity of the vârtika teaching the इ elision of bahis.

Thus there is no इ elision of अरात् and शाश्वत् when they take the affix छ in the same sense. As अरातीय and शाश्वतीयः ॥

Vârt :—The स्यप् is added to the upasarga नि in the sense of "fixed" as, निस्यः = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vârt :—The स्यप् is added to the upasarga निस् in the sense of 'gone'. As निष्टयः "Chandalas &c who have *gone out* of the caste". It is thus formed : निस् + स्य ॥ Now applies the following sûtra·

१३२५ । ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते । ८ । ३ । १०१ ॥

ह्रस्वादिणः परस्य सस्य षः स्यात्तादौ तद्धिते । निर्गतो वर्णाश्रमेभ्यो निष्टश्चाण्डालादिः ॥
अरण्याणणः * ॥ आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥
दूरादेत्यः * ॥ दूरेत्यः ॥
उत्तरादाहम् * ॥ औत्तराहः ॥

1325. ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

Therefore the निस् is replaced by ष before स्यप ॥ Thus we get निष् + स्य = निष्टयः meaning one who has gone out of caste such as Chandâlas &c.

Note :—The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely तर, तम, तय, त्व, तस्, स्यप् ॥ As तर—सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । सर्पिष्टमम । यजुष्टमम । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । त्व । सर्पिष्ट्वम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । स्यप् । आविष्टयो बध्नते ॥

Vârt :—The affix ण comes after अरण्यः e. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः 'forest flower's.

Vârt :—The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरेत्यः पथिकः 'a traveller'.

Vârt :—The affix आहम् comes after उत्तर e. g. औत्तराहः ॥

१३२६ । ऐषमोह्यः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १०५ ॥

एभ्यस्त्यढ्वा । पक्षे वक्ष्यमाणौ ट्युट्युलौ । ऐषमस्त्यम् । ऐषमस्तनम् । ह्यस्त्यम् । ह्यस्तनम् । श्वस्त्यम् । श्वस्तनम् । पक्षे शौवस्तिकं वक्ष्यते ॥

1326. The affix स्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas,' 'hyas,' and 'śvas'; in the remaining senses.

These take optionally **त्यप**; in the other alternative they will take **युट्** and **ट्युल्** as taught hereafter.

As **ऐषमस्त्यम्** or **ऐषमस्तनम्** (IV. 3. 23. S. 1391), **ह्यस्त्यम्** or **ह्यस्तनम** (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391); **श्वस्त्यम्** or **श्वस्तनम्** (IV. 3 23 S. 1391) or **शौवस्तिकम्** (IV. 3. 15 S. 1385). The word 'śvas' takes the augment **तुट्** also, hence the above three forms.

१३२७। तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्ञौ। ४। २। १०६॥

यथासंख्येन। काकतीरम्। पाल्वलतीरम्। शैवरूप्यम्। तीररूप्यान्तादिति नोक्तम्। बहुच्पूर्वान्माभूत्। बाहुरूप्यम्॥

1327. The affix **अञ्** comes after a word ending with **तीर**, and the **अ** comes after a word ending with **रूप्य**; in the remaining senses.

This debars **अण्**। Thus **काकतीरम्**, **पाल्वलतीरम्**, **शैवरूप्यम्**। The words formed by **अञ्**, take the affix **ङीप्** in the feminine (IV. 1. 15 S. 470): those in **अ** take the affix **टाप्** (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). The sûtra is not enunciated as **तीररूप्यान्तात्**; for had it been so, the affix would apply to **बहुरूप्य** also, where **रूप्य** is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023). Therefore, we have **बाहुरूप्यम्** formed by **अण्**॥

१३२८। दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अः। ४। २। १०६॥

अणोऽपवादः। पौर्वशालः। असंज्ञायां किम्। संज्ञाभूताया: प्रकृतेर्मा भूत्। पूर्वैषुकामशम्यां भवः पूर्वैषुकामशमः। प्राचां ग्रामनगराणामित्युत्तरपदवृद्धिः॥

1328. The affix **अ** comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another word that signifies 'direction,' provided that the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix **अ** is added, forming the feminine in **आ**। The word **असंज्ञायाम्** qualifies the 'base,' This debars **अण्**। Thus **पूर्वशाला + अ = पौर्वशालः** (VI. 4. 148. VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Why do we say 'when not a Name'? 'Observe, from the word **पूर्वैषुकामशमी** (II. 1. 50. S. 727) we have **पूर्वैषुकामशमैः** (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words **पूर्व + इषुकामशमी**; "Ishukâmashamî in-the-East'; the whole being the name of the city. Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vriddhied, as is the general rule (VII. 2. 117; S. 1075) but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vriddhied, viz. the letter **इ** of **इषुकामशमी** by rule VII. 3. 14. S. 1400.

१३२९ । मद्रेभ्योऽञ् । ४ । २ । १०८ ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । दिशोऽमद्राणामिति मद्रपर्युदासादाविवृद्धिः । पौर्वमद्रः । आपरमद्रः ॥

1329. The affix **अञ्** is added to the word **मद्र**, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus **पौर्वमद्रः** *f.* °**द्री** । **आपरमद्रः** *f.* °**द्री** ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sûtra, the initial vowel is vriddhied by VII. 3. 13 S. 1399 which makes a special exception in the case of the word **मद्र** ॥

१३३० । उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात् । ४ । २ । १०९ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । शैवपुरम् ॥

1330. The affix **अञ्** comes in the remaining senses after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udâtta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word **दिक्** ceases here. The **अञ्** debars **अण्** । Thus **शैवपुरम्** ॥

१३३१ । प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण् । ४ । २ । ११० ॥

माहिकिप्रस्थः । पालदः । नैलीनकः ॥

1331. The affix **अण्** comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with **प्रस्थ**, after the words **पलदी** &c., and after a word having a penultimate **क**, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the **अञ्** of the last aphorism. Thus **माहिकिप्रस्थः**, **पालदः**, **नैलीनकः** ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट), 6 बहुकीट (बाहुकीट), 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गोष्ठी, 12 नैकर्ती (नैतकी), 13 परिखा, 14 शूरसेन, 15 गामती, 16 पटच्चर, 17 उदपान (उदयानि), 18 यकृल्लोम, 19 सकृल्लोम ॥

१३३२ । कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे । ४ । २ । १११ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तेभ्योऽण् स्यात् । कण्वो गर्गादिः । काण्वस्य छात्राः काण्वाः ।

1332. The affix **अण्** comes after the patronymics formed from **कण्व** &c.

Here the word **गोत्रे** does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means 'that after a word

ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c., in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus काण्वाः 'the pupils of Kâṇva.'

Thus Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargâdi. The Family-name from कण्व is काण्व्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. काण्व्य + अण् = काण्वः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

१३३३ । इञश्च । ४ । २ । ११२ ॥

गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्तादण् स्यात् । दाक्षाः । गोत्रे किम् । सौतङ्गमेरिदं सौतङ्गमीयम् । गोत्रमिह शास्त्रीयं नतु लौकिकम् । तेनेह न । पाणिनीयम् ॥

1333. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus from दक्ष we have the Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षाः 'the pupils of Dâkshi." The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148. S. 311.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गमिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, S. 1292 not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70S. 1280-82. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीयम by छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). The word Gotra in this sûtra, however, refers to the scriptural gotras or clans as mentioned in the list of gotras given in the sacred books: and not worldly gotras, or family descent. Therefore the rule does not apply in पाणिनीयम ॥

१३३४ । न द्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु । ४ । २ । ११३ ॥

इञश्चेत्यणोऽपवादः । प्राष्ठीयाः । काशीयाः । भरतानां प्राच्यत्वेऽपि पृथगुपादानमन्यत्र प्राच्यग्रहणे भरतानामग्रहणस्य लिङ्गम् ॥

1334. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sûtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sûtra. The result is that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, from the शैषिक derivatives by affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus प्राष्ठीयाः and काशीयाः from, प्राष्ठि or काशी । The word प्राष्ठि and काशी are Vṛiddha words as defined in the next rule, and therefore they take छ ॥

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prâchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñâpaka or inference, that wherever Prâchya is used in these sûtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See II. 4. 66.

१३३५। वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम्। १। १। ७३॥

यस्य समुदायस्याचां मध्ये आदिर्वृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धसंज्ञं स्यात्॥

1335. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhi, is called vṛiddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम्। The sûtra consists of five words :—वृद्धि 'the vṛiddhi vowel'; यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदि 'is first'; तद् 'that'; वृद्धम 'is called vṛiddham.'

Note :—If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vriddham. Thus the words माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel आ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vriddham.

The word vṛiddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words, certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) by which the affix छ is added to vṛiddham. Thus माला + छ = मालीयः॥

१३३६। त्यदादीनि च। १। १। ७४॥

वृद्धसंज्ञानि स्युः॥

1336. The words tyad &c., are also called vṛiddham.

Note :—The त्यद् &c. have been given in the list of sarvanâmas. These words are also called vṛiddham. Thus तद् + छ = तदीयम्। So also मदीयम्, इदमीयम्, अदसीयम्, दाक्षायणिः, मादायनिः &c.

१३३७। वृद्धाच्छः। ४। २। ११४।

शालीयः। मालीयः। तदीयः॥

1337. After a word cellad Vṛiddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गात्र does not govern this sûtra. This is a general rule. This debars अण्। Thus from गार्ग्य we have गार्गीय (VI. 4. 148. S. 311 and VI. 4. 152 S. 2119). So also शालीयः, मालीयः, तदीयः॥

१३३८। एङ् प्राचां देशे। १। १। ७५॥

एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धसंज्ञं वा स्याद्देशाभिधाने। एणीपचनीयः। गोनर्दीयः। भोजकटीयः। पक्षे अणि। ऐणीपचनः। गौनर्दः। भौजकटः। एङ् किम्। आहिच्छत्रः। कान्यकुब्जः॥ वा नामधेयस्य वृद्धसंज्ञा वक्तव्या *॥ दैवदत्तः। दैवदत्तीयः॥

1338. A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets optionally also the designation of vṛiddham, when it is the name of a country.

As गोनर्द is a country of the east; it is a vṛiddham word and we have गोनर्द + छ = गोनर्दीयः; similarly एणीपचनीयम्, भोजकटीयः। Alternatively, with the affix अण् the forms will be गौनर्दः, ऐणीपचनः, भौजकटः॥

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vriddham: and as such will not take the affix छ; as आहिच्छत्रः, कान्यकुब्जः ॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vriddham. Thus देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तीयाः, or we may have दैवदत्ताः ॥

१३३९। भवतष्ठक्छसौ। ४। २। ११५ ॥

वृद्धाङ्गवत एतौ स्तः। भावत्कः। जश्त्वम्। भवदीयः। वृद्धादित्यनुवृत्तेः शत्रन्तादणेव। भावतः।

1339. The affixes **ठक** and **छस्** come after the Vriddha word **भवत्** in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vriddha word, because it belongs to tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74 S. 1336). This rule debars छ of IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. In the affix छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 17 S. 230). Thus भवत् + ठक् = भावत्कः। भवत् + छस् = भवदीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vriddha, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः। This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing शतृ to भू ॥

१३४०। काश्यादिभ्यष्ठञ्ञिठौ। ४। २। ११६ ॥

इकार उच्चारणार्थः। कांशिकी। काशिका। बैदिकी। बैदिका ॥

आपदादिपूर्वपदात्कालान्तात् * ॥ आपदादिराकृतिगणः। आपत्कालिकी। आपत्कालिका ॥

1340. The affixes **ठञ्** and **ञिठ्** come, in the remaining senses, after the words **काशि** &c.

In the affixes ठञ् and ञिठ्, the ठ् is replaced by इक, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठञ् will take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), the others will take टाप् (IV. 1. 4. S. 454). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, बैदिका or बैदिकी ॥

Note:—The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sûtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

Note:—The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. S. 1338. Thus दैवदत्तिकाः। But when it is the name of a Vâhika village, it is not a Vriddha word. The secondary derivative then will be दैवदत्तः ॥

Vart;—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or का, और्ध्वकालिकी or का, तात्कालिकी or का ॥

1 काशि, 2 चेदि (चैदी), 3 सांयाति.* 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोहमान (मौहमान) 7 शकुलाद, 8 हस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुदामन्), 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन (गौवासन), 13 भारद्वी,* 14 अरिंदम, 15 अरिंद्र,* 16 देवदत्त, 17 दासग्राम (दासग्राम), 18 सौवावता (सौधावतान), 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन,* 23 सिंधुमित्र, 24 वासमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र,* 26 सोमामित्र,* 27 छागमित्र,* 28 सधमित्र,* 29 आपदादिपूर्वपदात् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौरिकि, 32 भौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

१३४१ । वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ११७ ॥

वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यष्ठञ्भिठौ स्तः । छस्यापवादः । कास्तीरं नाम वाहीकग्रामः । कास्तीरिकी । कास्तीरिका ॥

1341. The affixes **ठञ्** and **भिठ्** come, in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting the villages of Vâhîka.

The word **वृद्धात्** is to be read into this sûtra. This debars the affix **छ** (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus **कास्तीरिकी** or **कास्तीरिका** ॥

१३४२ । विभाषोशीनरेषु । ४ । २ । ११८ ॥

एषु ये ग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यष्ठञ्भिठौ वा स्तः । सौदर्शनिकी । सौदर्शनिका । सौदर्शनीया ॥

1342. The affixes **ठञ्** and **भिठ्** come optionally in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting Vâhîka villages situated in Uśînara.

Thus **सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका**, and **सौदर्शनीया** ॥

१३४३ । ओर्देशे ठञ् । ४ । २ । ११९ ॥

उवर्णान्तादेशवाचिनष्ठञ् । निषादकर्षूः, नैषादकर्षुकाः । केऽण इति ह्रस्वः । देशे किम् । पटोश्छात्राः पाटवाः । भिठं व्यावर्तयितुं ठञ्ग्रहणम् । वृद्धाच्छं परत्वादर्थं बाधते । दाक्षिकर्षुकः ॥

1343. The affix **ठञ्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in **उ** ॥

The phrase '**वृद्धात्**' does not govern this sûtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus **नैषादकर्षुकाः** from **निषादकर्षुः**; the long **ऊ** is shortened by VII. 4. 13. S.834 before the affix **क**। Why do we say '**denoting a country**'? Observe **पाटवाः** '**the pupils of पटु**' formed by **अण्** ॥

In the previous sûtras, the anuvṛitti of **ठञ्** and **भिठ्** both were current; hence the repetition of **ठञ्** in this sûtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of **ठञ्** from the last sûtra, without drawing in the anuvṛitti of **भिठ्** ॥

This sûtra being subsequent in order to IV. 2. 114 S. 1337, debars that sûtra ; and hence in the case of vṛiddha words ending in ङ and denoting a locality, छ is not added, but the ठञ् of the prsesent sûtra. Thus शाक्तिकर्षुकः ॥

१३४४ । वृद्धात्प्राचाम् । ४ । २ । १२० ॥

प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धादेवेति नियमार्थं सूत्रम् । आढकजम्बुकः । शाकजम्बुकः । नेह मल्लवास्तु, माल्लवास्तवः ॥

1344. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word ending in ङ and denoting a locality of the Eastern-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus आढकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः ॥

The affix ठञ् would have been valid by the last sûtra also, the present sûtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have माल्लवास्तवः ॥

१३४५ । धन्वयोपधाद्वुञ् । ४ । २ । १२१ ॥

धन्वविशेषवाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । ऐरावतं धन्व ऐरावतकः । साङ्काश्यकाम्पिल्यशब्दौ वुञ्छणादिसूत्रेण यञन्तौ । साङ्काश्यकः । काम्पिल्यकः ॥

1345. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांकाश्यकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate. (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292).

१३४६ । प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च । ४ । २ । १२२ ॥

एतदन्ताद्वृद्धादेशवाचिनो वुञ् स्यात् । छस्यापवादः । मालाप्रस्थकः । नान्दीपुरकः । पैलुवहकः । पुरान्तग्रहणमप्राग्र्थम् । प्राग्देश तूत्तरेण सिद्धम् ।

1346. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह ॥

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, पैलुवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix वुञ् by the next sûtra also, but as that sûtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sûtra is general in its scope.

१३४७ । रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् । ४ । २ । १२३ ॥

रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धादञ्बुञ् स्यात् । पाटलिपुत्रकः । ईतः, काकन्दकः ॥

1347. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ This पाटलिपुत्रकः ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, (VI. 4. 148).

Note :—Why do we say प्राचाम् 'of the East-folk'? Observe दाक्षामित्रीयः formed by छ ॥ The ङ् in ईत् in the sûtra is for the sake of distinctness.

१३४८ । जनपदतदवध्योश्च । ४ । २ । १२४ ॥

जनपदवाचिनस्तदवधिवाचिनश्च वृद्धादञ्बुञ् स्यात् । आदर्शकः । चैगर्तकः ॥

1348. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तदवधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आदर्शकः is an example of जनपद- ॥

Note :—And औपुष्टकः and श्यामयानकः from औपुष्ट and श्यामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदावधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV. 2. 137 S. 1361 to words like चिगर्त्त which is an arid desert : as चैगर्त्तकः ॥ The word तदवधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

१३४९ । अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् । ४ । २ । १२५ ॥

अवृद्धादवृद्धाच्च जनपदतदवधिवाचिनो बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकादञ्बुञ् स्यात् । अवृद्धादणो वृद्धाच्छस्यापवादः । अवृद्धाज्जनपदात्, आङ्गकः । अवृद्धाज्जनपदावधेः, आजमीढकः । वृद्धाज्जनपदात्, दार्षकः । वृद्धाज्जनपदावधेः, कालञ्जरकः । विषयग्रहणं किम् । एकशेषेण बहुत्वे मा भूत् । वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तन्यः, तासु भवो वार्तनः ॥

1349. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words जनपद and तदवधि are to be read into the aphorism, This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vriddha

Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः and कालिंगकः॥ Similarly अजमीढाः and अजकन्दाः are always non-Vṛiddha plural words, denoting boundary of kingdoms; we have from them आजमीढक and आजकन्दकः॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vṛiddha जनपद word by the last sûtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus दार्वकः and जाम्बकः from दार्वाः and जाम्बाः॥ So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom: कालंजराः—कालंजरकः, वैकुलिशाः—वैकुलिशकः॥

Why have we used the word विषय in the sûtra? The word विषय is used in the sûtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी॥ The derivative from it will be वार्तनः॥ For वर्तन्यः is an ekaśesha plural of वर्त्तनी + वर्भनी + वर्त्तनी॥

१३५०। कच्छाग्निवक्त्रवर्तोत्तरपदात्। ४। २। १२६॥

देशवाचिनो वृद्धादवृद्धाच्च वुञ् स्यात्। दारुकच्छकः। काण्डाग्नकः। सैन्धुवक्त्रकः। बाहुवर्तकः॥

1350. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni,' 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debars छ and अण्॥ As दारुकच्छकः, काण्डाग्नकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, and बाहुवर्तकः॥ Kâśika reads the sûtra as गर्त &c.

The word उत्तरपद in the sûtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

१३५१। धूमादिभ्यश्च। ४। २। १२७॥

देशवाचिभ्यो वुञ्। धौमकः। तैर्यकः॥

1351. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhûma &c, denoting country.

This debars अण् &c. धौमकः, तैर्यकः &c.

Note:—The word पाथेय occurs in the list. It would have taken वुञ् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken वुञ् by IV. 2. 124; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyâs". So also आनर्तकम्॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रिको मनुष्यः॥ Otherwise not; as सामुद्रिम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 षडण्ड (खडण्ड and खण्ड), 3 शशादन, 4 अर्जुनाद (आर्जुनाद), 5 माहकस्थली 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (मापस्थली), 9 अट्टस्थली*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 दाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 साचासाह, 17 शष्प, (शिष्य), 18 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्धः, मित्र, वल), 19 मल्लाली*, 20 मद्रकूल, 21 आजीकूल (आज्जीकूल), 22 ह्याहाव, 23 अवाहाव, 24 संस्फोय (संहीय), 25 बर्बर, 26 वर्ष्य, 27 गर्त (वर्चगर्त), 28 आनर्त, 29 माठर, 30 पायेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (वली) 33 आराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयात तीर्थ), 37 कूलात्सौवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रात्राजे मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप), 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी), 44 पट्टार*, 45 दक्षिणापथ, 46 साकेत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मनवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

१३५२ । नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः । ४ । २ । १२८ ॥

नगरशब्दाद्वुञ् स्यात्कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्ये । नागरकश्चौरः शिल्पी वा । कुत्सनेति किम् । नागरा ब्राह्मणाः ॥

1352. The affix **वुञ्** comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure', and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a thief or a skilful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred, but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागरा ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nâgara Brâhmaṇas".

१३५३ । अरण्यान्मनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १२९ ॥

वुञ् । अरण्याण्णित्यस्यापवादः ॥

पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्यहस्तिष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ आरण्यकः पन्थाः अध्यायो न्यायो विहारो मनुष्यो हस्ती वा ॥

वा गोनर्येषु * ॥ आरण्यकाः आरण्या वा गोमथाः ॥

1353. The affix **वुञ्** comes, in the remaining senses, after the word **अरण्य**, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ण of 1325 Vartika. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vârt:—It should be stated rather that the affix वुञ् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः, अध्यायः, न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

Vârt:—Optionally when the sense is that of cow-dung, as आरण्याः or आरण्यकाः गोमयाः ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ॥ As आरण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

१३५४ । विभाषाकुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् । ४ । २ । १३० ॥

वुञ् । कौरवकः । कौरवः । यौगन्धरकः । यौगन्धरः ॥

1354. The affix वुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरः ॥

१३५५ । मद्रवृज्योः कन् । ४ । २ । १३१ ॥

जनपदवुञोऽपवादः । मद्रेषु जातो मद्रकः । वृजिकः ॥

1355. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vṛiji'.

This debars वुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

१३५६ । कोपधादण् । ४ । २ । १३२ ॥

माहिषिकः ॥

1356. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after a word denoting a place, and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars वुञ् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus आर्षिकः "born in ऋषिका:" So also माहिषिकः ॥

Note:—The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in इ, which would have otherwise taken ठञ् by IV. 2. 119 S. 1343. Thus ऐक्ष्वाकः "born in इक्ष्वाकु" ॥ The word देशे is understood in this sûtra.

१३५७ । कच्छादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३३ ॥

देशवाचिभ्योऽण् । वुञादेरपवादः । काच्छः । सैन्धवः ॥

1357. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word देशे is understood here. This debars वुञ् &c. Thus काच्छः सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c.

Note:—The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sûtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The

word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sûtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra by which it takes वुञ् also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्णु, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अनुषण्ड (अणु, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कर्लूतर (कुलून) 16 रङ्कु ॥

१३५८। मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्वुञ् । ४ । २ । १३४ ॥

कच्छाद्यणोऽपवादः । कच्छे जातादिः काच्छको मनुष्यः । काच्छकं हसितम् । मनुष्येति किम् । काच्छो गौः ॥

1358. The affix **वुञ्** comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a man or 'what exists in man'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch'. काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'.

Why do we say "when meaning a man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौः 'The cow of Kutch'.

१३५९। अपदातौ साल्वात् । ४ । २ । १३५ ॥

साल्वशब्दस्य कच्छादित्वादुञि सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । अपदातावेवेति साल्वको ब्राह्मणः । अपदातौ किम् । साल्वः पदातिर्व्रजति ॥

1359. The affix **वुञ्** comes after the word **साल्व** in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken वुञ् by the last sûtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sûtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं ॥

Why do we say 'when not meaning a foot soldier'? Observe साल्वः पदाति व्रजति 'the Sâlva foot soldier goes.'

१३६०। गोयवाग्वोश्च । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

साल्वादुञ् । कच्छाद्यणोऽपवादः । साल्वको गौः साल्विका यवागूः । साल्वमन्यत् ॥

1360. The affix **वुञ्** comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words **साल्व**, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133 S. 1357. Thus साल्वको गौः "the cows born in Salva'. साल्विका यवागूः 'the barley gruel of Sâlva', In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

१३६१ । गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छः । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

देशे । अणोऽपवादः । वृकगर्तीयम् । उत्तरपदग्रहणं बहुष्पूर्वनिरासार्थम् ॥

1361. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word देशे is to be read into the sûtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes टञ् and ञिट् of sûtra IV. 2. 117 S. 1341. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, 'born in the wolf's hole.' The word उत्तरपद is used in the sûtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023) and not a pada.

१३६२ । गहादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

छः स्यात् । गहीयः ॥

मुखपार्श्वतसोर्लोपश्च * ॥ मुखतीयम् । पार्श्वतीयम् । अव्ययानां भमात्रे टिलोपस्यानित्यतां ज्ञापयितुमिदम् ॥

कुग्जनस्य परस्य च * ॥ जनकीयम् । परकीयम् ॥

देवस्य च * ॥ देवकीयम् ॥

स्वस्य च * ॥ स्वकीयम् ॥ वेणुकादिभ्यश्छण्वाच्यः * ॥ वैणुकीयम् । वैत्रकीयम् । औत्तरपदकीयम् ॥

1362. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तः स्थीयः&c.

Vârtika:—The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः get the affix तस, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम and पार्श्वतीयम ॥ This Vârtika also indicates that the elision of टि of the Indeclinable as ordained by the Vârtika under S. 1324 is a rule of limited scope.

Vârt:—The augment कुक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ As जनकीयम, परकीयम ॥

Vârt:—The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

Vârt:—The same augment is added to the word स्व. as स्वकीयम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix छण् comes after the words वेणु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वैणुकीयम, वैत्रकीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, मास्थकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

* *Note*:—In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्यमं चाणि चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charana, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here

has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिविमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sûtra IV. 3. 89 S. 1469 and not all the other senses. Thus अयः प्राच्याः, अय औदिच्याः, अयो मध्यमाः "three Charanas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle".

1 गह्, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सम, 4 विषम, 5 मध्यमध्यमं चाण् चरणे, 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपत्त, 11 अपरपत्त, 12 अधम शाख, 13 उत्तम शाख, 14 एकशाख, 15 समानशाख, 16 समानग्राम*, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश, 20 इध्वम, 21 इध्वनीक (इध्वनी), 22 अवस्थन्दन (अवस्थन्दी and अवस्कन्द), 23 कामप्रस्थ, 24 खाडायन (खाडिकाडायनि; खाडायनि and खाण्डायनी), 25 काडेरणि (काविरणि and कामवेरणि), 26 लावेरणि*, 27 सौमित्रि*, 28 शैशिरि, 29 आसुत्*, 30 दैवशर्मि (दैवशर्मन्), 31 श्रौति, 32 आहिसि, 33 आमित्रि, 34 व्याडि, 35 बैजि (वैदजि), 36 आध्यश्वि, 37 आनृशंशि, 38 शौङ्गि, 39 आग्निशर्मि, (अग्निशर्मन्), 40 मौञ्जि, 41 वाराटकि (आराडकि), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षैमवृद्धि (क्षेमवृद्धिन्), 44 आश्वत्थि, 45 औदमाहमानि*, 46 ऐक, 47 बिन्दवि*, 48 इलाम्*, 49 हंस*, 50 तन्त्वम्*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुखपार्श्वतसोर्लोपः (also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय), 54 जनपरयोः कुक् च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेणुकादिभ्यश्छण्, 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि it is an आकृतिगण ॥

१३६३ । प्राच्यां कटादेः । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

प्राग्देशवाचिनः कटादेरञः स्यात् । अणोऽपवादः । कटनगरीयम् । कटघोषीयम् । कटपल्वलीयम् ॥

1363. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sûtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटघोषीयम्, कटपल्वलीयम ॥

१३६४ । राज्ञः क च । ४ । २ । १४० ॥

वृद्धत्वाच्छे सिद्धे तस्मिन्नियोगेन कादेशमात्रं विधीयते । राजकीयम् ॥

1364, The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sûtra only teaches the substitution of क ; for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sûtra, not being appropriate.

१३६५ । वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात् । ४ । २ । १४१ ॥

अक इक एतदन्तात्खोपधाच्च वृद्धाद्देशवाचिनश्छः स्यात् । ब्राह्मणको नाम जनपदो यत्र ब्राह्मणा आयुधजीविनस्तत्र जातो ब्राह्मणकीयः । शाल्मलीकीयः । अयोमुखीयः ॥

1365. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having ख as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sûtra. This debars the अण of IV. 2. 132 S. 1356 as well as the affixes ordained by IV. 2. 117 and 123. S. 1341 and 1347.

Thus अकः—ब्राह्मणकीयम् ॥ "One born in Brâhmaṇaka—a country where the Brâhmaṇa caste live by the profession of arms." इकः—शाल्मलिकीयम् ॥

Note :—The words सौसुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in उक ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम्, मौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवैसुकीयम् ॥

१३६६ । कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १४२ ॥

कंथादिषऽन्यकोत्तरपदादेशवाचिनो वृद्धाच्छः स्यात् । ठञ्ञिठादेरपवादः । दाक्षिकन्थीयम् । दाक्षिपलदीयम् । दाक्षिनगरीयम् । दाक्षिग्रामीयम् । दाक्षिह्रदीयम् ॥

1366. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vriddha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as last terms.

This debars the other affixes such as ठञ् and ञिठ् of IV. 2. 117 S. 1341.

Thus दाक्षिकन्थीयम्, दाक्षिपलदीयम्, दाक्षिनगरीयम्, दाक्षिग्रामीयम्, दाक्षिह्रदीयम् ॥

१३६७ । पर्वताञ्च । ४ । २ । १४३ ॥

पर्वतीयः ॥

1367. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुरुषः 'the hill man'.

१३६८ । विभाषाऽमनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १४४ ॥

मनुष्याभिन्नेऽर्थे पर्वताच्छो वा स्यात्पक्षेऽण् । पर्वतीयानि पार्वतानि वा फलानि । अमनुष्ये किम् । पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः ॥

1368. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

१३६९ । कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे । ४ । २ । १४५ ॥

भारद्वाजदेशवाचिभ्यामाभ्यां छः । कृकणीयम् । पर्णीयम् । भारद्वाजे किम् । कार्कणम् । पार्णम् ॥

1369. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bhâradvâja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कार्कणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bhâradvâjas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c.

१३७० । युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च । ४ । ३ । १ ॥

चात्छः । पक्षेऽण् । युवयोर्युष्माकं वा अयं युष्मदीयः । अस्मदीयः ॥

1370. The affix **खञ्** also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad'.

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण् and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vriddha, as they belong to Tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74 S. 1336), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337; the present sûtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद् + अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV. 3. 2 S. 1371) यौष्माकः । युष्मद् + छ = युष्मद् + ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2).

युष्मद् + खञ् = युष्माक + ईन (IV. 3. 2. S. 1371) = यौष्माकीणः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII. 4. 2 S. 475 and 197). So also आस्माकः । अस्मदीय; and आस्माकीनः ॥

१३७१ । तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ । ४ । ३ । २ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरेतावादेशौ स्तः खञ्यणि च । यौष्माकीणः । आस्माकीनः । यौष्माकः । आस्माकः ॥

1371. When this affix **खञ्** is added and when **अण्** is added, then **युष्माक** and **अस्माक** are the substitutes of **युष्मद्** and **अस्मद्** ॥

Note :—The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ् and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sûtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10 S. 128) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not done, because the sûtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms: as (1) तस्मिन् खञि युष्मदस्मदोर्युष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (2) तस्मिंश्च ॥ i. e. (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively. (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding sûtra, e. g. यौष्माकीणः, आस्माकीनः with खञ्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥

Note :—This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

१३७२ । तवकममकावेकवचने । ४ । ३ । ३ ॥

एकार्थवाचिनोर्युष्मदस्मदोस्तवकममकौ स्तः खञ्यणि च । तावकीनः । तावकः । मामकीनः । मामकः । छे तु ॥

1372. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee,' मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will be त्वदीयः, and मदीयः by the following rule.

Note:—The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, S. 263 there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्थे ॥

१३७३ । प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च । ७ । २ । ९८ ॥

मपर्यन्तयोरेकार्थयोस्त्वमौ स्तः प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च । त्वदीयः । मदीयः ॥

1373. त्व is substituted for युष्म् and म for अस्म्, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As त्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, S. 1337, I. 1. 74 S. 1336). Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुत्र;= त्वत्पुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥ त्वं नाथोऽस्य = त्वन्नाथः ॥

Note:—When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (= युष्माकमिदं), अस्मदीयं; युष्मत्पुत्रः (= युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मत्पुत्रः ॥

१३७४ । अर्धाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । ४ ॥

अर्ध्यः ॥

1374. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्द्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्ध्यः 'belonging to half.'

१३७५ । परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५ ॥

परार्ध्यम् । अवरार्ध्यम् । अधमार्ध्यम् । उत्तमार्ध्यम् ॥

1375. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्ध्यम्, अवरार्द्ध्यम्, अधमार्द्ध्यम्, उत्तमार्द्ध्यम् ॥

१३७६ । दिक्पूर्वपदाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ३ । ६ ॥

च्छायत् । पौर्वार्धिकम् । पूर्वार्ध्यम् ॥

1376. And the affix ठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्ध्यम् or पौर्वार्धिकम् ॥

१३७७ । ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ । ४ । ३ । ७ ॥

ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च दिक्पूर्वपदादर्धान्तादञ्ठञौ स्तः । इमेऽस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वापौर्वार्धाः । पौर्वार्धिकाः । ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्धे भवा इति तद्धितार्थे समासः । ठञ्ग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अञ्चेस्त्वुक्ते यतोऽप्यनुकर्षः संभाव्येत ॥

1377. The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sûtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खलुस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वार्धाः or पौर्वार्धिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". The word पौर्वार्द्धाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्द्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitârtha compound.

Though the anuvritti of ठञ् was current in this Sûtra from the preceding, yet it is repeated here for the sake of precision,; for had the sûtra been ग्राम जनपदैकदेशादञ्च, then the च would have drawn in not only the affix ठञ् but the affix यत् which is not desired.

१३७८ । मध्यान्मः । ४ । ३ । ८ ॥

मध्यमः ॥

1378. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

१३७९ । अ सांप्रतिके । ४ । ३ । ९ ॥

मध्यशब्दादकारप्रत्ययः स्यात्सांप्रतिकेऽर्थे । उत्कर्षापकर्षहीनो मध्यो वैयाकरणः । मध्यं दारु । नातिह्रस्वं नातिदीर्घमित्यर्थः ॥

1379. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिह्रस्वं नाति दीर्घं मध्यं दारु "the proper piece of wood—neither too long nor too short". मध्यो वैयाकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull."

१३८०। द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ्। ४। ३। १०॥

समुद्रस्य समीपे यो द्वीपस्तद्वचनादनुद्वीपशब्दाद्यञ् स्यात्। द्वैप्यम्। द्वैप्या॥

1380. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

Note:—The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357), and would have taken अण्; and by sûtra IV. 2. 134 S. 1358, it would have taken युञ् also. The present sûtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैप्यम् or द्वैप्या, 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्तिचक्रम्॥

१३८१। कालाट्ठञ्। ४। ३। ११॥

कालवाचिभ्यष्ठञ् स्यात्। मासिकम्। सांवत्सरिकम्। सायंप्रातिकः। पौनः पुनिकः। कथं तर्हि शार्वरस्य तमसोनिषिद्धये इति कालिदासः, अनुदितौषसरागेति भारविः, समानकालीनं प्राक्कालीनमित्यादि च। अपभ्रंशा एवैत इति प्रामाणिकाः॥ तत्र जात इति यावत्कालाधिकारः॥

1381. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अण्॥ The affix ञ् which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sûtra. Thus मासिकम् 'monthly' सांवत्सरिकम् annual'. सायंप्रातिकः "morning and evening," पौनः पुनिकः 'again and again'.

How do you explain the forms शार्वर and औषस in the following lines of Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi शार्वरस्य तमसो निषिद्धये (Kâlidâsa) and अनुदितौषसरागा (Bhâravi)? Or the forms समानकालीनम् and प्राक्कालीनम्? These forms are ungrammatical according to the best authorities.

Note:—The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कादम्बपुष्पिकं, त्रैहिपलालिकम्॥

The word काल governs all the subsequent sûtras upto IV. 3. 25 S. 1393. (तत्र जातः)॥

१३८२। श्राद्धे शरदः। ४। ३। १२॥

ठञ् स्यात्। ऋत्वर्णोऽपवादः। शारदिकं श्राद्धम्॥

1382. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing श्राद्ध॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). The word श्राद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not श्रद्धावान् पुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं श्राद्धं 'the autumnal 'Śrâddha'. When not meaning 'Śrâddha', it will be शारदम्॥

१३८३। विभाषा रोगातपयोः। ४। ३। १३॥

शारदिकः शारदो वा रोग आतपो वा। एतयोः किम्। शारदं दधि।

1383. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको or शारदो रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिकः or शारद आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine.'

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the क्रतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

१३८४। निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च। ४। ३। १४॥

ताभ्यां ठञ् स्यात्। नैशिकम्। नैशम्। प्रादोषिकम्। प्रादोषम्॥

1384. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśâ', 'and pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sûtra IV. 3. 11 S 1381, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal', प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम्॥

१३८५। श्वसस्तुट् च। ४। ३। १५॥

श्वस्शब्दाठञ् वा स्यात्तस्य तुडागमश्च॥

1385. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुट्॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix त्यप् by sûtra IV. 2. 105. S. 1326. This sûtra ordains ठञ्॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. S. 1391 Thus श्वस्+तुट्+ठञ् now applies the following sûtra:—

१३८६। द्वारादीनां च। ७। ३। ४॥

द्वार, स्वर, व्यल्कश, स्वस्ति, स्वर, स्फघकृत्, स्वादु, मृदु, श्वस्, श्वन्, स्व एषां न वृद्धिरेजागमश्च। शौवस्तिकम्॥

1386. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् the Vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or व् but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semivowels in द्वार &c.

The following is a list of Dvârâdi words:—

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यल्कश, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर् (स्वर), 7 स्फघकृत्, 8 स्वादुमृदु, 9 श्वस्*, 10 श्वन्, 11 स्व॥

Thus श्वस्+तुट्+ठञ्=शौवस+त्+इक (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098)=शौवस्तिकम् (ephemeral).

Note:—As द्वारे नियुक्तः=दौवारिकः, सौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल॥ The Tadâdi rule applies here, सौवरः from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकृत्यकृतोग्रन्थः)॥ So also सौवरोऽध्यायः, सौवर्थः

सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयल्कशः from व्यल्कश, (व्यल्कशे भवः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वस्ति, (स्वस्तीति आह), सौरः from स्वर (स्वर्भवः) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु+अध्याय (शोभनोऽध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व+अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्फैयकृतः from स्फयकृत; सौवादुभूदुम from स्वादुभूदु, शौवनम् from श्वन् the prakṛiti-bhâva is by (VI. 4. 167 S. 1155). while शौवम् from श्वन् where there is no prakṛitibhâva (by अञ् IV. 3. 154): शौवादंष्ट्रः (श्वादंष्ट्रयां भवः) Similarly सौवम् from स्व (=स्वस्येदं); सौवग्रामिकः from स्वग्राम with the affix ठञ् (अध्यात्मादिस्वाट ठञ्). This sûtra is made because the य् and व् here are not final of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sûtra.

१३८७। संधिवेलाऽतु नक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६ ॥

संधिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् स्यात्। सन्धिवेलायां भवं सान्धिवेलम्। हैष्मम्। तैषम् ॥ संधिवेला, संध्या, अमावास्या, त्रयोदशी, चतुर्दशी, पौर्णमासी, प्रतिपत् ॥

संवत्सरात् फलपर्वणोः * ॥ सांवत्सरं फलं पर्व वा। सांवत्सरिकमन्यत् ॥

1387. The affix **अण्** comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sûtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars ठञ् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114S. 1337). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम्, (2) हैष्मम् शैशिरम् (3) तैषम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ, season and asterisms respectively.

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावस्या, 4 त्रयोदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पौर्णमासी, 7 प्रतिपद् ॥

Vârt:—The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival,' as सांवत्सरं फलं or पर्व ॥ Otherwise सांवत्सरिकम् ॥

१३८८। प्रावृष एण्यः । ४ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्रावृषेण्यः ॥

1388. The affix **एण्य** comes in the remaining senses after the word **प्रावृष्** ॥

Note:—This debars the अण् of the last sûtra, though 'prâvrish' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season".

१३८९। वर्षाभ्यष्ठक् । ४ । ३ । १८ ॥

वर्षासु साधु वार्षिकं वासः। कालात्साधुपुष्यत्पच्यमानेष्विति साध्वर्थे ॥

1389. The affix **ठक्** comes in the remaining senses after the word **वर्षा** ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम्। The ठक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 S. 1418 here.

१३९० । सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । २२ ॥

हेमन्तादण् स्यात्तलोपश्च वेदलौकिकयोः । चकाराल्लक्षे ऋत्वण्। हैमनम्। हैमन्तम्।

1390. The affix **अण्** comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter **त** of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus **हैमनम्** or **हैमन्तम्** ॥

Note:—The word **सर्वत्र** is used to show that the sûtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the classical literature.

The word **हैमन्त** will take **अण्** by sûtra IV. 3. 16 S. 1387 as **हैमन्ती पङ्क्तिः** but there is no elision of **त** there. Thus there are three forms **हैमन्तः** (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387), **हैमन्तिकं** (IV. 3. 21 S. 3452) and **हैमनम्** ॥

१३९१ । सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौ तुट् च । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौ स्तस्तयोस्तुट् च । तुटः प्रागनादेशः अनद्यतन इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । सायन्तनम् । चिरन्तनम् । प्राह्णप्रगयोरेदन्तत्वं निपात्यते । प्राह्णेतनम् । प्रगेतनम् । दोषातनम् । दिवातनम् ॥

चिरपरुत्परारिभ्यस्लो वक्तव्यः * ॥ चिरत्नम् । परुत्नम् । परारित्नम् ॥

अमादिभ्यो डिमच् * ॥ अमिमम् । आदिमम् । पश्चिमम् ॥

अन्ताच्च * ॥ अन्तिमम् ॥

1391. After the words **सायं** 'at eve', **चिरं** 'for a long time', **प्राह्णे** 'in the fore-noon', **प्रगे** 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes **ट्यु** and **ट्युल्** and their augment is **तुट्** ॥

The word **कालात्** is understood here also. Thus **सायं + ट्यु = सायं + अन = सायं + तुट् + अन = सायंतनम्** 'belonging to the evening'. **चिरंतनम्**, 'lasting', **प्राह्णेतनम्** 'what is of the forenoon', **प्रगेतनम्** "what is of the early morn".

The replacement of **यु** by **अन** under VII. 1. 1. S. 1247 takes place prior to the addition of the augment **तुट्** to the affix : because we find it so in the forms like **अनद्यतन** &c used by Panini himself in III. 2. 111 S. 2205 &c. Had it been added first, then the affix would have become **त्यु**, and the form would have been **अनद्यत्यु** like **मृत्युः** for there is no rule which would have changed **त्यु** into **तन** ॥ **प्राह्णे** and **प्रगे** always end in **ए** ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are **दोषातनम्** 'belonging to the night.' **दिवातनम्** 'belonging to the day.'

Vârt:—The affix **त्न** comes after the words **चिर**, **परुत्** (meaning in the past year) and **परारि** (meaning in the year before the last). As **चिरत्नम्**, **परुत्नम्**, and **परारित्नम्** ॥

Vârt:—The affix डिमच् comes after अग्र, आदि and पश्चात्, as, अग्रिमम् आदिमम् and पश्चिमम् ॥

Vârt:—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमम् ॥

Note:—The difference between tyu and tyul is in accent. Thus सायन्तॅन and सायँन्तन, चिरन्तॅन and चिरँन्तन, प्राह्णॅतन and प्राह्णँतन, प्रगेतॅन, प्रगेतँन, दिवातॅन and दिवाँतन, दोषातॅन and दोषाँतन ॥ See VI. 1. 193. S. 3676.

१३०२। विभाषा पूर्वाह्णापराह्णाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

आभ्यां ट्युट्युलौ वा स्तस्तयोस्तुट् च । पक्षे ठञ् । पूर्वाह्णेतनम् । अपराह्णेतनम् । घकालतनेष्वित्यलुक् । पूर्वाह्णः सोढोऽस्येति विग्रहे तु पूर्वाह्णतनम् । अपराह्णतनम् । पौर्वाह्णिकम् । आपराह्णिकम् ॥

1392. Optionally after the words **पूर्वाह्ण** and **अपराह्ण**, there are the affixes **ट्यु** and **ट्युल्** and their augment is **तुट्** ॥

In the alternative ठञ् of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णेतॅनम्, अपराह्णेतॅनम् with tyu, or पौर्वाह्णिकम्, आपराह्णिकम् with ṭhañ. With tyul we have पूर्वाह्णँतनं and अपराह्णँतनं ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17 S. 975. When the compound is such as not retaining the case- affix, because not in the locative case, as when it is analysed by saying पूर्वाह्णः सोढोऽस्य (IV. 3. 52 S. 1427) then we have, पूर्वाह्णतनं । अपराह्णतनम् । पौर्वाह्णिकम् । आपराह्णिकम् ॥

१३९३। तत्र जातः । ४ । ३ । २५ ॥

सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्यर्थेऽणादयो घादयश्च स्युः । स्रुघ्ने जातः स्रौघ्नः । औत्सः । राष्ट्रियः । अवारपारीण इत्यादि ॥

1393. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण &c. घ &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV 2. 92. S. 1312. This sûtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus स्रुघ्नेजातः = स्रुघ्न + अण् = स्रौघ्नः 'born in Srughna'. औत्सः 'born in Utsa', राष्ट्रियः (IV. 2. 93 S. 1313) अवारपारीणः &c.

१३९४। प्रावृषष्ठप् । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

एण्यस्यापवादः । प्रावृषि जातः प्रावृषिकः ॥

1394. After the word **प्रावृट्** being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix **ठप्** in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एण्य of sûtra IV. 3. 17 S. 1388. The प् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषिजातः = प्रावृषिकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

१३९५ । संज्ञायां शरदो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । २७ ॥

ऋत्वणोऽपवादः । शारदका दर्भविशेषा मुद्गविशेषाश्च ॥

1395. The affix वुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein.' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शारदका दर्भाः 'the grass called Śâradaka.' शारदका मुद्गाः 'the pulse called Sâradaka.'

Note:—According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sûtras up to IV. 3. 38. S. 1413.

१३९६ । उत्तरपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १० ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । इनस्त इत्यस्मात्प्राक् ॥

1396. Upto VII. 3. 31 S. 1789 inclusive, the substitution of Vṛiddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikâra sûtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 S. 2574. exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should be supplied in all those sûtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11. S. 1397 the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्वहार्षिकं, अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहैमनम्, अपरहैमनम् ॥

Note:—In those sûtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sûtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sûtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 S. 1397 (अवयवात्), there this sûtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi.' This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sûtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

१३९७ । अवयवाद्तोः । ७ । ३ । ११ ॥

अवयववाचिनः पूर्वपदादृतुवाचिनोऽचामादेरचो वृद्धिः स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परे । पूर्ववार्षिकः । अपरहैमनः । अवयवास्किम । पूर्वासु वर्षासु भवः पौर्ववार्षिकः । ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाववयवानामिति तदन्तविधि पूर्वत्र । इह तु न । अवयवत्वाभावात् ॥

1397. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्षिकः from पूर्व + वर्षा + ठक् meaning वर्षायाम् पूर्वः ॥ अपरहैमनः meaning हैमन्तस्यापरः ॥

Note:—The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c. takes place by II. 2. 1 S. 712 and then by IV. 3. 18 S. 1389 there is ठक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त by IV. 3. 22. S. 1390. The Tadanta-viddhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-viddhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sûtra, for हैमनं being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22 S. 1390), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (ऋतोर्वृद्धि सद्विधावयवात् I. 1. 72 Vârt. Mahâbhâshya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वासु वर्षासु भवः पौर्वार्षिक with ठञ् (IV. 3. 11 S. 1389) and no vṛiddhi of the अ of व because of the maxim "The Tadanta-vidhi applies, when an affix causing Vṛiddhi is ordained after a word denoting season; provided that, the word denoting season is preceded in composition by a word denoting a part, and not otherwise." Therefore the vṛiddhi does not take place here, because the preceding word in composition is not a word which denotes a part of varshâ, but is in apposition with it. The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

१३९८। सुसर्वार्धाज्जनपदस्य। ७। ३। १२॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः। सुपाञ्चालकः। अर्धपाञ्चालकः। जनपदतदवध्योरिति वुञ्। सुसर्वार्धदिक्शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्येति तदन्तविधिः॥

1398. After सु, सर्व and अर्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः, and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with वुञ् (IV 2. 124. S. 1348) read with IV. 2. 125 S. 1349. though the word is not a Vṛiddha. This sûtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वार्धदिक् शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word"

Note:—As shown in the above examples, and for direction-denoting words see the following sûtra (1. 1. 72 Vârt. Mahâbhâshya).

१३९९। दिशोऽमद्राणाम्। ७। ३। १३॥

दिग्वाचकाज्जनपदवाचिनो वृद्धिः। पूर्वपाञ्चालकः। दिशः किम्। पूर्वपञ्चालानामयं पौर्वपञ्चालः। अमद्राणां किम्। पौर्वमद्रः। योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः॥

1399. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र,

gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ्, ण्, or क्॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, (IV. 2. 125, 107) The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sûtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction,? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः, = पौर्वपञ्चालकः॥ Why do we say with the exception of मद्र? Observe पौर्वमद्रः with अञ् (IV. 2. 108 S. 1329). The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvritti of "direction" only runs.

१४०० । प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् । ७ । ३ । १४ ॥

दिशः परेषां नगरवाचिनां ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य च वृद्धिः । पूर्वेषुकामशम्यां भवः पूर्वैषुकामशमः । नगरे, पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः ॥

1400. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a town or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क्॥

Thus पूर्वैषुकामशमः "born in Purveshu kâmaśamî". So also अपरैषुकामशमः, पूर्वकार्ष्णमृत्तिकः, अपरकार्ष्णमृत्तिकः (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) These are town names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः, पूर्वकान्यकुब्जः, अपरकान्यकुब्जः॥ These are city names.

Note :—The word प्राचां in this sûtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24. S. 1431 does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians" but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वैषुकामशमः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ इषुकामशमी = पूर्वेषुकामशमी॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50 S. 727. Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of ततो भवः by IV. 2 107 S. 1328. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix वुञ् is added by IV. 2. 123 S. 1347. Though Pâṭaliputra is the name of *one* city, Purva-pâṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pâṭaliputra.

१४०१ । पूर्वाह्णापराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्करादुञ् । ४ । ३ । २८ ॥

पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः । आर्द्रकः । मूलकः । प्रदोषकः । अवस्करकः ॥

1401. The affix उञ् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः॥ This debars IV. 3. 24 S. 1392. So also आर्द्रकः । मूलकः॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. प्रदोषकः॥ This debars ठञ् of IV. 3. 14. S. 1384. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

१४०२ । पथः पन्थ च । ४ । ३ । २९ ॥

पथि जातः पन्थकः ॥

1402. The affix **वुन्** comes after the word **पथ**, in the sense of 'produced therein', and there by in the room of **पथ**, the substitute is **पन्थ** ॥

Thus पथी जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अण् ॥

१४०३ । अमावास्याया वा । ४ । ३ । ३० ॥

अमावास्यकः । आमावास्यः ॥

1403. The affix **वुन्** comes optionally after the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. Thus अमावास्यकः or आमावास्यः ॥

Note:—This affix वुन् is applied to the word अमावस्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावस्यकः or आमावस्यः ॥

१४०४ । अ च । ४ । ३ ३१ ॥

अमावस्य ॥

1404. And the affix **अ** also is added to the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the वुन् and अण् already given. Thus अमावास्यः, अमावास्यकः, आमावास्यः ॥ So also after the word अमावस्य, as अमावस्यः, अमावस्यकः and आमावस्यः ॥

१४०५ । सिन्ध्वपकराभ्यां कन् । ४ । ३ । ३२ ॥

सिन्धुकः । कच्छाद्यणि मनुष्यबुञि च प्राप्ते । अपकरकः । औत्सर्गिकेऽणि प्राप्ते ॥

1405. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix **कन्** in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhâdi class and takes अण् and बुञ् (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357); and अपकर would have also taken अण् under the general rule. This sûtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः, ॥

१४०६ । अणञौ च । ४ । ३ । ३३ ॥

क्रमात् स्तः । सैन्धवः । आपकरः ॥

1406. And the affixes **अण्** and **अञ्** come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवः and औपरः ॥

१४०७। श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक्। ४। ३। ३४॥

एभ्यो नक्षत्रवाचिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात्॥

1407. The affix denoting 'born therein', is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishṭhâ', 'phalgunî,' 'anurâdhâ', 'svâti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hastâ', 'viśâkhâ', ashâḍhâ', and 'bahulâ,' all denoting asterisms.

Note :—The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. S. 1408. Thus श्रविष्ठासु जातः = श्रविष्ठः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ.'. So also फल्गुनः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहुलः॥ The 'Bahulâ' is another name of the asterism कृत्तिका॥ It is exhibited in the sûtra as bahula with a short अ, as it is a Samâhâra Dvandva shortening.

१४०८। लुक् तद्धितलुकि। २। २। ४९॥

तद्धितलुकि सत्युपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् श्रविष्ठासु जातः श्रविष्ठः। फल्गुनः इत्यादि॥
चित्रारेवतिरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम्॥ चित्रायां जाता चित्रा। रेवती। रोहिणी।
आभ्यां लुक्तद्धितलुकीति लुकि कृते पिप्पल्यादेराकृतिगणत्वात्पुनर्ङीष्॥
फाल्गुन्यषढाभ्यां टानौ वक्तव्यौ॥ स्त्रियामित्येव। फल्गुनी। अषाढा॥
श्रविष्ठाषाढाभ्यां ढ्यण्वक्तव्यः॥ अस्त्रियामपि। श्राविष्ठीयः। आषाढीयः॥

1408. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix also, of the original stem to which the Taddhita affix was added.

The word लुक् defined in I. 1. 61. S. 260, is twice used in this sûtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्; there the feminine suffix of the prâtipadika is also dropped, or becomes *luk*. The word upasarjana used in explaining this sûtra by the author should be taken in its popular sense of non-principal, secondary; and not the technical upasarjana of grammar.

Thus श्रविष्ठा + (अण्लुक्) = श्राविष्ठः॥ The Taddhita suffix being *luked*; the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk*. Therefore the derivative of श्रविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely श्रविष्ठः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Vârt :—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitrâ' will be called चित्रा॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी॥ The feminine

affix which had been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohinî, by the present sûtra I. 2. 49 S. 1408 is reordained by IV. 1. 41, S. 498 because these words belong to the Pippalyâdi subdivision of the गौरादि class. The Pippalyâdi being an âkritigana contains these words also.

Vârt:—The affixes ङ् and अन् come respectively after फल्गुनी and अषाढा in forming the Feminine derivatives. As फल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vârt:—The affix छण् also comes after 'Śravishṭhâ' and 'Ashâḍhâ,' even when females are not denoted. As श्राविष्ठीयः and आषाढीयः ॥

१४०९ । जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् । ७ । ३ । १८ ॥

प्रोष्ठपदानामुत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिः स्याज्जातार्थे ञिति णिति किति च । प्रोष्ठपदासु जातः प्रौष्ठपादो माणवकः । जे इति किम् । प्रोष्ठपदासु भवः प्रौष्ठपदः । बहुवचननिर्देशात्पर्यायोऽपि गृह्यते । भाद्रपादः ॥

1409. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vriddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपदा is the name of an asterism, the day when the moon is there is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अण् of IV. 2. 3. S. 1204 is elided by IV. 2. 4 S. 1205). प्रोष्ठपदासु जातः = प्रौष्ठपादो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्रौष्ठपदोमेघः (= प्रोष्ठपदासु भवः) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भाद्रपद are also to be included. As भाद्रपादः ॥

१४१० । स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च । ४ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । गोस्थानः । गोशालः । खरशालः । विभाषा सेनेति नपुंसकत्वे ह्रस्वत्वम् ॥

1410. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting "born therein" after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gośâla' and 'kharaśâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥ The word gośâla and kharaśâla in the sûtra end in a short अ because they are Neuter under II. 4. 25 S. 828.

१४११ । वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्शतभिषजो वा । ४ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थस्य लुग्वा स्यात् । वत्सशाले जातो वत्सशालः । वात्सशालः इत्यादि ॥ जातार्थे प्रतिप्रसूतेऽण्वा ङिद्वक्तव्यः * ॥ शातभिषः । शातभिषजः । शतभिषक् ॥

1411. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'aśvayuk', and 'śatabhik'.

As वत्सशाले जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतभिषक् or शातभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sûtra.

Vârt :—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as ङित्, provided that, it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sûtras up to IV. 4. 2. S. 1550 by force of IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 but it is debarred by ढक् of IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शातभिषः or शातभिषजः, or शतभिषक् ॥

१४१२ । नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् । ४ । ३ । ३७ ॥

जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुक् स्यात् । रोहिणः । रौहिणः ॥

1412. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after the name of an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रौहिणः (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387 'person born when the moon is in the asterism of Rohini Aldebaran).

१४१३ । कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः । ४ । ३ । ३८ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । घ्नुघ्ने कृतो लब्धः क्रीतः कुशलो वा सौघ्नः ॥

1413. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix in construction, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there', 'bought there', and 'dexterous therein'.

Thus सौघ्नः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skilfull in Srughna".

१४१४ । प्रायभवः । ४ । ३ । ३९ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । घ्नुघ्ने प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति सौघ्नः ॥

1414. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus सौघ्नः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = घ्नुघ्ने प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति ॥

Note :—This sûtra according to Patanjali, is superfluous, as it is covered by the more comprehensive sûtra तत्रभवः (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनित्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

१४१५। उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्ठक्। ४। ३। ४०॥

औपजानुकः। औपकर्णिकः; औपनीविकः॥

1415. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'generally found there in', after the words 'upajânu', 'upakarṇa', and upanîvi', being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars **अण्** &c. Thus **औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः॥**

Note :—All these three words of the sûtra are Indeclinables, because they are Avyayîbhâva compounds. In the sûtra, they have formed a samâhâra Dvandva and masculine.

१४१६। संभूते। ४। ३। ४१॥

घ्नेन्ने संभवति सौघ्नः॥

1416. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix **ङी** and **आप्**, being in the 7th case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein'.

Note :—Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word **संभूत**, all the other words of the sûtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word **संभूत** does not mean in this sûtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the words **जात** and **भव** already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy, i. e. **अवकल्प्तिः** and **प्रमाणातिरेकः॥**

Thus **घ्नेन्ने संभवति = सौघ्नः** 'what is suited to the country of Srughna'. The word **तत्र** is understood here also.

१४१७। कोशाड्ढञ्। ४। ३। ४२॥

कौशेयं वस्त्रम्॥

1417. The affix **ढञ्** comes after the word **कोश** in the sense of 'adapted to that'.

This debars **अण्॥** Thus **कोशे संभूतं = कौशेयं वस्त्रम्** 'silken clothes.

Note :—The word **कोश** means 'cocoon'. **कौशेय** may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon', and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word **कौशेय** is however **रूढि** and means 'silken'. Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath', as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sûtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134. S. 1514 under the heading of **विकार** rather than of **संभूतः॥**

In fact, after the sûtra एण्या-ढञ् (IV. 3. 159 S. 1537), the addition of क्रोशाच्च would have been more appropriate.

१४१८ । कालात्साधुपुष्यत्पच्यमानेषु । ४ । ३ । ४३ ॥

हेमन्ते साधुर्हैमन्तः प्राकारः । वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति वासन्त्यः कुन्दलताः । शरदि पच्यन्ते शारदाः शालयः ॥

1418. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good therein', 'flowering therein' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हैमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हैमन्तः प्राकारः । So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring'. So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालयः 'the grains that ripen in autumn'.

Note :—This sûtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c. The word pushpyat in the sûtra is the Present Participle or शतृ of the Divâdi पुष्प ॥

१४१९ । उप्ते च । ४ । ३ । ४४ ॥

हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते हैमन्ता यवाः ॥

1419. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein.'

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हैमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' ग्रैष्मा व्रीहयः ॥

Note :—The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra in which the anuvṛitti of उप्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sûtra.

१४२० । आश्वयुज्या वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४५ ॥

ढञोऽपवादः । आश्वयुज्यामुप्ता आश्वयुजका माषाः ॥

1420. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars ढञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुप्ताः = आश्वयुजका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Áśvayujî'. Âśvayujî is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Aśvayuj. Aśvayuj and Aśvini are the same. Some texts read आश्विनी instead of आश्वयुज् ॥

१४२१ । ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पक्षे ऋत्वण् । ग्रैष्मकम् । ग्रैष्मम् । वासन्तकम् । वासन्तम् ॥

1421. The affix वुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grîshma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown therein'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus ग्रैष्मम् or ग्रैष्मकम् शस्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

१४२२। देयमृणे । ४ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कालाद्दित्येव । मासे देयमृणं मासिकम् ॥

1422. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month".

Note :—Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

१४२३। कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसादुन् । ४ । ३ । ४८ ॥

यस्मिन् काले मयूराः कलापिनो भवन्ति स उपचाराच्चकलापी तत्र देयमृणं कलापकम् । अश्वत्थस्य फलमश्वत्थस्तद्युक्तः कालोऽप्यश्वत्थः । यस्मिन् कालेऽश्वत्थाः फलन्ति तत्र देयमश्वत्थकम् । यस्मिन् यवबुसमुत्पद्यते तत्र देयं यवबुसकम् ॥

1423. The affix **उन्** comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words **कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ,** and **यवबुस** denoting time and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are terms which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the aśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley-chaff.' Thus कलापिनिकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season)' So also अश्वत्थकम् "a debt due when the fig-tree, flowers." And यवबुसकम् ॥ 'a debt due when the barley is thrashed".

१४२४। ग्रीष्मावरसमादुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४९ ॥

ग्रीष्मे देयमृणं ग्रैष्मकम् । आवरसमकम् ॥

1424. The affix **उञ्** comes in the sense of 'debt-due at that time' after the words 'grîshma' and 'avarasama.'

This debars the अण् and ठञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृणं = ग्रैष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् 'a debt which will de due *next* year', or 'which fell due *last* year.'

Note :—This affix causes Vriddhi, while उन् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न दत्तम्; 'a debt which will be due *next* year,' or 'which fell due *last* year.'

१४२५। संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ्च । ४ । ३ । ५० ॥

चातुर्वुञ् । सांवत्सरिकम् । सांवत्सरकम् । आग्रहायणिकम् । आग्रहायणकम् ॥

1425. The affix ठञ् also (as well as वुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'âgrahâyaṇî' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं = सांवत्सरिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

Note :—The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhivelâdi Class (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sûtra enjoins ठञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

१४२६ । व्याहरति मृगः । ४ । ३ । ५१ ॥

कालवाचिनः सप्तम्यन्ताच्छब्दायत इत्यर्थे अणादयः स्युः यो व्याहरति स मृगवेत् । निशायां व्याहरति नैशो मृगः । नैशिकः ॥

1426. An affix (like अण् or ठञ् &c.) comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then makes noise', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः = नैशः or नैशिकः "an animal that makes noise at night." So also प्रादोषः or प्रादोषिकः (IV. 3. 14. S. 1384) 'a brute that yells in the morning'. The affix added is ठञ्, in the alternative with अण्, by IV. 3. 14. S. 1384.

Note :—Why do we say मृगः 'a beast'? Observe निशायां व्याहरति उलूकः for 'owl' is a bird. Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to wander.' The Sûtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes in expressing a wild beast who roams at large at that time."

१४२७ । तदस्य सोढम् । ४ । ३ । ५२ ॥

कालादित्येव । निशासहचरितमध्ययनं निशा तत्सोढमस्य नैशः । नैशिकः ॥

1427. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद् = that: सोढम् = जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमध्ययनं = निशा "reading by night". तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य = नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. The affix is ṭhañ by IV. 3. 14. S. 1384.

१४२८ । तत्र भवः । ४ । ३ । ५३ ॥

सुघ्नं भवः सौघ्नः । राष्ट्रियः ॥

1428. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in the sûtra तत्र जातः (IV. 3. 25. S. 1393). Thus, सुघ्ने भवः=सौघ्नः "who stays in Srughna". राष्ट्रिय॥

Note:—The repetition of तत्र in the sûtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sûtra, is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of तदस्य॥

१४२९। दिगादिभ्यो यत्। ४। ३। ५४॥

दिश्यम्। वर्ग्यम्॥

1429. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अण् and छ॥ As दिशि भवं=दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम्॥

Note:—The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुख्यं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघन्यम् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उदक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उदक्या=रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदक्यो मस्त्यः॥

1 दिश्, 2 वर्ग, 3. पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाय्य (धाय्या), 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथिन्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देश*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 मेघ, 21 यूथ, 22 उदकात्संज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 वेश (विश), 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 अनुवंश॥

१४३०। शरीरावयवाच्च। ४। ३। ५५॥

दन्त्यम्। कर्ण्यम्॥

1430. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण्॥ As दन्तेषु भवं=दन्त्यम् 'dental, i. e. what stays there, कर्ण्यम्॥

१४३१। प्राचां नगरान्ते। ७। ३। २४॥

प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति णिति किति च। सुघ्ननगरे भवः सौघ्ननागरः। पौर्वनागर। प्राचां किम्। मद्रनगरमुदक्षु तत्र भवो माद्रनगरः॥

1431. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of

both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the stem **नगर** ॥

As सौह्मनागरः (=सुह्मनगरे भवः), पौर्वनागरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माद्रनगरः, from मद्रनगरः the city of the Northern people.

Note :—The word **अङ्गस्य** of VI. 4. 1. S. 200. governs this sûtra also, with this difference that it is changed into the locative case here and does not give its genitive termination.

१४३२ । जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् । ७ । ३ । २५ ॥

जङ्गलाद्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिरुत्तरपदस्य वा ञिति णिति किति च । कुरुजङ्गले भवं कौरुजङ्गलम् । कौरुजाङ्गलम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । वैश्वधैनवम् । सौवर्णवलजम् । सौवर्णबालजम् ॥

1432. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्**, or **क्**, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the compound ending in the stems **जङ्गल**, **धेनु** and **बलज**, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुजाङ्गलम्, "existing in Kurujangala". वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधैनवम्, सौवर्णबलजम् or सौवर्णबालजम् ॥

१४३३ । दृतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्ढञ् । ४ । ३ । ५६ ॥

दार्तेयम् । कौक्षेयम् । कलशिर्घटः तत्र भवं कालशेयम् । बास्तेयम् । आस्तेयम् । आहेयम् ।

1433. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'driti', 'kukshi', 'kalasi', 'vasti', 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus दार्तेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, 'what exists in a pot', बास्तेयम, आस्तेयम and आहेयम् ॥ आहेयम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिक्षीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान ॥

१४३४ । ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च । ४ । ३ । ५७ ॥

चात् ढञ् । ग्रैवेयम् । ग्रैवम् ॥

1434. The affix **अण्** also (as well as **ढञ्**) comes after the word 'grîvâ' in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55 S. 1430) ग्रीवासु भवं = ग्रैवेयम् or ग्रैवम् ॥

Note :—The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sûtra.

१४३५ । गम्भीराञ्ञ्यः । ४ । ३ । ५८ ॥

गम्भीरे भवं गाभीर्यम् ॥

1435. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhîra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गाम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'.

Vârt:—So also after पेचजन ॥ As पांचजन्यम् ॥

१४३६ । अव्ययीभावाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५९ ॥

परिमुखं भवं पारिमुख्यम् ॥ परिमुखादिभ्य एवेष्यते * ॥ मेह । औपकुलः ॥

1436. After an Avyayîbhâva compound, the affix ञ्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

Ishti:—The affix comes only after the Avyayibhâva compounds parimukha and the rest. The affix ञ्य does not come after every Avyayîbhâva compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Gaṇapâtha.

Thus परिमुखं भवं = पारिमुख्यम्, So also पारिहनव्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहनु, 3 पर्योष्ठ, 4 पर्युलूखल, 5 औपमूल, 6 उपस्थून, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुयुप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 अतिशाख, 22 अनुसाय ॥

१४३७ । अन्तःपूर्वपदाट्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ६० ॥

अव्ययीभावादित्येव । वेश्मनि इति अन्तर्वेश्मम् तत्र भवमान्तर्वेश्मिकम् । आन्तर्गणिकम् । अध्यात्मादेष्ठञिष्यते * ॥ अध्यात्मं भवमाध्यात्मिकम् ॥

1437. After an Avyayîbhâva compound, having the word अन्तर् as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्वेश्मिकम् from antar-veśmam which means "in the house". That which exists in the house is "ântar veśmikam". So also आन्तर्गणिकम् ॥

Vârt:—So also after the words अध्यात्मम्, &c as, आध्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम् आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अध्यात्मादि is Ákṛitigaṇa.

१४३८ । अनुशतिकादीनां च । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

एषामुभयपदवृद्धिः स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च । आधिदैविकम् । आधिभौतिकम् । ऐहलौकिकम् । पारलौकिकम् । अध्यात्मादिराकृतिगणः ॥

1438. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशतिक &c.

Thus आधिदैविकम् ; आधिभौतिकम् ; ऐहलौकिकम् ; पारलौकिकम् ॥ These words belong to the Ákritigana of अध्यात्म &c.

Note :—(1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशातिकस्येदम्) V. 1. 21. and IV. 3. 120. ; (2) आनुहौडिकः (= अनुहौडेन चरति IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसांवत्सरम् (अनुसंवत्सरेण दीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांवत्सरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by ठञ् from अनुसम्वत्सरेण क्रीयते) (5) आंगारवेणवः (son of अङ्गारवेणु). (6) आसिहात्यम् (= आसिहत्ये भवं). Some read this word as अस्यहत्य ; this will also take अण् as belonging to विमुक्तादि class. As आस्यहात्यः (= अस्यहत्यशब्दोऽस्मिन्नध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्यहेति, as आस्यहैतिकः (= अस्यहेतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prâtipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) वाध्यौगः (= वध्योगस्य अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidâdi class. (8) पुष्करसदोऽपत्यं = पौष्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bâhvâdi class. (9) आनुहारत from अनुहरत् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargâdi class. Its partonymic is कौरुकात्यः (11) कौरुपाञ्चालः (= कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix वुञ् is not added here, because जनपदसमुदायो जनपदमहणेन गृह्यते ॥

१४३९ । देविकाशिंशपादित्यवाड्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् । ७ । ३ । १ ॥

एषां पञ्चानां वृद्धिप्राप्तावादिरच आत् स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च । दाविकम् । देविकाकूले भवा दाविकाकूलाः शालयः । शिंशपाया विकारः शांशपश्चमसः । पलाशादिभ्यो वेत्यञ् । दित्यौह इदं दात्यौहम् । दीर्घसत्रे भवं दार्घसत्रम् । श्रेयसि भवं श्रायसम् ॥

1439. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, follows, आ is substituted instead of Vriddhi for the first vowels of the following five words :— devikâ, simśapâ, dityavâṭ, dîrghasatra, and śreyas.

Thus दाविकम् (= देविकायां भवम्) in दाविकमुदकम् ; दाविकाकूलाः शालयः (= देविकाकूल भवाः), Similarly शांशपश्चमसः (= शिंशपायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palâśâdi class (IV. 3. 141 S. 1521), and takes अण् or अञ्, the difference being in accent. Similarly दात्याहम् from दित्यवाह, (दित्यौह इदं) and दार्घसत्रम् (दीर्घसत्रे भवं) and श्रेयसम् (श्रायसि भवं) ॥

१४४० । ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् । ४ । ३ । ६१ ॥

ठञ् स्यात् । अव्ययीभावादित्येव । पारिग्रामिकः । आनुग्रामिकः ॥

1440. After the word 'grâma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayîbhâva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The word "after an Avyayîbhâva', is understood here also. Thus पारिग्रामिकः and आनुग्रामिकः ॥

१४४१ । जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्छः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

जिह्वामूलीयम् । अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

1441. After the words 'jihvâmûla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

१४४२ । वर्गान्ताच्च । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कवर्गीयम् ॥

1442. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

As कवर्गीयम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

१४४३ । अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

पक्षे पूर्वेण छः । मद्वर्ग्यः । मद्वर्गीणः । मद्वर्गीयः । अशब्दे किम् । कवर्गीयो वर्णः ॥

1443. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As मद्वर्ग्यः (by यत्) मद्वर्गीणः, (by ख), and मद्वर्गीयः (by छ) ॥

Why do we say, when it does not mean 'शब्द'? For then it takes one affix only i. e. छ; as कवर्गीयोवर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class.'

१४४४ । कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कर्णिका । ललाटिका ॥

1444. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karṇa' and 'lalâṭa', the word denoting an ornament.

Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'denoting an ornament'? Observe कर्ण्यम् 'what is in the ear'.

१४४५ । तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुपां व्याख्यानः सौपो ग्रन्थः । तैङ । कार्तः । सुप्सु भवं सौपम् ॥

1445. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

Note:—That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तत्रभवः, the latter being read into the sûtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case affixes'. So also तैङः 'Tainga—a Commentary on Verbal affixes'. कार्तः 'Kârta—a Commentary on krit affixes', सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भवं &c.

Note:—The anuvṛitti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavâda sûtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of भव into this sûtra also.

१४४६ । बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

षत्वणत्वयोर्विधायकं शास्त्रं षत्वणास्त्वम् । तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा षात्वणस्तिकः ॥

1446. The affix ठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udâtta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus षात्वणास्तिकम् 'a commentary on the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण ॥' The word षत्वणास्त्वम् is acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169).

Note:—Why do we say बह्वचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम् तैङम् &c. A word of two syllables will take ठक् (IV. 3. 72 S. 1451). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe सांहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49).

१४४७ । क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

सोमसाध्येषु यागेष्वेतौ प्रसिद्धौ तत्रान्यतरोपादानेन सिद्धे उभयोरुपादानसामर्थ्यात्सोमका अपीह गृह्यन्ते । अग्निष्टोमस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा आग्निष्टोमिकः । वाजपेयिकः । पाकयाज्ञिकः । नावयज्ञिकः । बहुवचनं स्वरूपविधिनिरासार्थम् । अनन्तोदात्तार्थं आरम्भः ॥

1446. The affix ठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

These two words generally refer to a sacrifice in which the soma-juice is the chief ingredient. But as they can be accomplished without Soma also, so these words include here non-soma sacrifices also.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu:—आग्निष्टोमिकः, 'a commentary on a work on Agnishṭoma sacrifices' वाजपेयिकः, ॥ yajña:—पाकयाज्ञिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ The word पाक means 'small', a minor or small sacrifice is called पाकयज्ञः । It is a Karmadhâraya samâsa and has the final acute accent of samâsa in general. The

sacrifice with new (nava) rice is नवयज्ञः । The word यज्ञ is derived from √यज् with the affix नङ् (III. 3. 90. S. 3268). It retains its accent in the compound being a Kṛit-word. नावयाज्ञिक ॥

This sûtra refers to words which are not antodâtta. The word 'vâjapeya' is acute in the middle, because पेय being a Kridanta-word, formed by यत्, retains its accent in the compound (VI. 2. 139. S. 3873).

Note :—The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a soma sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas, because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifice only. Thus पाञ्चौदनिकः, दाशौदनिकः ॥

Note :—The word stoma (स्तोम) is synonymous with stuti (स्तुति) "praise". The sacrifices in which Agni is praised is called Agnishṭoma. It has acute on the final by परादिश्च परान्तश्च ॥

The word vâjapeya is a compound of vâja "a kind of barley-gruel" and peya "a sacrifice in which something is *drunk*". It is formed by यत् affix of the 'kritya-lyuṭo bahulam' subdivision. The acute is on पे by VI. 1. 213. S. 3701.

The sûtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68 S. 25).

१४४८ । अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

ऋषिशब्देभ्यो लक्षणया व्याख्येयमन्थवृत्तिभ्यो भवे व्याख्याने चाध्याये ठञ् स्यात् । वसिष्ठेन दृष्टो मन्त्रो वसिष्ठस्तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा वासिष्ठिको ऽध्यायः । अध्यायेषु किम् । वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

1448. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Ṛishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only.

Note :—The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyâya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातग्रन्थाङ्गः is understood in this sûtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Ṛishi."

Thus a Vedic hymn first seen by (revealed to) Vasishṭha is called by lakshaṇa or indirectly वसिष्ठ also. वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vâsishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha".

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

१४४९ । पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात्ष्ठन् । ४ । ३ । ७० ॥

पुरोडाशसहचरितो मन्त्रः पुरोडाशः स एव पौरोडाशः ततः ष्ठन् । पौरोडाशिकः ॥

1449. The affix ष्ठन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'paurodâśa' and 'purodâśa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍâśa 'a sacrificial rice cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍâśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). A book on Puroḍâśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The commentary here refers to the mantras or verses relating to Puroḍâśa, and not to the sacrifice.

१४५०। छन्दसो यदणौ। ४। ३। ७१॥

छन्दस्यः। छान्दसः॥

1450. The affixes **यत्** and **अण्** come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the word Chhandas.

This debars ठक् of the following sûtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः॥

१४५१। ब्राह्मणकर्प्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताट्ठक्। ४। ३। ७२॥

ब्राह्म्यः। ऐष्टिकः। पाशुकः। ऋत्। चातुर्होतृकः। ब्राह्मणिकः। आर्चिकः। इत्यादि॥

1451. The affix **ठक्** comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short **ऋ**, and the words 'brâhmaṇa', 'ṛik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'puraścharaṇa', 'nâma', 'âkhyâta' and 'nâmâkhyâta', being the names of explainable works.

Note:—The word nâma being a dissyllabic word would have been covered by the first part of the sûtra, viz, dvyach. Its separate enumeration shows that it is to be taken singly, as well as in composition with âkhyâta.

This debars अण् and ठञ्॥ 1. Dissyllabic:—ऐष्टिकः, पाशुकः॥ 2. Ending in ऋ:—चातुर्होतृकः॥ ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्चिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरश्चरणिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः॥

१४५२। अणृगयनादिभ्यः। ४। ३। ७३॥

ठञ्ठकोरपवादः। आर्गयनः। औपनिषदः। वैयाकरणः॥

1452. The affix **अण्** comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commetary thereon' after the words 'ṛigayana' &c.

This debars ठञ्, ठक् and छ॥ आर्गयनः, औपनिषदः, वैयाकरणः॥

Note:—The repetition of अण् in the sûtra, though the anuvṛitti of this affix was current from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavâda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविचिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो विजिनी, 25 व्याय ॥

१४५३ । तत आगतः । ४ । ३ । ७४ ॥

घुघ्नादागतः शौघ्नः ॥

1453. An affix (IV. 1. 83. S. 1373 &c) comes after a word being in the 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus घुघ्नादागतः = शौघ्नः 'what has come from Srughna'.

१४५४ । ठगायस्थानेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७५ ॥

शुल्कशालाया आगतः शौल्कशालिकः ॥

1454. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix **ठक्** in the sense of 'come thence'.

Note:—The word **आय** means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of **आय** is called **आयस्थान** ॥

This debars 'अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'.

Note:—The plural in the sûtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68 S. 25).

१४५५ । शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । ७६ ॥

आयस्थानेठकछादीनां चापवादः । शुण्डिकादागतः शौण्डिकः । कार्कणः । तैर्थः ॥

1455. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words **शुण्डिक** &c.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः, तैर्थः ॥

Note:—The repetition of **अण्** serves the same purpose as in IV 3. 73, S. 1452, बाधकबाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदपानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 तृण, 9 पर्ण ॥

१४५६ । विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ७७ ॥

औपाध्यकः । पैतामहकः ॥

1456. The affix **वुञ्** comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिसम्ब-

स्थाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix वुञ् ॥ This debars अण् and ञ्य ॥ Thus उपाध्यायादागतः = औपाध्यायकः, 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' So also योनिसंबन्धः as पैतामहकः 'wealth derived from a grand-father.'

१४५७ । ऋतष्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ७८ ॥

वुञोऽपवादः । हौतृकम् । भ्रातृकम् ॥

1457. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus होतुरागतम् = हौतृकम् 'derived from Hotṛi.' So also of 'blood,' as :—भ्रातृकम् ॥

Note :—The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ॠ ॥

Note :—When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

१४५८ । पितुर्यच्च । ४ । ३ । ७९ ॥

चाष्ठञ् । रीङ् ऋतः । यस्येति लोपः । पित्र्यम् । पैतृकम् ॥

1458. The affix यत् as well as ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पितृ + यत् = पितॄ + य = पितॄर् + य = पित्र्यम् (the ṛi is replaced by री by VII. 4. 27. and the long ई of री is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'paternal—i. e. wealth inherited from father.' With ठञ् = पैतृकं ॥

१४५९ । गोत्रादङ्कवत् । ४ । ३ । ८० ॥

विदेभ्य आगतं वैदम् । गार्गम् । दाक्षम् । औपगवकम् ॥

1459. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

Note:—The word गोत्र in the sûtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 and 127 S. 1507. The affix वुञ् of IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sûtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus वैदम्, गार्गम्, दाक्षम् formed by अण् of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gârgyas, the Dâkshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. औपगवानामङ्कः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवेभ्य आगतम् = औपग-

वकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम्) formed by वुञ् (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506).

Note:—The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34 S. 1237), चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् (IV. 2. 46 S. 1255).

१४६० । नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् । ७ । ३ । ३० ॥

नञः परेषां शुच्यादिपञ्चानामादेरचो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा भिन्नादौ परे । आशौचम् । अशौचम् । आनैश्वर्यम् । अनैश्वर्यम् । आक्षेत्रज्ञम् । अक्षेत्रज्ञम् । आकौशलम् । अकौशलम् । आनैपुणम् । अनैपुणम् ॥

1460. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As आशौचम् or आशौचम्, आनैश्वर्यम् or आनैश्वर्यम्, आक्षेत्रज्ञम् or आक्षेत्रज्ञम्, आकौशलम् or आकौशलम्, आनैपुणम् or आनैपुणम् ॥

१४६१ । हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः । ४ । ३ । ८१ ॥

समादागतं समरूप्यम् । विषमरूप्यम् । पक्षे गहादित्वाच्छः । समीयम् । विषमीयम् । देवदत्तरूप्यम् । देवदत्तीयम् । दैवदत्तम् ॥

1461. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause', or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समादागतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 S. 1362, meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause'. So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men also देवदत्तरूप्यम् or दैवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) 'what originates with देवदत्तः' ॥

Note:—The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sûtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (1. 1. 68 S. 25) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23 S. 568: and according to the jñâpaka in the present sûtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु. ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25 S. 602.

१४६२ । मयट् च । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

सममयम् । विषममयम् । देवदत्तमयम् ॥

1462. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayaṭ' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus समयम्, विषममयम्, देवदत्तमयम्, ॥

Note:—The ट् of मयट् indicates that the feminines of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), as, समयी ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10 S. 128) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यमयटौ ॥

१४६३ । प्रभवति । ४ । ३ । ८३ ॥

'ततः' इत्येव । हिमवतः प्रभवति हैमवती गङ्गा ॥

1463. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sûtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति=हैमवती "The Haimavatî", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'.

Note:—So also दारदी "The Dâradî" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जातः; it therefore means *प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source* or origin being unknown.

१४६४ । विदूराञ्ञ्यः । ४ । ३ । ८४ ॥

विदूरात्प्रभवति वैदूर्यो मणिः ॥

1464. The affix य comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus विदूरात् प्रभवति=वैदूर्यः 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'.

Note:—The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvarî.

१४६५ । तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः । ४ । ३ । ८५ ॥

घ्नं गच्छति सौघ्नः पन्था दूतो वा ॥

1465. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what

goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus सुघ्नम् गच्छति = सौघ्नः "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna" The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Note:—Why do we say पथिदूतयोः "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe सुघ्नं गच्छति सार्थः 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

१४६६। अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम्। ४। ३। ८६॥

तदित्येव। सुघ्नमभिनिष्क्रामति सौघ्नं कान्यकुब्जद्वारम्॥

1466. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus सौघ्नः 'a gate which looks towards Srughna'—as a gate of Kânyakubja.

Note:—Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe सुघ्नमभिनिष्क्रामति पुरुषः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

१४६७। अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे। ४। ३। ८७॥

तदित्येव। शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शारीरकीयः। शारीरकं भाष्यमिति स्वभेदोपचारात्॥

1467. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject', when the thing made is a 'book'.

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to'. Thus शारीरक मधिकृत्य कृतोग्रन्थः = शारीरकीयः i. e. a book relating to the śârîraka sûtras. The form शारीरकं भाष्यम् is however more generally employed. Here no distinction is made between the sûtras and the bhâshya. Hence the commentary is called śarîraka.

१४६८। शिशुक्रन्दयमसभद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः। ४। ३। ८८॥

शिशूनां क्रन्दनं शिशुक्रन्दः तमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शिशुक्रन्दीयः। यमस्य सभा यमसभम्। क्लीबत्वं निपातनात्। यमसभीयः। किरातार्जुनीयम्। इन्द्रजननादिराकृतिगणः। इन्द्रजननीयम्। विरुद्धभोजनीयम्॥

1468. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz. 'śiśukranda', 'yamasabha' and after the Dvandva compounds, and the words "indrajanana' &c.

The word तद् (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sûtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुक्रन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants'. यमसभम् 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. The compound is Neuter irregularly (nipâtana).

Dvandva-Compound : as किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are âkritigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, विरुद्धभोजनायम् &c.

Note :—The words शिशुक्रन्द and यमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sûtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

१४६९ । सोऽस्य निवासः । ४ । ३ । ८९ ॥

सुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य सौघ्नः ॥

1469. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place.'

Note :—The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवासः means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

सुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य = सौघ्नः 'a present dweller of Srughna',

१४७० । अभिजनश्च । ४ । ३ । ९० ॥

सुघ्नोऽभिजनोऽस्य सौघ्नः । यत्र स्वयं वसति स निवासः । यत्र पूर्वैरुषितं सोऽभिजनः ॥ इति विवेकः ॥

1470. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus सौघ्नः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'.

Note :—The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvṛitti of 'abhijana' only runs.

१४७१ । आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते । ४ । ३ । ९१ ॥

पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमान्ताद्अभिजनशब्दादस्येत्यर्थे छः स्यात् । हृक्षोलः पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषामायुधजीविनां ते हृक्षोलीयाः । आयुधेति किम् । ऋक्षोदः पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषां ते आर्क्षोदा द्विजाः ॥

1471. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sûtra. Thus हृदुगोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां = हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain'.

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः? Observe आक्षोदा द्विजाः "the Brâhmaṇas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains".

Note:—Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe, सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥

१४७२ । शण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः । ४ । ३ । ९२ ॥

शण्डिकोऽभिजनोऽस्य शाण्डिक्यः ॥

1472. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शण्डिक &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus शाण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन, 3 सर्वकेश, 4 शाक, 5 शट (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध ॥

१४७३ । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ । ४ । ३ । ९३ ॥

सिन्ध्वादिभ्योऽण् तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽञ् स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे । सैन्धवः । तक्षशिला नगरी अभिजनोऽस्य तात्क्षशिलः ॥

1473. The affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshaśila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सैन्धवः । So also तात्क्षशिलः ॥

Note:—Many of the words occurring in the Sindhu-class, are found in the Kachchhâdi class (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sûtra IV. 2. 133 S. 1357. The present sûtra prevents the affixing of वुञ् (IV. 2. 134 S. 1358) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sûtra IV. 2. 134, S. 1358 when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्णु, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 साल्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 हरद् (हरद), 11 गन्दिका (गान्दिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वस्सोद्धरण, 3 कैमेंदुर (कैमिदुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किंनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डधारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक ॥

१४७४ । तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्कुण्ढक्यकः । ४ । ३ । ९४ ॥

तूदी अभिजनोऽस्य तौदेयः । शालातुरीयः । वार्मतेयः । कौचवार्यः ॥

1474. After the words **तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती,** and **कूचवार,** come respectively the affixes **ढक्, छण्, ढञ्,** and **यक्** in the sense of ' this is his native land '.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वार्मतेयः** and **कौचवार्यः** ॥

१४७५ । भक्तिः । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

सोऽस्येत्यनुवर्तते । भज्यते सेव्यते इति भक्तिः । सुघ्नो भक्तिरस्य सौघ्नः ॥

1475. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of ' this is his object of veneration or love '.

The word **भक्ति** in the sûtra means ' serving ', ' worshipping ', or ' loving '.

Thus **सुघ्नो भक्तिरस्य = सौघ्नः** ' a person who is loyal to Srughna '.

The anuvṛitti of the word **अभिजनः** ceases. The words **सः** and **अस्य** should be read into the sûtra.

१४७६ । अचित्तादेशकालाट्ठक् । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अपूपा भक्तिरस्य आपूपिकः । पायसिकः । अचित्तात्किम् । दैवदत्तः । अदेशात्किम् । सौघ्नः । अकालात्किम् । ग्रैष्मः ॥

1476. After a word denoting a thing not possessing consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix **ठक्** is employed, in the sense of ' this is his object of devotion or love '.

This debars **अण्** ; and **छ** also. Thus **अपूपाभक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकः** ' a person who loves cakes '. **पायसिकः** ॥

Why do we say ' not possessing consciousness ' ? Observe **दैवदत्तः** ॥ Why do we say ' not being the name of a country ' ? Observe **सौघ्नः** ॥ Why do we say ' not denoting time ' ? Observe **ग्रैष्मः** ' who loves summer.'

१४७७ । महाराजाट्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

माहाराजिकः ॥

1477. The affix **ठञ्** comes in the sense of ' this is his object of veneration ', after the word **महाराज** ॥

This debars **अण्** ॥ As **माहाराजिकः** ' who loves or serves the Mahârâja '. The difference between this **ठञ्** and the **ठक्** of the last aphorism, is in the accent only.

१४७८ । वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । ४ । ३ । ९८ ॥

वासुदेवकः । अर्जुनकः ॥

1478. The affix **वुन्** comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the words 'Vâsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus **वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः** ॥

१४७९ । गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ९९ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । परस्वादृवृद्धाच्छं बाधते । ग्लुचुकायनिर्भक्तिरस्य ग्लौचुकायनकः । नाकुलकः । बहुलग्रहणान्नेह । पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य पाणिनीयः ॥

1479. The affix **वुञ्** comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus: **ग्लौचुकायनकः** 'who loves or serves &c. Gluchukâyani'. Kshatriyas:—**नाकुलकः** ॥

Note:—The word **आख्यां** in the sûtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus **पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः** ॥

Note:—The word **गोत्र** does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

१४८० । जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने । ४ । ३ । १०० ॥

जनपदस्वामिवाचिनां बहुवचने जनपदवाचिनां समानश्रुतीनां जनपदवत्सर्वं स्याप्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च । जनपदतदवध्योश्चेति प्रकरणे ये प्रत्यया उक्तास्तेऽत्रातिदिश्यन्ते । अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । जनपदिनां किम् । पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य पाञ्चालः । जनपदेनेति किम् । पौरवो राजा भक्तिरस्य पौरवीयः ॥

1480. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and the affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

Note:—The words of this sûtra require a detailed analysis. **जनपदिनाम्** gen. plural of **जनपदिन्** meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya Princes, **बहुवचने** 'in the plural', **जनपदेन समान शब्दानां** 'the same form as the janapada

denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada' In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya princes which in the plural have the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word'. Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 S. 1348 &c. and those affixes will apply here.

Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by वुञ् of sûtra IV. 2. 125, S. 1349 meaning 'who loves the country of Aṅgâs' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सौह्मकः पौन्द्रकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by the same affix वुञ्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas Aṅgâs'. So वाङ्गकः, सौह्मकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyâ Princes'; (janapadinâm). Observe, पंचाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पांचालाः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janpada word'? Thus पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीयः ॥

१४८१ । तेन प्रोक्तम् । ४ । ३ । १०१ ॥

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1481. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्त means प्रकर्षेणोक्त 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृत has been already taught in the sûtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pâṇini.'

१४८२ । तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् । ४ । ३ । १०२ ॥

छन्दोब्राह्मणानीति तदिषयता । तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तमधीयते तैत्तिरीयाः ॥

1482. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khaṇḍika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 66. S. 1278). the Veda enounced by Tittiri'.

Note :—According to Kâśika this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to classical ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sûtra IV. 3, 106. S. 1486 and तदिषयता from IV. 2. 66. S. 1278.

१४८३। काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनिः। ४। ३। १०३॥

काश्यपेन प्रोक्तमधीयते काश्यपिनः॥

1483. The affix **णिनि** comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâśyapa' and 'Kauśika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ॥ The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sûtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः] 'those who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa'

Note:—Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्तं=काश्यपियम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâsyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa; not a Rishi'.

१४८४। कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च। ४। ३। १०४॥

कलाप्यन्तेवासिभ्यः, हारिद्रुणा प्रोक्तमधीयते हारिद्रविणः। वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यः, आलम्बिनः॥

1484. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî' and 'Vaiśampâyana', the affix **णिनि** is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

Note:—This debars अण् and छ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpa: as हारिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरुः, उलपः॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaiśampâyana: as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कृचाभ, आरुणि; ताण्ड्य, श्यामायन, कठ, कलापी॥

Thus हारिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the works enounced by Haridru.' So also आलम्बिनः॥

Note:—The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः hence चरकः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः॥

१४८५। पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु। ४। ३। १०५॥

तृतीयान्तात्प्रोक्तार्थे णिनिः स्यात्। यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्चेद्ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति। पुराणेन चिरन्तनेन मुनिना प्रोक्ताः। भाल्लु, भाल्लविनः। शाट्यायनः, शाट्यायनिनः। कल्पे, पिङ्गेन प्रोक्तः। पैङ्गी कल्पः। पुराणेति किम्। याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्मरथः कल्पः। अणि। आपत्यस्येति यलोपः॥

1485. The affix **णिनि** comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brâhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sûtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages', equivalent to पुरातन of the Brâhmaṇa literature, the example is शाम्बाय-विनः, so also from भल्लु—भाल्लविनः ॥ Kalpa work : as पैङ्गीकल्पः ॥

Why do we say पुराणोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्मरथः कल्पः ॥ The य of these words is elided by VI. 4. 151.S. 1082. Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix IV. 2. 66. S. 1278. will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66. S. 1278. is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sûtra.

१४८६ । शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

छन्दस्यभिधेय एभ्यो णिनिः । शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शौनकिनः ॥

1486. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting chhandas.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the chhandas enounced by Śaunaka'. वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Note :—Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा 'the orthography of Śaunaka'.

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107 S. 1487). Thus कठशाठाभ्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गरव, 4 शापेय (सापेय), 5 शाष्पेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कशाय), 14 तल*, 15 वृण्ड*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 सार्ङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्द, 20 देवदत्तशाठ, 21 तलवकार ॥

१४८७ । कठचरकाल्लुक् । ४ । ३ । १०७ ॥

आभ्यां प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । कठेन प्रोक्तमधीयते कठाः । चरकाः ॥

1487. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Kaṭha ane Charaka

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word: and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठाः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Kaṭha'. चरकाः &c.

Note :—The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sûtra. Observe कठा चरका श्लोकाः

१४८८ । कलापिनोऽण् । ४ । ३ । १०८ ॥

कलापिना प्रोक्तमधीयते कलापाः ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सब्रह्मचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकौथुमितैतिलि-जाजलिबाह्वृलिशिलालिशिखण्डिसुकरसक्तुपर्वणपुपसंख्यानाद्टिलोपः ॥

1488. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalâpî.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. S. 1484. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalâpi'.

Note:—The word कलापाः is thus formed:—कलापिन्+अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sûtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679. which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sûtra VI. 4. 164 S. 1245 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for the following Vârtika.

Vârt:—The इ portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows:—सब्रह्मचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुथुमिन्, तैतिलिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सुकरसद्मन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following: 1 सब्रह्मचारिन्—साब्रह्मचाराः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500.), पीठसर्पिन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59 S. 1488 and 1269), 4. कुथुमिन्—कौथुमाः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116 S. 1496), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः 10. सुकरसद्मन्—सौकरसद्माः, 11 सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI, 4. 164, and those in अण् contradict VI. 4. 167.

१४८९। छगालिनो ढिनुक्। ४। ३। १०९ ॥

छागलिनो प्रोक्तमधीयते छागलेयिनः ॥

4489. The affix ढिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104 S. 1484). This debars that. Thus छागलेयिन् 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

१४९०। पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः। ४। ३। ११० ॥

पाराशर्येण प्रोक्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः। शैलालिनो नटाः ॥

1490. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Śilalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Naṭa-Sûtra respectively.

Note:—The affix णिनि is to be read into the sûtra and not ढिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नटः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152 S. 2119) = पाराशरिन्, the treatise of Pârâśarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥

Note :—These words of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pârâsarya and Sailalin'. See IV. 2. 66 S. 1278. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नटाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nata Sûtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

१४९१ । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः । ४ । ३ । १११ ॥

भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्देन प्रोक्तमधीयते कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः । कृशाश्विनो नटाः ॥

1491. The affix **इनि** comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata -Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśâśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra of Karmandin'. कृशाश्विनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Nata sûtra of Kriśâśvin'. Otherwise कार्मन्दकम् and कार्शाश्वम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

१४९२ । तेनैकदिक् । ४ । ३ । ११२ ॥

सुदाम्ना अद्रिणा एकदिक् सौदामनी ॥

1492. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'.

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus सुदाम्ना एकदिक् = सौदामनी विद्युत् "a lightening. literally, that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudâman".

Note :—The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101, S. 1481 is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the छन्दसि which regulated all the preceding ten sûtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 S. 1278 which was applied to those sûtras does not apply here.

१४९३ । तसिश्च । ४ । ३ । ११३ ॥

स्वरादिपाठादव्ययत्वम् । पीलुमूलेन एकदिक् पीलुमूलतः ॥

1493. The affix **तसि** comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् &c च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables as it is an affix mentioned in the svarâdi class. (I. 1. 37 S. 447). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat,' पीलुमूलतः, सुदामतः ॥

१४९४ । उरसो यच्च । ४ । ३ । ११४ ॥

चात्तसिः । अणोऽपवादः । उरसा एक दिक् उरस्यः । उरस्तः ॥

1494. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ॥

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sûtra by force of the word च ॥

१४९५ । उपज्ञाते । ४ । ३ । ११५ ॥

तेनेत्येव । पाणिनिना उपज्ञातं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1495. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनीनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् व्याकरणम् 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pâṇini'.

१४९६ । कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ११६ ॥

वरुरुचना कृतो वारुरुचो ग्रन्थः ॥

1496. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वरुरुचिना कृताः = वारुरुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'.

Note:—Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Takshas'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c, that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

१४९७ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । ३ । ११७ ॥

तेनेत्येव । अन्यन्यार्थमिदम् । मक्षिकाभिः कृतं माक्षिकं मधु ॥

1497. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + अण = माक्षिक (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). The anuvṛitti of "अण्" does not, of course, apply here.

१४९८ । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११८ ॥

तेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । कुलालेन कृतं कौलालकम् । वारुडकम् ॥

1498. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वारुडकमम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध्र (सिरिन्ध्र), 8 सौरिन्ध्र (सैन्ध्रिय), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्षद्), 11 वधू, 12 मधु०, 13 हरु, 14 रुद्र, 15 अनडुह्, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव ॥

१४९९ । क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् । ४ । ३ । ११९ ॥

तेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । क्षुद्राभिः कृतं क्षौद्रम् । भ्रामरम् । वाटरम् । पादपम् ॥

1499. The affix वुञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vaṭara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अञ् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम्=क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रौमरम्, वैाटरम् and पैादपम ॥

१५०० । तस्येदम् । ४ । ३ । १२० ॥

उपगोरिदमौपगवम् ॥ वहेस्तुरीणट् च * ॥ संवोढुः स्वं सांवहित्रम् ॥ अग्नीधः शरणे रण् भं च * ॥ अग्निमिन्धे अग्नीत् तस्य स्थानमाग्नीध्रम् । तात्स्थ्यात्सोऽप्याग्नीध्रः ॥ सन्निधानाधाने वेण्यण् * ॥ सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः । सामिधेनी ऋक् ॥

1500. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV. 1. 83) and the affixes घ &c. (IV 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरिदम्=औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'.

Note:—The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vârt:—The verb वह takes तृ (तृण् and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इट् As, संवोढुः स्वं सांवहित्रम् ॥

Vârt—The affix रम् comes after अग्नित्, (=अग्निमिन्धे 'who kindles the sacred fire' formed by Kvip) in the sense of 'sanctuary', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ Agnît is the name of a Ritvik priest. As आग्नीध्रम् "The place where the sacred fire is kept" as well the officiating priest of Agni. The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a pada, the ध is not changed to द् (VIII 2. 39)

Vârt :—The affix 'shenyaṇ' comes after समिधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ङीष् ॥

१५०१ । रथाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । १२१ ॥

रथ्यं चक्रम् ॥

1501. The affix **यत्** comes after **रथ**, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This bebars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येदं रथ्यम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle',

Note :—The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot.' This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमारथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vârtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो वाधिधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

१५०२ । पत्रपूर्वादञ् । ४ । ३ । १२२ ॥

पत्रं वाहनम् । अश्वरथस्येदमाश्वरथ्यम् ॥

1502. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', **रथ** takes the affix **अञ्** in the sense of 'this is his'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथ्यं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart,

Note :—The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix ष्ट्रन् (III. 2. 182).

१५०३ । पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च । ४ । ३ । १२३ ।

अञ् ॥ पत्राद्वाह्ये * ॥ अश्वस्येदं वहनीयमाश्वम् । आध्वर्यवम् । पारिषदम् ॥

1503. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix **अञ्** is added.

This debars अण् ॥ The पत्र means वाहन ॥

Vârt :—When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अम् added, to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अश्वस्येदम् वहनीयम्—आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by a horse.' So also आध्वर्यवम् and पारिषदम् ॥

१५०४ । हलसीराट्ठक् । ४ । ३ । १२४ ॥

हालिकम् । सैरिकम् ॥

1504. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra.'

Thus हलस्येदम् = हालिकम्, रौरिकम् ॥

१५०५ । कुन्छ्रादूवुन्वैरमैथुनिकयोः । ४ । ३ । १२५ ॥

काकोलूकिका । कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः * ॥ दैवासुरम् ॥

1505. The affix **वुन्** comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship.'

This debars **अण्** and **छ** ॥ Thus of 'enmity' काकोलूकिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥

Note :—The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. S. 913. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated of the word **देवासुर** &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

१५०६ । गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ् । ४ । ३ । १२६ ॥

औपगवकम् । चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ काठकम् ॥

1506. The affix **वुञ्** comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars **अण्** as well as **छ** ॥ Thus gotra :—औपगवकम् ॥

Vârt :—The word **चरण** which ordinarily means Vedic School, means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (âmnâya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sûtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kaṭhas'.

१५०७ । सङ्घाङ्कलक्षणेष्वञ्यञिञामण् । ४ । ३ । १२७ ॥

घोषग्रहणमपि कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अञ्, बैदः सङ्घोऽङ्को घोषो वा । बैदं लक्षणम् । यञ्, गार्गैः । गार्गम् । इञ्, दाक्षः । दाक्षम् । परंपरासंबन्धोऽङ्कः साक्षात्तु लक्षणम् ॥

1507. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix **अञ्, यञ्** or **इञ्**, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

Note :—The word **संघ** means 'congregation'. The word **लक्षण** and **अङ्क** should be distinguished. **लक्षण** means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as **विद्या** 'learning' is a **लक्षण** of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word **अङ्क** is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another: as a mark on a cow showing

to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्क though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sûtra debars वुञ् of the last aphorism.

Vârt :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with the संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark, (3) sign, and (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply.

Thus अभिजनात् (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106)—वेदः (Masculine), 'a congregation but वेदम् (Neuter) meaning, a sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. अभिजनात् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107)—गार्ग्य + अण् = गार्गः (VI. 4. 148, 151 S. 311, 1082) "a congregation, or a mark of the Gârgyas" इञन्तात् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095), —दाक्षि + अण् = दाक्षः (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'a congregation &c of the Dâkshis'. दाक्षम्,' a mark of the Dâkshis ?

Note :—The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛiddhi by virtue of the affixes अञ् or इञ् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vṛiddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), Thus वैदी ॥ It further prevents पुंवद्भाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39 S. 849), as वैदी विद्याऽस्य = वैदीविद्यः i. e. विद्यानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति सः ॥

१५०८ । शाकलाद्वा । ४ । ३ । १२८ ॥

अण् वोक्तेऽर्थे । पक्षे चरणत्वाद्वुञ् । शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शाकलास्तेषां सङ्घेऽङ्के घोषो वा शाकलः । शाकलकः । लक्षणे क्लीबता ॥

1508. The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शाकलाः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 and IV. 2. 64 S. 1274), शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śâkala.' When denoting लक्षण it will be of the neuter gender.

१५०९ । छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ् ञ्यः । ४ । ३ । १२९ ॥

छन्दोगानां धर्म आम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् । औक्थिक्यम् । याज्ञिक्यम् । बाह्वृच्यम् । नाट्यम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोरित्युक्तं तस्माद्दृचर्थान्नटशब्दादपि तयोरिव ॥

1509. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhandoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yâjñika,' 'bahvṛicha' and 'naṭa.'

Note :—The anuvṛitti of संघ &c ceases. The ञ्य debars अण् and वुञ् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धर्मान्नाम्नयोः from sûtra IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 is understood here and applies even to the word नटः ॥

Thus छान्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽम्नायो छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also भौरिक्थिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बाह्वृच्यम्, and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

१५१० । न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु । ४ । ३ । १३० ॥

दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवास्तेषु शिष्येषु च वुञ् न स्यात् । शाक्षाः दण्डमाणवाः शिष्याश्च ॥

1510. The affix वुञ् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'danda' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ण in माणव by IV. 1. 161 S. 1185, अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's houses. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus शाक्षाः" the junior pupils of Dâkshi.'

१५११ । रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः । ४ । ३ । १३१ ॥

तस्येदमित्यर्थे । वुञोऽपवादः । रैवतिकीयः । वैजवापीयः ॥

1511. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुञ् (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, वैजवापीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापेशि, 3 क्षैमवृद्धि, 4 गौरग्रीवि (गौरग्रीव), 5 औदमेघि (औदमेवि) 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 वैजवापि ॥

१५१२ । कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् । ४ । ३ । १३२ ॥

कुपिञ्जलस्यापत्यम् इहैव निपातनादण् तदन्तात्पुनरण् । कौपिञ्जलः । गोत्रवुञोऽपवादः । हस्तिपादस्यापत्यं हास्तिपदस्तस्यायं हास्तिपदः ॥

1512. The affix अण् *comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hâstipada'.*

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sûtra is really a Vârtika. The word कौपिञ्जल means the descendant of कुपिञ्जल ॥ It is formed by अण् by the nipâtana of this sûtra. To this is again added अण् in order to exclude the वुञ् affix. Similarly the son of हस्तिपाद is called हास्तिपद ॥ It is formed by अण् and पाद changed to पद by nipâtana. To हास्तिपद is added the affix of this sûtra.

१५१३। आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । १३३ ॥

अण् स्यात् । आथर्वणिकस्यायमाथर्वणः धर्म आम्नायो वा । चरणाद्वुञोऽपवादः ॥

1513. The affix **अण्** *comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'âtharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.*

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506). आथर्वणिकस्यायम्=आथर्वणो धर्म आम्नायोवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्माम्नाययोः is understood here. This sûtra is also a vârtika.

:o:

अथ प्रागदिव्यतीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIX.

PRÂGDÎVYATÎYA.

१५१४ । तस्य विकारः । ४ । ३ । १३४ ॥

अश्मनो विकारे ढिलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ आश्मनो विकार आइमः । भास्मनः । मार्तिकः ॥

1514. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof.'

Note :—The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its anuvṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sûtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेषे (IV. 2, 92 S. 1312 &c). such as घ, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sûtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter.

Vârt :—अश्मन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with': as, आश्मः, otherewise आश्मनः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

१५१५ । अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १३५ ॥

चादिकारे । मयूरस्यावयवो विकारो वा मायूरः । मौर्वं काण्डं भस्म वा । पैप्पलम् ॥

1515. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sûtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sûtra.

Thus मयूरस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा=मायूरः (IV. 3. 154) 'a modification, product or part of a peacock—viz a fan' &c. So also of 'herbs'; as मौर्वम् 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also of 'trees', as, पैप्पलम् meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Pîpala tree."

Note :—In the subsequent sûtra, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

१५१६। बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण्। ४। ३। १३६॥

बैल्वम्॥

1516. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part', after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अञ् and मयट्॥ Thus बैल्वम् 'the modification or part of Bilwa'.

Note:—The word गवेधूकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'an' by the next sûtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwâdi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयट् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुद्ग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पाटली, 12 कर्कन्धू, 13 कुटीर॥

१५१७। कोपधाच्च। ४। ३। १३७॥

अण् अञोऽपवादः। तर्कु, तार्कवम्। तैत्तिडीकम्॥

1517. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अञ्॥ Thus from तर्कु we get तार्कवम्, from तित्तिडीक. we get तैत्तिडीकं;॥ The words तित्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su. II. 16).

१५१८। त्रपुजतुनोः षुक्। ४। ३। १३८॥

आभ्यामण् स्वाङ्गिकारे एतयोः षुगागमश्च। त्रापुषम्। जातुषम्॥

1518. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense 'its modification', after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139 S. 1519). As, त्रपुणो विकारः=त्रापुषम्; so also जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac."

Note:—In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

१५१९। ओरञ्। ४। ३। १३९॥

दैवदारवम्। भाद्रदारवम्॥

1519. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part', (provided that, the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus दैवदारवम्, भाद्रदारवम्॥

Note:—The words देवदारु and भद्रदारु are âdy-udâtta owing to Phit Su. II. 14 (पीतद्रुवर्णानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

१५२० । अनुदात्तादेश्च । ४ । ३ । १४० ॥

दाधित्थम् । कापित्थम् ॥

1520. The affix **अञ्** comes in the sense of 'modification or part', after a word having anudâtta accent on the first syllable.

This debars **मयट्** ॥ Thus दाधित्थम्, कापित्थम् ॥

Note:—The word दधित्थम् is an upapada-samâsa of दधि + स्थ + क, the स being changed to ष as it belongs to Prishodaradi class; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वरः ॥

१५२१ । पलाशादिभ्यो वा । ४ । ३ । १४१ ॥

पालाशम् । कारीरम् ॥

1521. The affix **अञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words **पलाश** &c.

Thus पैलाशम् or पालाशम् so also खादिरम् or खादिरम्; कारीरम् or कारीरम् ॥

Note:—This sûtra is an example of prâpta and aprâpta vibhâshâ. The words पलाश, खदिर, शिंशपा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prâpta-vibhâshâ. In the case of others it is aprâpta-vibhâshâ.

1 पलाश, 2 खादि, 3 शिंशपा 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर, 7 शिरीष, 8 वयास, 9 विकङ्कत ॥

१५२२ । शम्याः (ट्) ष्लञ् । ४ । ३ । १४२ ॥

शामीलं भस्म । शिल्पान्डीषे शामीली स्रुक् ॥

1522. The affix **ष्** (**ट्**) **लञ्** comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word **शमी** ॥

This debars **अञ्** ॥ Thus शामीलं भस्म । शामीली स्रुक् (IV. 1. 60 S. 515) The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicatory ष् ॥ According to Mâdhâva the anubandha is ट् and so the feminine is formed in ङीप् ॥

१५२३ । मयड्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः । ४ । ३ । १४३ ॥

प्रकृतिमात्रान्मयड्वा स्यादिकारावयवयोः अश्ममयम् आश्मनम् । अभक्ष्येत्यादि किम् । मौद्गः सूपः । कार्पासमाच्छादनम् ॥

1523. The affix **मयट्** comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of "product" and "part", in

the classical language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अश्ममयम् or आश्मनम् '(IV. 3. 134).

Note:—Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in the classical language, ? Witness वेल्वः खादिरो वा यूपः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of,? Observe मौद्गः सूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् ', cotton dress ".

Note:—Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sûtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sûtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयट् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कापोतम् (IV, 3. 135 S. 1515) लोहमयम् or लौहम् ॥

१५२४ । नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १४४ ॥

आम्रमयम् । शरमयम् ॥ एकाचो नित्यम् * ॥ स्वङ्मयम् । वाङ्मयम् । कथं तर्हि आप्यमम्बुनीति । तस्येदमित्यण्णन्तात्स्वार्थे ष्यञ् ॥

1524. The affix मयट् comes in the sense of its "product" or "part", when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आम्रमयम् ॥ After शरादि words :—शरमयम् ॥

Vart:—The affix मयट्, comes invariably after words of one syllable. Thus स्वङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥ How do you explain the form आप्यम् "modification of water", as given by Amarakosha (I. 10 5)? It is formed by ष्यञ् added to अपस् after the latter had taken अण् of तस्येदम् ॥ अप + अण् = आप ; आप + य = आप्यम् ॥ ष्यञ् does not change the meaning.

1 शर, 2 दर्भ, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी, 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 वल्वज (वल्वज) ॥

१५२५ । गोश्च पुरीषे । ४ । ३ । १४५ ॥

गोः पुरीषं गोमयम् ॥

1525. The affix मयट् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung'.

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'.

Note:—'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sûtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं = milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160 S. 1538), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikâra' of गो ॥

१५२६ । पिष्टाच्च । ४ । ३ । १४६ ॥

मयट् स्यादविकारे । पिष्टमयं भस्म । कथं पैष्टी सुरेति । सामान्यविवक्षायां तस्येदमित्यण् ॥

1526. The affix **मयट्** invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word **पिष्ट** ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैष्टी सुरा in the sense of तस्येदम् ॥ (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) in a general signification.

१५२७ । संज्ञायां कन् । ४ । ३ । १४७ ॥

पिष्टादित्येव । पिष्टस्य विकारविशेषः पिष्टकः । पूपोऽपूपः पिष्टकः स्यात् ॥

1527. The affix **कन्** comes in the sense of product after the word **पिष्ट**, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयट् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥ 'cake', (Amarakosha II. 9. 48).

१५२८ । व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे । ४ । ३ । १४८ ॥

मयट् स्यात् । विल्वाद्यणोऽपवादः । व्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः । व्रैहमन्यत् ।

1528. The affix **मयट्** comes after the word **व्रीहि** in the sense of a 'Puroḍâśa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136 S. 1516). Thus व्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley' Otherwise व्रैहम् ॥

१५२९ । असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । १४९ ॥

तिलमयम् । यवमयम् । संज्ञायां तु तैलम् । यावकः ॥

1529. The affix **मयट्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part", after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम् । यवमयम् ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name"? Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन् (यावादिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29).

१५३० । तालादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १५२ ॥

अश्मयटोरपवादः ॥ तालाद्धनुषि * ॥ तालं धनुः । अन्यत्तालमयम् । ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1530. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tâla &c'.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1 तालाद्धनुषि. 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्राविश, 4 इन्द्रावृश, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्म), 7 श्यामक, 8 पीयुक्षा ॥

Vârt :—The affix अण् comes after ताल, when a "bow" is meant. Thus तालं "a bow made of tâla tree". Otherwise तालमयम् ।

Note :—The words ताल and श्यामक being Vriddha words would have taken

मयट् (IV. 3. 144 S. 1524) बर्हिणाम् विकारः = बार्हम् (by अञ् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532); then we ought to have added to बार्हम् the affix अञ् by IV. 3. 155 S. 1533. in the sense of 'product or part.' The present sûtra prevents that. The words इन्द्राविश and इन्द्रादृश are formed by adding क to the roots विश and दृश preceded by the Upapada इन्द्र under Mula vibhujâdi class. The lengthening of the अ of Indra is by अन्येषामपि (VI. 3. 157.). The word चण and पीयुक्षा are acute on the middle. इन्द्रायुध is final acute by samâsa accent.

१५३१। जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे। ४। ३। १५३॥

अण्। बहुवचनात्पर्यायग्रहणम्। हाटकः तापनीयः सौवर्णो वा निष्कः। परिमाणे किम्। हाटकमयी यष्टिः॥

1531. The affix **अण्** comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is "a weight or measure".

The word **जातरूप** means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sûtra indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus हाटकः तापनीयम् सौवर्णो वा निष्कः॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe हाटकमयी यष्टिः॥

१५३२। प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ्। ४। ३। १५४॥

शौकम्। बाकम्। राजतम्॥

1532. The affix **अञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after **रजत** &c.

Note:—This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudâtta in the beginning. This sûtra applies to words other than those having anudâtta in the beginning.

Thus:—शौकम्, बाकम्, राजतम्, &c.

Note:—In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c. which have anudâtta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, S. 1520. have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयट् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सीस, 3 लोह, 4 उदुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 दारु, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 विभीतक, 9 पीतदारु (कपीत, दारु), 10 तीव्रदारु, 11 चिकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार॥

१५३३। जितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात्। ४। ३। १५५॥

जिद्यो विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्ताद्दम् स्यात्तयोरेवार्थयोः। मयटोऽपवादः। शामीलस्य शामीलम्। दाधित्थस्य दाधित्थम्। कापित्थम्। जितः किम्। बैल्वमयम्॥

1533. The affix **अञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory **ज्** such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory अ denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV. 3. 139), ठञ् (IV. 3. 142), अञ् (IV 3. 154), वुञ् (IV. 3. 157), ढञ् (IV. 3. 159), अञ्, यञ् (IV. 3. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used. This debars मयट्॥ Thus शार्मिलम्, दाधित्थम्, कापिष्ठम् &c.

Why do we say अित्? Observe बैल्वमयम्॥ Here मयट् is used after बैल्व and the derivative is formed by अण् of IV. 3. 136. S. 1516. So also वैदमयम्॥

१५३४। क्रीतवत्परिमाणात्। ४। ३। १५६॥

प्राग्वतेष्ठञित्यारभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्यया येनोपाधिना परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते तथैव विकारेऽतिदिश्यन्ते। अणादीनामपवादः। निष्केण क्रीतं नैष्किकम्। एवं निष्कस्य विकारोऽपि नैष्किकः। शतस्य विकारः शत्यः। शातिकः॥

1534. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part', is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c S. 1548 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण॥ This debars अण् &c. Thus निष्केण क्रीतम्=नैष्किकम् (V. 1. 20). It will denote vikâra also, निष्कस्य विकारः=नैष्किकः formed by ठक् (V. 1. 20). As शतेनक्रीतं=शत्यं or शातिकम् (V. 1. 21), so शतस्य विकारः=शत्यः or शातिकः by ठन् and यत् (V. 1. 21).

Note:—The word वत् in क्रीतवत् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sûtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विनैष्किकः॥ The word परिमाण in this sûtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyâ. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of the affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

१५३५। उष्ट्रादिवुञ्। ४। ३। १५७॥

प्राग्यतोऽपवादः। औष्ट्रकः

535. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushṭra'.

This debars अञ् (IV. 2. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा=औष्ट्रकः॥

१५३६। उमोर्णयोर्वा। ४। ३। १५८॥

औमम्। औमकम्। और्णम्। और्णकम्। वुञभावे यथाक्रममणमौ।

1536. The affix वुञ् comes optionally in the sense

of 'its product or part', after the words ऊमा and ऊर्णा ॥

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

Note :—Umâ has acute on the first syllable by तृणधान्यानां च (Phit II. 4). Urṇâ is finally acute, as a Prâtipadika.

१५३७। एण्या ढञ् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

ऐणेयम् । एणस्य तु ऐणम् ॥

1537. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the feminine word एणी ॥

This debars अम् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532.

Thus ऐणेयं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐणम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अम् ॥

१५३८। गोपयसोर्यत् । ४ । ३ । १६० ॥

गव्यम् । पयस्यम् ॥

1538. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम्, पयस्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५३९। द्रोश्च । ४ । ३ । १६१ ॥

द्रुर्वृक्षस्तस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा द्रव्यम् ॥

1539. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'dru.' (meaning "a tree".)

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५४०। माने वयः । ४ । ३ । १६२ ॥

द्रोरित्येव । द्रुवयम् । यौतवं द्रुवयं पाय्यमिति मानार्थकं वयम् ॥

1540. The affix वय comes in the sense of 'its product', after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars यत् ॥ As द्रुवयम्, 'a measure.' The words द्रुवयम्, यौतवं and पाय्यम् are three words denoting measure. (Amarakosha II. 9. 85).

१५४१। फले लुक् । ४ । ३ । १६३ ॥

विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् फले । आमलक्याः फलमामलकम् ।

1541. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + मयट् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobolans

Note :—The fruit is a "product" as well as "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

१५४२ । प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६४ ॥

विधानसामर्थ्यान्न लुक् । प्लाक्षम् ॥

1542. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars **अञ्** ॥ Thus **प्लाक्षम्** ॥ So also **नैयग्रोधम्** by the following Sûtra.

1 **प्लक्ष**, 2 **न्यग्रोध**, 3 **अश्वत्थ**, 4 **इङ्गुदी**, 5 **शिग्रु**, 6 **रुरु**, 7 **कपित्थ** (**कर्कन्धु**, **कर्कन्तु** **कर्कतु**) 8 **बृहती** ॥

१५४३ । न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य । ७ । ३ । ५ ॥

अस्य न वृद्धिरैजागमश्च । नैयग्रोधम् ॥

1543. **ऐ** is placed before the **य्** of **न्यग्रोध**, instead of Vriddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्** ॥

As **नैयग्रोधम्** (= **न्यग्रोधस्य विकारः**) ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe **न्यग्रोधमूले भवाः शालयः** = **न्यग्रोधमूलाः** ॥ If **न्यग्रोध** is a derivative word (from **न्यग्रोहयति** = **नीचैर्गतौ परोहैर्वर्धते**), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate sûtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sûtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word **केवल** is a jñâpaka that the rule of Tadâdi applies to this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

१५४४ । जम्ब्वा वा । ४ । ३ । १६५ ॥

जम्बूशब्दात्फलेऽण् वा स्यात् । जाम्बवम् । पक्षे ओरञ् तस्य लुक् । जम्बु ॥

1544. The affix **अण्** comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars **अञ्** ॥ Thus **जम्बू** + **अण्** = **जाम्बवं** as **जाम्बवानि फलानि** ॥ But when the general affix **अञ्** is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. S. 1541. As **जम्बु** + **अञ्** = (IV. 3. 139) = **जम्बु**, as **जम्बूनि फलानि** (VI. 4. 8).

१५४५ । लुप् च । ४ । ३ । १६६ ॥

जम्ब्वाः फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप् वा स्यात् । लुपि युक्तवत् । जम्ब्वाः फलं जम्बूः ॥ फलपाकशुषा-सुपसंख्यानम् * व्रीहयः । मुद्गाः । पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् * ॥ मल्लिकायाः पुष्पं मल्लिका । जात्याः पुष्पं जाती । विदार्या मूलं विदारी । बहुलग्रहणान्नेह । पाटलानि पुष्पाणि । साल्वानि मूलानि । बाहुलकात्क्वाचिल्लुक् । अशोकम् । करवीरम् ॥

1545. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by lup after the word 'jambu'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sûtra I. 2. 51. S. 1294. Thus जम्बू + अञ्लुप् = जम्बू :, as, जम्बू फलं ॥ Optionally जम्ब्वाः फलं = जम्बु फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vârt:—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither âway as soon as the fruit ripens: Thus व्रीहिः—व्रीहयः, मुद्गाः ॥

Vârt—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots: as, मल्लिकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जाति; so also विदार्या मूलं = विदारी ॥ अशुमती । बृहती ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, मल्लानि मूलानि ॥ So अशोकम्, करवीरम्, &c.

१५४६ । हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १६७ ॥

एभ्यः फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप्स्यात् । हरीतक्यादीनां लिङ्गमेव प्रकृतिवत् । हरीतक्याः फलानि हरीतक्यः ॥

1546. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप्, after the words 'Harîtakî' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2, 51 S. 1294), As हरीतक्याः फलं = हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कोशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी). 4 शष्कण्डी (शाकण्डी), 5 दाडी, 6 डोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 ध्वाङ्क्षा (ध्वाङ्क्षा), 12 गभीका (गर्गरिका), 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 दंडी ॥

१५४७ । कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ लुक् च । ४ । ३ । १६८ ॥

कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यञञौ स्तइछयतोश्च लुक् । कंसाय हितं कंसीयम्, तस्य विकारः कांस्यम् । परशवे हितं परशव्यम् । तस्य विकारः पारशवः ॥

1547. The affixes यञ् and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansîya' and 'paraśavya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. 1. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. 1. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes

यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कांस्य so also पारशव from परशव्य ; thus परशव्य + अञ् = परशु + अञ् = पारशवः ॥

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdîvyatîya affixes.

—:o:—

अथ तद्धित ठगधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXX.

THE AFFIX ठक् ॥

१५४८ । प्राग्वहतेष्ठक् । ४ । ४ । १ ॥

तद्वहतीत्यतः प्राक् ठगधिक्रियते ॥ तदाहेति माशब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ माशब्दः कारि इति च आह स माशब्दिकः ॥

1548. The affix **ठक्** comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sûtra IV. 4. 76. S. 1627.

Note:—This is an adhikâra sûtra. The affix **ठक्** bears rule from this one forward to the sûtra **तदूहति** &c

Vârt:—After the words **माशब्द** &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus **माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिकः** who says 'don't make noise,' **कार्यशाब्दिकः** ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Note:—Thus in the next sûtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sûtra is incomplete. We must read the word **ठक्** into it. Thus **अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः** "who plays with aksha—a dicer'. **अक्ष + ठक् = आक्षिकः** (VII. 3. 50 S.1170)

१५४९ । स्वागतादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ७ ॥

ऐच् न स्यात् । स्वागतमित्याह स्वागतिकः । स्वाध्वरिकः । स्वङ्गस्यापत्यं स्वाङ्गिः । व्यङ्गस्यापत्यं व्याङ्गिः । व्यडस्यापत्यं व्याडिः ॥ व्यवहारेण चरति व्यावहारिकः । स्वपतौ साधु स्वापतेयम् ॥ आहौ प्रभूतादिभ्यः * ॥ प्रभूतमाह प्राभूतिकः । पार्याप्तिकः ॥ पृच्छतौ सुखातादिभ्यः * ॥ सुखातं पृच्छति सौखातिकः । सौखशायनिकः । अनुशतिकादिः ॥ गच्छतौ परदारादिभ्यः * ॥ पारदारिकः । गौरुतल्पिकः ॥

1549. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3. S. 1098, do not apply also to **स्वागत** &c.

As **स्वागतिकः**, (= **स्वागतमिति आह**), **स्वाध्वरिकः**, (= **स्वधरेण चरति**) **स्वाङ्गिः**, **व्याङ्गिः**, **व्याडिः** (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyaḍa). **व्यवहारिकः** (Vyavahâreṇa charati) and **स्वापतेयः** (= **स्वपतौ साधुः**) ॥ The word **व्यवहार** does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 2. S. 1144. **स्वपत** being a compound with **स्व**, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4. S. 1386. as it is included in the Dvârâdi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svâgatâdi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्वध्वर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यड, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपति ॥

Vârt:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिकः, पार्याप्तिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an abverb.

Vârt:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". सौखराजिकः, सौखशायनिकः ॥

Vârt:—So also after परदारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परदारान् गच्छति = पारदारिकः, गौरुतल्पिकः ॥ The word तल्प here refers to "wife".

१५५० । तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् । ४ । ४ । २ ॥

अक्षैर्दीव्यति आक्षिकः । अभ्यां खनति आभ्रिकः । अक्षैर्जयति आक्षिकः । अक्षैर्जितमाक्षिकम् ॥

1550. The affix **ठक्** comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. अभ्यां खनति आभ्रिकः, कौदालिकः, अक्षैर्जयतिम् = आक्षिकः, अक्षैर्जितम् = आक्षिकम् ॥

१५५१ । संस्कृतम् । ४ । ४ । ३ ॥

दध्ना संस्कृतं दाधिकम् । मारीचिकम् ॥

1551. The affix **ठक्** comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. मारीचिकम् ॥

Note:—The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the next sûtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs.

१५५२ । कुलत्थकोपधादण् । ४ । ४ । ४ ॥

ठकोऽपवादः । कुलत्थैः संस्कृतं कौलत्थम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1552. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate **क्**, the affix **अण्** is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क ॥

१५५३ । तरति । ४ । ४ । ५ ॥

उडुपेन तरति औडुपिकः ॥

1553. The affix **ठक्** comes after a word in the third

case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses thereby over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लवेनतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, औडुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

१५५४। गोपुच्छाट्ठञ्। ४। ४। ६॥

गौपुच्छिकः॥

1554. The affix ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus गौपुच्छिकः॥

१५५५। नौद्व्यचष्ठन्। ४। ४। ७॥

नाविकः। घटिकः। बाहुभ्यां तरति बाहुका स्त्री॥

1555. The affix ठन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक्॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words: as, घटिकः, so also बाहुका (बाहुभ्यां तरति) in the feminine.

Note:—The ष in ष्ठन् in the sûtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका॥ In fact the indicatory ष् occurs in the Fourth book, in sûtras IV. 4. 9. 10, 18, 53 and 74.

१५५६। चरति। ४। ४। ८॥

तृतीयान्ताद्गच्छति भक्षयतीत्यर्थयोष्ठक् स्यात्। हस्तिना चरति हास्तिकः। शाकटिकः। दध्ना भक्षयति दाधिकः॥

1556. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus शाकटिकः। हास्तिकः 'who travels by a car or an elephant'. दध्ना भक्षयति = दाधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd.'

१५५७। आकर्षात् ष्ठल्। ४। ४। ९॥

आकर्षो निकषोपज्ञः। आकषादिति पाठान्तरम्। तेन चरति आकार्षिकः। पित्त्वान्ङीष्। आकार्षिकी॥

1557. The affix ष्ठल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the word 'âkarsha.'

Note:—This debars ठक्॥ The ल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The ष् of ष्ठल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in IV. 4. 7. S. 1555.

Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक *f.* आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested. Another reading is आकर्षाद् ॥

१५५८ । पर्पादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । १० ॥

पर्पेण चरति पार्पिकः । पर्पिकी । येन पीठेन पङ्गवश्चरन्ति स पर्पः । अश्विकः । रथिकः ॥

1558. The affix **छन्** comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ठक् ; the च् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and छ् for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पार्पिकः *f.* पार्पिकी, आश्विकः *f.* आश्विकी: ॥ So also राथिकः ॥

1 पर्प, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्याल, 8 पाद: पच ॥

१५५९ । श्वगणाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ११ ॥

चात् छन् ॥

1559. The affix **ठञ्** as well as the affix **छन्**, comes after the word **श्वगण**, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'.

This debars ठक् ॥

१५६० । श्वादेरिञि । ७ । ३ । ८ ॥

ऐच्च्न । श्वभस्त्रस्यापत्यं श्वाभस्त्रिः । श्वादंष्ट्रिः । तदाविधौ चेदमेव ज्ञापकम् ॥ इकारादाविति वाच्यम् * ॥ श्वगणेन चरति श्वागणिकः । श्वागणिकी । श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी ॥

1560. A compound beginning with **श्वन्**, and followed by the Taddhita affix **इञ्** is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वभस्त्र is श्वाभस्त्रिः, so also श्वादंष्ट्रिः ॥ The word श्वन् is included in the list of Dvârâdi words VII. 3, 4, S. 1386. The present sûtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vârt :—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows.

Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वागणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. *f.* श्वागणिकी ॥ ठञ् श्वागणिकः *f.* श्वगणिकी ॥

Note :—The form श्वागणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 5. Thus श्वगण + ठञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires the Vṛiddhi of the अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter औ comes before व in the case of श्वन् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ठञ् ॥ In

fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इञ् (an affix beginning with इ): as from इत्वाभाल्लि we have श्वाभाल्लम (इत्वाभल्लेरिदं) ॥

१५६१ । पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ३ । ६ ॥

श्वादेरङ्गस्य पदशब्दान्तस्यैतत्वा । श्वापदस्येदं श्वापदम् । शौवापदम् ॥

1561. The rule VII. 3. 4 is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद ॥

As श्वापदस्येदं = श्वापदम् or शौवापदम् ॥

१५६२ वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति । ४ । ४ । १२ ॥

वेतनेन जीवति वैतनिकः । धानुष्कः ॥

1562. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वैतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्ड, the affix applies to the compound, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्दण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, दाण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्दण्ड, 5 जाल, 6 वेश (वेस), 7 उपवेश (उपवेष, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शय्या, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपनिषद्, 14 उपदेश, 15 स्फिज्* (स्फिज), 16 पाद, 17 उपस्थ, 18 उपस्थान,* 19 उपहस्त,* 20 स्रज् ॥

१५६३ वस्नक्रयविक्रयाट्ठन् । ४ । ४ । १३ ॥

वस्नेन मूल्येन जीवति वस्निकः । क्रयविक्रयमहणं संघातविगृहीतार्थम् । क्रयविक्रयिकः । क्रयिकः । विक्रयिकः ॥

1563. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya' and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire, hireling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

१५६४ आयुधाच्छ च । ४ । ४ । १४ ॥

चाट्ठन् । आयुधेन जीवति आयुधीयः । आयुधिकः ॥

1564. The affix छ as well as ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'âyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ठन्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

१५६५ हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । १५ ॥

उत्सङ्गेन हरत्यौत्सङ्गिकः ॥

1565. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्सङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip.'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत), 4 उत्पन्न, 5 उत्पुट, 6 पिटक, 7 पिटाक, 8 उडप ॥

१५६६ भस्त्रादिभ्यः ष्ठन् । ४ । ४ । १६ ॥

भस्त्रया हरति भस्त्रिकः । षित्त्वान्ङीष् । भस्त्रिकी ॥

1566. The affix **ष्ठन्** comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhastra &c' being in the third case in construction.

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41)

Note:—The word भस्त्र means a pair of leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 भस्त्रा, 2 भरट, 3 भरण (भारण), 4 शीर्षभार, 5 शीर्षेभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार ॥

१५६७ । विभाषा विवधात् । ४ । ४ । १७ ॥

विवधेन हरति विवधिकः । पक्षे ठक् । वैवधिकः । एकदेशविकृतस्याऽनन्यत्वाद्विवधादपि ष्ठन् । वीवधिकः । वीवधिकी । विवधवीवधशब्दौ उभयतो बद्धशिक्ये स्कन्धवाह्ये काष्ठे वर्तेते ॥

1567. The affix **ष्ठन्** comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha'. (and' vîvadha),' being in the third case in construction.

Vârt:—A word altered in a portion there of remains the same. Therefore वीवध is also governed by this sûtra.

In the alternative, the general affix ठक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः f. विवधिकी; So also वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is ठक, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood with a loop at each end placed on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler,'

१५६८। अण्कुटिलिकायाः । ४ । ४ । १८ ॥

कुटिलिका व्याधानां गति विशेषः कर्मारोपकरणभूतं लोहं च । कुटिलिकया हरति मृगानङ्गारान्वा कौटिलिको व्याधः कर्मारश्च ॥

1568. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगान् व्याधः or (मृगो व्याधं) = कौटिलिको व्याधः (or मृगः) 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey.' कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान् = कौटिलिकः कर्मारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge.'

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths.'

१५६९। निर्वृत्तेऽक्षद्यूतादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । १९ ॥

अक्षद्यूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षद्यूतिकं वैरम् ॥

1569. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyûta &c.', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षद्यूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = आक्षद्यूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling.'

1 अक्षद्यूत, 2 जानुप्रहत (°प्रहूत), 3 जङ्घाप्रहत, (°प्रहूत), 4 जङ्घाप्रहत,* 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्टकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत,* 8 गतागत, 9 यातपियात, 10 अनुगत ॥

१५७०। क्त्रेर्मम्नित्यम् । ४ । ४ । २० ॥

क्त्रिप्रत्ययान्तप्रकृतिकात्तृतीयान्तान्निर्वृत्तेऽर्थे मप्प्रत्यान्नित्यम् । कृत्वा निर्वृत्तं कृत्रिमम् । पक्त्रिमम् ॥ * भावप्रत्ययान्तादिमप् वक्तव्यः । पाकेन निर्वृत्तं पाकिमम् । त्यागिमम् ॥

1570. The affix मप् comes invariably after the words ending in the affix क्त्रि, in the sense of 'completed thereby,'

The क्त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root डुपच् takes क्त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पच् + क्त्रि + मप् = पक्त्रिमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. From डुकृञ् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

Note:—The word नित्य in the sûtra indicates that the affix क्त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vârt:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं = पाकिमम् (पच् + घञ् III. 3. 18 + इमप्), so also त्यागिमम्, सेकिमम्, कुट्टिमम् ॥

१५७१ । अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कककनौ । ४ । ४ । २१ ॥

अपमित्येति ल्यबन्तम् । अपमित्य निर्वृत्तं आपमित्यकम् । याचितेन निर्वृत्तं याचितकम् ॥

1571. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita,' when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'.

Note :—The word आपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the sufix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

१५७२ । संसृष्टे । ४ । ४ । २२ ॥

दध्ना संसृष्टं दाधिकम् ॥

1572, The affix ठक comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्टं = दाधिकम् 'smeared with curd.'

Note :—The word 'sanskṛitam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sansṛshṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

१५७३ । चूर्णादिनिः । ४ । ४ । २३ ॥

चूर्णैः संसृष्टाश्चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः ॥

1573. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chûrṇa' when the sense is 'mixed therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टाः = चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः 'cakes sprink'ed with powder'.

१५७४ । लवणाल्लुक् । ४ । ४ । २४ ॥

लवणेन संसृष्टो लवणः सूपः । लवणं शाकम् ॥

1574. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word 'lavaṇa'.

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt'. as लवणः सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं शाकं, लवणा यवागूः '(I. 1. 51).

Note :—The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

१५७५ । मुद्गादण् । ४ । ४ । २५ ॥

मौद्गं ओदनः ॥

1575. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga', when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus मौद्गं ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga pulse'.

१५७६ । व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते । ४ । ४ २६ ॥

ठक् । दध्ना उपसिक्तं दाधिकम् ॥

1576. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्तं = दाधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd.'

Note:—Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

१५७७ । ओजः सहोऽम्भसा वर्तते । ४ । ४ । २७ ॥

ओजसा वर्तते औजसिकः शूरः । साहसिकश्चौरः । आम्भसिको मत्स्यः ॥

1577. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists', after the words 'ojas', 'sahas', and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also:—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish'.

१५७८ । तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् । ४ । ४ । २८ ॥

द्वितीयान्तादस्मादूर्ध्वं इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् स्यात् । क्रियाविशेषणत्वाद्द्वितीया । प्रतीपं वर्तते प्रातीपिकः । आन्वीपिकः । प्रातिलोमिकः । आनुलोमिकः । प्रातिकूलिकः । आनुकूलिकः॥

1578. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'îpa,' 'loma,' and 'kûla,' preceded by 'anu' and prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपं वर्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97), retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः ॥ 'favorable.' प्रातिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' प्रातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः ॥ The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

१५७९ । परिमुखं च । ४ । ४ । २९ ॥

परिमुखं वर्तते परिमुखिकः । चात्पारिपार्श्विकः ॥

1579. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्तते = पारिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present.'

The word च in the sûtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As पारिपार्श्विकः ॥

Note: —The word परिमुख is an Avyayîbhâva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then पारिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यैः सेवको वर्त्तते," and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

१५८० । प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् । ४ । ४ । ३० ॥

द्विगुणार्थं द्विगुणं तत्प्रयच्छति द्वैगुणिकः । त्रैगुणिकः ॥

वृद्धेर्वृधुषिभावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वार्धुषिकः ।

1580. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति = द्वैगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double, i, e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थं 'for the sake of double'. *Similarly* त्रैगुणिकः ॥

Vârt:—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुषि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase'. Or the word वृधुषि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Note:—Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive' ? Observe द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति अधमर्णः 'the debtor gives double'.

१५८१ । कुसीददशैकादशात् ष्ठन्ष्ठचौ । ४ । ४ । ३१ ॥

गर्ह्यार्थाभ्यामाभ्यामेतौ स्तः प्रयच्छतीत्यर्थे । कुसीदं वृद्धिस्तदर्थं द्रव्यं कुसीदं तत्प्रयच्छतीति कुसीदिकः । कुसीदिकी । एकादशार्थत्वादेकादश ते च ते वस्तुतो दश चेति विग्रहेऽकारः समासान्त ईहैव सर्वं निपात्यते । दशैकादशिकः । दशैकादशिकी । दशैकादशान्प्रयच्छतीत्युत्तमर्ण एवेहापि तद्धितार्थः ॥

1581. The affixes ष्ठन् and ष्ठच् come respectively after the words 'kusîda' and 'daśaikâdaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादश ॥ This sûtra debars ठक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes ठन् and ठच् is in the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + ठन् = कौसीदिकः fem. कौसीदिकी (IV. 1. 41). So दशैकादशिकः fem. की ॥

१५८२ । उञ्छति । ४ । ४ । ३२ ॥

बदराण्युञ्छति बादरिकः ॥

1582. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus बदराण्युञ्छति = बादरिकः 'who picks up jujubes'.

Note:—To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उञ्छ ॥

१५८३ । रक्षति । ४ । ४ । ३३ ॥

समाजं रक्षति सामाजिकः ॥

1583. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'.

१५८४ । शब्ददर्दुरं करोति । ४ । ४ । ३४ ॥

शब्दं करोति शाब्दिकः । दार्दुरिकः ॥

1584. The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Śabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes words' i. e. a grammarian. So दार्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

१५८५ । पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति । ४ । ४ । ३५ ॥

स्वरूपस्य पर्यायाणां विशेषाणां च ग्रहणम् । मत्स्यपर्यायेषु मीनस्यैव । पक्षिणो हन्ति पाक्षिकः । शाकुनिकः । मायूरिकः । मात्स्यिकः । मैनिकः । शाकुनिकः । मार्गिकः । हारिणिकः । सारङ्गिकः ॥

1585. The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. 1. 68).

Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, माथूरिकः, ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, मात्स्यिकः, मानिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, हारिणिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

१५८६ । परिपन्थंच तिष्ठति । ४ । ४ । ३६ ॥

अस्मात्द्वितीयान्तात्तिष्ठति हन्ति चेत्यर्थे ठक् स्यात् । पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा व्याप्य वा तिष्ठति पारिपन्थिकश्चौरः । परिपन्थं हन्ति पारिपान्थिकः ॥

1586. The affix **ठक्** comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपान्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man".

Note :— The च in the sûtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sûtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sûtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sûtra, for it is a mere superfluity ? No, it shows the classical form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

१५८७ । माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

दण्डाकारो माथः पन्थाः दण्डमाथः । दण्डमाथं धावति दाण्डमाथिकः । पादविकः । आनुपदिकः ॥

1587. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having **माथ** as its second term, and after the words 'padavî' and 'anupada'.

Thus a road (mâtha) straight like a stick (danda) is called दण्डमाथः । From it दण्डमाथं धावति = दाण्डमाथिकः 'who runs on a high way'. Similarly पादविकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means 'a way'.

१५८८ । आक्रन्दाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ३८ ॥

अस्माद्द्वितीयान्तात्ठञ् ठक् धावतीत्यर्थे । आक्रन्दं दुःखिनां रोदनस्थानं धावति आक्रन्दिकः ॥

1588. The affix **ठञ्** as well as **ठक्** comes after the word 'âkranda', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'.

The word आक्रन्द means 'a place where persons weep' e. g. a battle-field. It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c. The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दं धावति = आक्रन्दिकः or आक्रन्द्रिकः, f. आक्रन्दिकी 'a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'.

१५८८ पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति । ४ । ४ । ३९ ॥

पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति पौर्वपदिकः । औत्तरपदिकः ॥

1589. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पौर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥

Note:—The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule, when पद is preceded by the *affix* बहु ॥

१५९० प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च । ४ । ४ । ४० ॥

एभ्यो गृह्णात्यर्थे ठक् स्यात् । प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति प्रातिकण्ठिकः । आर्थिकः । लालामिकः ॥

1590. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikaṇṭha', 'artha', and 'lalâma' being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, लालामिकः ॥

Note:—The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayi-bhâva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगतः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

१५९१ धर्मं चरति । ४ । ४ । ४१ ॥

धार्मिकः ॥ अधर्माच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आधर्मिकः ॥

1591. The affix **ठक्** comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practises that'.

Thus धर्मम् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious".

Vârtika:—It must be stated that the affix ठक् comes after adharma also. As आधर्मिकः "irreligious, undutiful";

१५९२ प्रतिपथमेति ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ४२ ॥

प्रतिपथमेति प्रातिपथिकः ॥

1592. The affix **ठञ्** as well as **ठक** comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes.'

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रातिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठञ् does not.

१५९३ । समवायान्समवैति । ४ । ४ । ४३ ॥

सामवायिकः । सामूहिकः ॥

1593. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there.'

Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामजिकः, सामूहिकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

Note:—The word समवाय means combination, collection &c. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sûtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming together.

१५९४ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । ४४ ॥

परिषदं समवैति पारिषद्यः ॥

1594. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषदं समवैति = पारिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

१५९५ । सेनाया वा । ४ । ४ । ४५ ॥

ण्यः स्यान्पक्षे ठक् । सैन्यः । सैनिकाः ॥

1195. The affix एय comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word senâ.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus सेनां समवैति = सैन्यः or सैनिकः 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

१५९६ । संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति । ४ । ४ । ४६ ॥

ललाटं पश्यति ललाटिकः सेवकः । कुक्कुटीशब्देन तत्पातार्हः स्वल्पदेशो लक्ष्यते । कौक्कुटिको भिक्षुः ॥

1596. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalâta' and 'kukkuṭî', in the second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus ललाटं पश्यति = ललाटिकः 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also कौक्कुटिकः 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word कुक्कुटी ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the

ground, and hence he is called कौक्कुटिकः ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

१५९७। तस्य धर्म्यम्। ४। ४। ४७॥

आपणस्य धर्म्यमापणिकम् ॥

1597. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्य means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word तस्य shows the case of the word. Thus शुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं = शौल्कशालिकः 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also आकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौल्मिकम ॥

१५९८। अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः। ४। ४। ४८॥

महिष्या धर्म्यं माहिषम। याजमानम ॥

1598. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law', after the word 'mahishî' &c.

This debars ṭhak. Thus महिष्या धर्म्यं = माहिषम् 'the usages of queens.' So याजमानम ॥

I महिषी, 2 प्रजापति, 3 प्रजावति, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ 11 यजमान ॥

१५९९। ऋतोऽञ्। ४। ४। ४९॥

यातुर्धर्म्यं याचम् ॥ नराद्येति वक्तव्यम् *॥ नरस्य धर्म्या नारी ॥ विशसितुरिड्लोपश्चाञ्च वक्तव्यः*॥ विशसितुर्धर्म्यं वैशस्त्रम् ॥ विभाजयितुर्णिलोपश्चाञ्च वाच्य : * ॥ विभाजयितुर्धर्म्यं वैभाजित्रम् ॥

1599. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law', after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus यातु र्धर्म्यम् = याचम् 'the office of a Yâtṛi, i. e. a pilgrim'.

Vârt:—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vârt:—So also after the word विशसितृ, the इट् affix being elided. Thus विशसितृ + अञ् = वैशस्त्रम् ॥

Vârt:—So also after the word विभाजयितृ its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितृ + अञ् = वैभाजित्रम् ॥

१६०० । अवक्रयः। ४। ४। ५०॥

षष्ठ्यन्तादट्ठक् स्यादवक्रयेऽर्थे। आपणस्यावक्रय आपणिकः। राजग्राह्यं द्रव्यमवक्रयः ॥

1600. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax', after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means, 'Government-tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent &c coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase., Thus आपणस्य अवक्रयः = आपणिकः ॥

Note :—Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

१६०१ । तदस्य पण्यम् । ४ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपूपाः पण्यमस्य आपूपिकः ॥

1601. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपाः पण्यं अस्य = आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.'

१६०२ । लवणाट्ठञ् । ४ । ४ । ५२ ॥

लावणिकः ॥

1602. The affix **ठञ्** comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavaṇa.'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

१६०३ । किसरादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । ५३ ॥

किसरं पण्यमस्य किसरिकः । स्त्रियान्ङीष् । किसरिकी । किसर, उशीर, नलद इत्यादि । किसरादयः सर्वे सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषवाचिनः ॥

1603. The affix **छन्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किसर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किशराः पण्यमस्य = कैशरिकः f कैशरिकी (IV. 1. 41) नैरदिकः f नैरदिकी ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicatory ष ॥

1 किसर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्थागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उशीर 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी ॥ All these words denote different kinds of sweet scents.

१६०४ । शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५४ ॥

छन्स्यात् पक्षे ठक् । शालालुकः । शालालुकी । शलालुकः । शलालुकी । शलालुः सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषः ॥

1604. The affix **छन्** comes optionally, in the case of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'śalâlun'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. शलालु is a kind of

sweet scent. Thus शालालु पण्यमस्य = शैलालुकः f. शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative with ठक्, शालालुकः ; f. शालालुकी ॥

१६०५। शिल्पम् । ४ । ४ । ५५ ॥

मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य मार्दङ्गिकः ॥

1605. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose art', after a word denoting art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मार्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mṛidaṅga drum".

१६०६। मड्डुकझर्झराद्णन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५६ ॥

मड्डुकवादनं शिल्पमस्य माड्डुकः । माड्डुकिकः । झार्झरः । झार्झरिकः ॥

1606. The affix **अण्** comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose art', after the words 'maḍḍuka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मड्डुकवादनं शिल्पमस्य = माड्डुकः or माड्डुकिकः, so also झार्झरः and झार्झरिकः ॥

१६०७। प्रहरणम् । ४ । ४ । ५७ ॥

तदस्येत्येव । असिः प्रहरणमस्य आसिकः । धानुष्कः ॥

1607. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the first case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणमस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So धानुष्कः ॥

१६०८। परश्वधाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ५८ ॥

पारश्वधिकः ॥

1608. The affix **ठञ्** as well as **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after the word **परश्वध** ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus पारश्वधिकः or पारश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

१६०९। शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक् । ४ । ४ । ५९ ॥

शाक्तीकः । याष्टीकः ॥

1609. The affix **ईकक्** comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'śakti' and 'yaṣṭi'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणमस्य = शाक्तिकः, So also यष्टीकः ॥

१६१० । अस्ति नास्ति दिष्टं मतिः । ४ । ४ । ६० ॥

तदस्येत्येव । अस्ति परलोक इत्येवं मतिर्यस्य स आस्तिकः । नास्तीति मतिर्यस्य स नास्तिकः । दिष्टमिति मतिर्यस्य स दैष्टिकः ॥

1610. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nâsti' and 'dishta',

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिकः 'who believes that it is' i. e. the here-after exists.' नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

Note :—The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

१६११ । शीलम् । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य आपूपिकः ॥

1611. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य = आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'.

Note:—The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

१६१२ । छत्रादिभ्यो णः । ४ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गुरोर्दोषाणामावरणं छत्रं तच्छीलमस्य छात्रः ॥

1612. The affix **ण** comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this' after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the weaknesses of the teacher'.

Note:—The word स्था occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga ; thus आस्था संस्था, अवस्था &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुरिव छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्यश्छत्रवत् छाद्यः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुश्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्था (आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 क्षुरा, 7 तितिक्षा*, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (ऋषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विश्वधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत,

15 विशिखा*, 16 विशिका (शिविका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 उदस्थाम*, 19 पुरोडा (!)*, 20 विक्षा*, 21 चुक्षा*, 22 मन्द्र ।

१६१३ । कामंस्ताच्छील्ये । ६ । ४ । १७२ ॥

कार्मं इति ताच्छील्ये णे टिलोपो निपात्यते । कर्मशीलः कार्मः । नस्तद्धिते इत्येव सिद्धे अणकार्ये ताच्छीलिके णेऽपि । तेन चौरी तापसीत्यादि सिद्धम । ताच्छील्ये किम् । कार्मणः ॥

1613. **कार्मं** is irregularly formed from **कर्मन्**, by the elision of the final **अन्**, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or proficient therein'.

This is formed by **ण** affix (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144 S. 679 the form **कार्मं** is regularly evolved. The fact is, that **ण्** and **अण्** affixes, in the sense of tâchchhîlika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 would have prevented the elision of the final **अन्** syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim :—**ताच्छीलिके णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥** "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix **अण्**, take place, whenever the affix **ण** is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though **ङीप्** is added to **अण्**-formed words, it is also added to **ण**—formed words, in the feminine : as **चौरी** ; **तापसी** &c. The **ण** taught in V. 2. 101 S. 1908 and III. 1. 140, S. 2902 is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that ? Observe **कर्मण इदम् = कार्मणम् ॥**

१६१४ । कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

प्रथमान्तात्षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् स्यादध्ययने वृत्ता या क्रिया सा चेत्प्रथमान्तस्यार्थः । ऐकान्यिकः । यस्याध्ययने प्रवृत्तस्य परीक्षाकाले विपरीतोच्चारणरूपं स्खलितमेकं जातं सः ॥

1614. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occuring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vṛittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus **एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्यिकः** 'a pupil who commits one (**एक**) error (**अन्यत्**) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading, is called **ऐकान्यिकः ॥** In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like **ऐकान्यिकः** &c, the whole phrase **अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम्** must be employed.

१६१५ । बह्वल्पपूर्वपदाट्ठञ् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

प्राग्विषये । द्वादशान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तान्यस्य द्वादशान्यिकः । द्वादशापपाठा अस्य जाता इत्यर्थः ॥

1615. The affix ठम् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus :—द्वादशान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वादशान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So चतुर्दशान्यिकः चतुर्दशान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sûtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udâtta, or *vice versa*.

१६१६ । हितं भक्षाः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अपूपभक्षणं हितमस्मै आपूपिकः ॥

1616. The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

Thus अपूपभक्षणं हितमस्मै = आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

Note :—The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, S. 570 Vart). But the sûtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this *for whom* is wholesome diet'. The best way, however, to remove this objection is to read sûtras 65, and 66 in this wise :

65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and 66 दीयते नियुक्तं ॥

१६१७ । तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अग्रभोजनं नियतं दीयते अस्मै आग्रभोजनिकः ॥

1617. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given rightfully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अग्रे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आग्रभोजनिकः 'a Brâhmana always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'.

Note :—Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नित्यं 'always'. According to them आपूपिकः would mean अपूपा नित्यमस्मै दीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

१६१८ । आणामांसौदनाट्टिठन् । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

आणा नियुक्तं दीयतेऽस्मै आणिकः । आणिकी । मांसौदनमहणं संघातविगृहीतार्थम् । मांसौदनिकः । मांसिकः । ओदनिकः ॥

1618. The affix ठिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसौदन ॥

This ठिठन् debars ठक् ॥ The इ of ठि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ठ् indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आणिकः f. आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसौदनिकः f. मांसौदनिकी ॥ The affix ठिठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. (But ठञ् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which ठिठन् does not). Thus ओदन्+ठिठन्=ओदनिकः f. ओदनिकी ॥ With ठञ् the form would have been औदनिकः which is not wanted.

Note:—The difference between ठक् and ठिठन् is in accent, the former having udâtta on the final (VI. I. 165) the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of ठक् and ठिठन् will both be formed by ङीप् (IV. I. 15). Now the affix ठञ् resembles ठिठन् both in accent (VI. I. 197) and in feminine (IV. I. 15). Why was not ठञ् used instead of ठिठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same form? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसौदन the affix ठञ् might have been employed instead of ठिठन् ॥

The words आणा is Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook.' The आ is not changed to भृ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nishṭhâ त is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form आता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is शृतं = क्षीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

१६१९ । भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

पक्षे ठक् । भक्तमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते भाक्तः । भाक्तिकः ॥

1619. The affix comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भाक्तः ॥ In the alternative भाक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' 'i. e. a retainer.'

१६२० । तत्र नियुक्तः । ४ । ४ । ६९ ॥

आकरे नियुक्त आकरिकः ॥

1620. The affix ठक comes, in the sense 'of appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus आकरे नियुक्तः = आकरिकः 'a superintendent of the mines.'

Note:—The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by II. 1. 46.

S. 723 The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. 4. 66, S. 1617 hence its repetition here,

१६२१ । अगारान्ताट्ठन् । ४ । ४ । ७० ॥

देवागारे नियुक्तो देवागारिकः ॥

1621. The affix **ठन्** comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra.'

This debars ठक्। The difference is in accent and want of Vṛiddhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः ॥

१६२२ । अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् । ४ । ४ । ७१ ॥

निषिद्धदेशकालवाचकाट्ठक् स्याद्ध्येतरि । श्मशानेऽधीते श्माशानिकः । चतुर्दश्यामधीते चातुर्दशिकः ॥

1622. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्माशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातुर्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.'

Note :—Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe सुप्तेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्णेऽधीते ॥

१६२३ । कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति । ४ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । वंशकठिने व्यवहरति वांशकठिनिकः । वंशा वेणवः कठिना यस्मिन्देशे स वंशकठिनस्तस्मिन्देशे या क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठतीत्यर्थः । प्रास्तारिकः । सांस्थानिकः ॥

1623. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kaṭhina, and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket.' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्देशे या क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठति ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

१६२४ । निकटे वसति । ४ । ४ । ७३ ॥

नैकटिको भिक्षुः ॥

1624. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikaṭa.'

Thus निकटे वसति = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic, because a sannyâsî lives *near* the city, and enters the city only for the sake of begging, but does not live therein."

Note :—This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away fro n human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations.

१६२५ । आवसथात् ष्ठल् । ४ । ४ । ७४ ॥

आवसथे वसति आवसथिकः । स्त्रियाङ्ङीष् आवसथिकी ।
आकर्षात्पर्पादेर्भस्त्रादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।
आवसथात्किसरादेः षितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥
षडिति सूत्रषट्केन विहिता इत्यर्थः । प्रत्ययास्तु सप्त ॥

1625. The affix ष्ठल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ल् of ष्ठल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193 S. 3676), the ष् is for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः who dwells in a house' i. e. a house-holder as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1 S. 1548. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

The ष of ष्ठल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sûtra IV. 4. 7 S. 1555. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् पर्पादेर्भस्त्रादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च, आवसथात् किसरादेः षितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥ In the six sûtras IV. 4. 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, S. 1557, 1558, 1566, 1581, 1625, and 1603 the affixes have indicatory 'sh' i. e. they are part of the affix.' Though the sûtras are six, the number of affixes taught therein is seven. Here ष being इत्, the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV.1. 41).

Here ends the chapter on Thagadhikâra.

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अथ तद्धित प्राग्घितीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXI.

PRÂG-GHITÎYA AFFIXES.

१६२६ । प्राग्घिताद्यत् । ४ । ४ । ७५ ॥

तस्मैहितमित्यतः प्राक् यदधिक्रियते ॥

1626. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V. 1. 5. S. 1665), the affix **यत्** bears rule.

Note :—Thus in the next sûtra **तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम्** we must read the affix **यत्** ॥ **रथ्यः, युग्यः, प्रासङ्गः** ॥

१६२७ । तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् । ४ । ४ । ७६ ॥

रथं वहति रथ्यः । युग्यः । वत्सानां दमनकाले स्कन्धे यत् काष्ठमासज्यते स प्रासङ्गः । के वहति प्रासङ्गपः ॥

1627. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prâsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus **रथं वहति = रथ्यः** 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly **युग्यः** 'a yoke-bearing ox', **प्रासंग्यः** 'being trained in a break'. **प्रासङ्गः** is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking.

Note :—This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as **परमरथ्यः** ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 S. 1501, 1503. also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or **वोढृ** therefore **रथस्य वोढृ** will get the affix **यत्** by IV. 2. 120. S. 1500 read with IV. 3. 121. S. 1501. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 88 1. S. 1080.

Thus **द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथ्यः** ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. S. 1501. The word **युग्य** has been already formed by the krit affix (III. 1. 121, S. 2873), that **युग्य** differs from the present in accent, when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by **ण्यप्** and this is by **यत्**, and therefore by VI. 2. 156 S. 3890, **अयुग्यैम** will be finally acute when formed by **यत्** ॥ The word **युगं** must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here **युगं वहति राजा कलिं द्वापरं वा** ॥

१६२८ । धुरो यड्ढकौ । ४ । ४ । ७७ ॥

हलि चति दीर्घे प्राप्ते ॥

1628. The affixes यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', alter the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction.

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 S. 354. is prevented by the next sûtra, because धुर is a Bha-stem, or धौरेयं (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'a beast of burden'.

Note :—This sûtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75. S. 1626.

१६२९ । न भ कुर्छुराम् । ८ । २ । ७९ ॥

भस्य कुर्छुरोश्चोपधाया दीर्घो न स्यात् । धुर्यः । धौरेयः ॥

1629. The lengthening of the vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77. S. 354, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or व् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कुर् and छुर् ॥

Thus धुर्यः (धुरं वहति IV. 4, 77. S. 1628 or धुरि साधुः) ॥ Or धौरेयः with ढक्.

Note :—Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र् or व्? Observe प्रतिदीन्ना, प्रतिदीन्ने ॥ For here the stem which ends in न् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in न् but in न्न् ॥

१६३० । खः सर्वधुरात् । ४ । ४ । ७८ ॥

सर्वधुरं वहतीति सर्वधुरीणः ॥

1630. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475).

Note :—The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49 S. 726), the samâsânta अ being added by V. 4. 74 S. 940. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26 S. 812. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sûtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulating the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sûtra should be taken as a nominal stem or prâtipadika equal to सर्वधुरा ॥

१६३१ । एकधुराल्लुक्च । ४ । ४ । ७९ ॥

एकधुरं वहति एकधुरीणः । एकधुरः ॥

1631. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhura' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरम् वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥

Note:—The compounding is taddhitârtha (एकां धुरां वहति) to which is added the samâsânta अ and then the affix ख ॥

१६३२ । शकटादण् । ४ । ४ । ८० ॥

शकटं वहति शाकटो गौः ॥

1632. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word **शकट** in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car.

Note:—This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शाकटस्य वोढृ = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88 .S. 1080)

१६३३ । हलसीराट्ठक् । ४ । ४ । ८१ ॥

हलं वहति हालिकः । सैरिकः ॥

1633. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'hala' and 'sîra', in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हालिकः 'a ploughman,' सैरिकः 'a plough ox'.

Note:—The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, S. 1504 the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहालिकः, द्वैसीरिकः ॥

१६३४ । सञ्ज्ञायां जन्या । ४ । ४ । ८२ ॥

जनी वधूः तां वहति प्रापयति जन्या ॥

1634. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'what bears it after the word 'janî,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus जनीं वहति = जन्यः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्या 'a bride's-maid.' The word जनी means 'bride.' जन्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c.

Kâlidâsa has used it in the sense of the bearers of the vehicle in which the bride goes. As यानेति जन्यानवदत् कुमारीं ॥

१६३५ । विध्यत्यधनुषा । ४ । ४ । ८३ ॥

द्वितीयान्ताद्विध्यतीत्यर्थे यत्स्यान्न चेत्तत्र धनुः करणम् । पादौ विध्यन्ति पद्याः शर्कराः ॥

1635. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it', after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पद्याः (VI. 3. 53, S. 991) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles.

Note:—Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुंविध्यति ॥

१६३६ । धनगणं लब्धा । ४ । ४ । ८४ ॥

तृन्नन्तमेतत् । धनं लब्धा धन्यः । गणं लब्धा गण्यः ॥

1636. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gaṇa,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्धृ is formed from √लभ् by तृन्, hence it takes the accusative.

१६३७ । अन्नाण्णः । ४ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अन्नं लब्धा आन्नः ॥

1637. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed,' 'who has obtained food.'

१६३८ । वशं गतः । ४ । ४ । ८६ ॥

वश्यः परेच्छानुचारी ॥

1638. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vaśa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वंशगतः = वश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

१६३९ । पदमस्मिन्दृश्यम् । ४ । ४ । ८७ ॥

पद्याः कर्दमः । नातिशुष्क इत्यर्थः ॥

1639. The affix यत् comes after the word 'pada,' in the sense of 'in it is visible,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन्=पद्यः कर्दमः 'mud' literally, soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot.

Note:—So पद्याः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means शक्यते द्रष्टुम् this having the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

१६४० । मूलमस्याबर्हि । ४ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आबर्हणमाबर्हि उत्पाटनं तदस्यास्तीत्याबर्हि । मूलमाबर्हि येषां ते मूल्या मुद्गाः ॥

1640. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mûla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबर्हि from √बृह् 'to uproot,' means 'uprooting,'=उत्पाटनं ॥ मूलमेषामाबर्हि=मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. माषा मुद्गाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant.

Note:—According to Padamañjari the word should be आवर्हि and not आबर्हि, with a व and not ब ॥

१६४१ । संज्ञायां धेनुष्या । ४ । ४ । ८९ ॥

धेनुशब्दस्य षुगागमो यत् प्रत्ययश्च स्वार्थे निपात्यते संज्ञायाम् । धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता ॥

1641. The word **धेनुष्या** is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding षुक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udâtta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतदुग्धा ॥ As धेनुष्यां भवते दद्यामि ॥ See Amarakosha II. 9. 72. "धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता" ॥

१६४२ । गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ञ्यः । ४ । ४ । ९० ॥

गृहपतिर्यजमानस्तेन संयुक्तो गार्हपत्योऽग्निः ॥

1642. The affix **ञ्य** comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'grihapati' in the third case in construction.

The word grihapati means 'sacrificer'. Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः=गार्हपत्यः 'the Gârhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder.

Note:—The word संज्ञायां of the last sûtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in

which husband (gṛihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gârhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshinâgni. Or that fire in which Gṛihapati hymns are recited is called Gârhapatya.

१६४३। नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यसमसमितसम्मितेषु। ४। ४। ९१॥

नावा तार्यं नाव्यम्। वयसा तुल्यो वयस्यः। धर्मेण प्राप्यं धर्म्यम्। विषेण वध्यो विष्यः। मूलेन आनाम्यं मूल्यम्। मूलेन समो मूल्यः। सीतया समितं सीत्यं क्षेत्रम्। तुलया सम्मितं तुल्यम्॥

1643. The affix **यत्** comes after the words **नौ** 'a boat', **वयस्** 'age', **धर्म** 'merit', **विष** 'poison', **मूल** 'a root', **मूल** 'capital', **सीता** 'a furrow', and **तुला** 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that they should be so. Thus :—

1. **नावा तार्यम्** = **नाव्यम्** 'water' 'a river', literally, what can be crossed by a boat.

2. **वयसा तुल्यः** = **वयस्यः** 'a friend', lit, one alike in age.

3. **धर्मेण प्राप्यम्** = **धर्म्यम्** 'what is attainable through dharma'.

Note :—Could not this form have been evolved by the next sûtra **धर्मादनपेते** (IV. 4. 92 S. 1644)? No, **धर्म्यम्** formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present **धर्म्य** refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.

4. **विषेण वध्यः** = **विष्यः** 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.

5. **मूलेनानाम्यम्** = **मूल्यम्** "price" lit. or "to be overpowered or bent by the root".

Note :—The word **आनाम्य** (which is formed from the root **नम्** 'to bow' by the affix **ण्यत्** contrary to rule III. 1. 98 S. 2844 which required **यत्**), means **अभिभवनीयम्** 'what ought to be overpowered': hence **मूल्यम्** means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (**मूल**); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mûlyam, the capital or mûla is overpowered.

6. **मूलेन समः** = **मौल्यः** 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth **पटः** i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. **सीतया समितं** = **सीत्यं** 'a field', lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne.

Note:—The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kâśikâ. सीत्यं therefore, literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्यं उत्तमसीत्यं, द्विसीत्यं ॥

8. तुलया सम्मितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit, 'meted out by the balance'. सम्मित means समानं, सदृशं ॥

१६४४ । धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते । ४ । ४ । ९२ ॥

धर्मादनपेतं धर्म्यम् । पथ्यम् । अर्थ्यम् । न्याय्यम् ॥

1644. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyâya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sûtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रियात् पथो यदनपेतं तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतदचोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit', न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.'

Note:—The word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89 S 1641) governs this sûtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

१६४५ । छन्दसो निर्मिते । ४ । ४ । ९३ ॥

छन्दसा निर्मितं छन्दस्यम् । इच्छया कृतमित्यर्थः ॥

1645. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

१६४६ । उरसोऽण् च । ४ । ४ । ९४ ॥

चाद्यत् । उरसा निर्मितः पुत्र औरसः । उरस्यः ॥

1646. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras,' in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sûtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = औरसः 'own son, not an adopted son,' lit. "produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89.) governs this sûtra also.

१६४७। हृदयस्यप्रियः। ४। ४। ६५॥

हृद्यो देशः। हृदयस्य हृल्लेखेति हृदादेशः॥

1647. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hṛidaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus **हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः** (VI. 3. 50 S. 988) 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. **हृद्यो देशः हृद्यं वनम्॥**

Note:—But we cannot say **हृद्यः पुत्रः**, the word **संज्ञायां** (IV. 4. 99 S. 1641) governs this sûtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

१६४८। बन्धने चर्षौ। ४। ४। ६६॥

हृदयशब्दात् षष्ठ्यन्ताद्बन्धने यत् स्याद्वेदेऽभिधेये। हृदयस्य बन्धनं हृद्यो वशीकरणमन्त्रः॥

1648. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hṛidaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word **हृदयस्य** is understood in the sûtra. The word **बन्धन** gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word **ऋषि॥** That by which a thing is bound is called **बन्धनं॥** The word **ऋषि** means here the Veda or the Vaidic hymn. Thus **हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषिः = हृद्यः** 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a **वशीकरन मन्त्रः॥**

१६४९। मतजनहलात्करणजल्पकर्षेषु। ४। ४। ६७॥

मतं ज्ञानं तस्य करणं भावः साधनं वा मत्यम्। जनस्य जल्पो जन्यः। हलस्य कर्षो हल्यः॥

1649. The affix **यत्** comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the sense respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus **मतस्य करणं = मत्यः** 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. Mata means knowledge. **जनस्य जल्पः = जन्यः** 'a rumour'. **हलस्य कर्षः = हल्यः** ploughed'.

Note:—So also **द्विहल्यः, त्रिहल्यः** the tadanta vidhi applies **रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ॥**

१६५० तत्र साधुः। ४। ४। ६८॥

अग्रे साधुः अग्र्यः। सामसु साधुः सामन्यः। ये चाभावकर्मणोरिति प्रकृतिभावः। कर्मण्यः। शरण्यः॥

1650. The affix **यत्** comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard hereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः = सामन्यः (The अन् remains unchanged by VI. 4. 168 S. 1154) 'conversant with the Sâma-Veda'. So also कर्मण्यः, शरण्यः &c. The साधुः here means प्रवीणः, or योग्य, 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारकः 'a benefactor or a good person'.

Note :—When the sense is that of 'good', the sûtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

१६५१ । प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् । ४ । ४ । ९९ ॥

प्रतिजनं साधुः प्रातिजनीनः । सांयुगीनः । सार्वजनीनः । वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1651. The affix **खञ्** comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto,' after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः = प्रातिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'suitable against an adversary' or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also सांयुगीनः, सार्वजनीनः, वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इवंयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन ॥

१६५२ । भक्ताण्णः । ४ । ४ । १०० ॥

भक्ते साधवो भाक्ताः शालयः ॥

1652. The affix **ण** comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta',

This debars यत् । Thus, भक्ते साधवः = भाक्ता शालयः 'rice,' lit. suitable or excellent for food'.

१६५३ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । १०१ ॥

पारिषद्यः । परिषद इति योगविभागाण्णोऽपि । पारिषदः ॥

1653. The affix **ण्य** comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishad' (as well as **ण**).

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here by the method of splitting up a single sûtra into two. Thus (1) परिषदः and (2) ण्यः ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council', 'a minister'.

१६५४ । कथादिभ्यष्ठक् । ४ । ४ । १०२ ॥

कथायां साधुः काथिकः ॥

1654. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'execellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः = काथिकः (कथा + ठक् = कथ् + ठक् VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = काथ् + इक (VII. 2. 116 S. 2282) 'a narrator of stories'.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा *, 4 संकथा *, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ठ विद्, कुष्ठचित्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद * (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संग्रह (सङ्ग्रह), 12 गुण 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेदः ॥

१६५५। गुडादिभ्यष्ठञ्। ४। ४। १०३ ॥

गुडे साधुर्गौडिक इक्षुः। सक्तुका यवः ॥

1655. The affix **ठञ्** comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guḍa &c.'

This debars **यत्** ॥ Thus **गुडे साधुः = गौडिकः** 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. **सक्तुकः** 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संग्राम, 9 संघात, 10 संक्राम *, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास ॥

१६५६। पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्ढञ्। ४। ४। १०४ ॥

पथि साधु पाथेयम्। आतिथेयम्। वसनं वसतिस्तत्र साधुर्वासतेयी रात्रिः। स्वापतेयं धनम् ॥

1656. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars **यत्** ॥ Thus **पथि साधुः = पाथेयम्** (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'provision for journey'. **आतिथेयम्** 'hospitality', **वासतेयं** 'habitable' as **वासतेयी रात्रिः**, **स्वापतेयम** 'wealth, property'.

१६५७। सभाया यः। ४। ४। १०५ ॥

सभ्यः ॥

1657. The affix **यत्** comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars **यत्** the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3 S. 3708 and VI. 1. 185). Thus **सभायां साधुः = सभ्यः** 'refined' lit. fit for society.

१६५८। समानतीर्थे वासी। ४। ४। १०७ ॥

साधुरिति निवृत्तम् ॥ वसतीति वासी। समाने तीर्थे गुरौ वसतीति सतीर्थ्यः ॥

1658. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'resident therein', after the word 'samâna-tîrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛitti of **साधुः** now ceases. The word **तीर्थ** means here **गुरु** 'Preceptor'. Thus **समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थ्यः** (VI. 3. 87 S. 1015)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

१६५९। समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः। ४। ४। १०८ ॥

समाने उदरे शयितः स्थितः समानोदर्यो भ्राता ॥

1659. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sâmânodara' in the locative construction, and the udâtta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सामानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88 S. 1016.

१६६० । सोदराद्यः । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

सोदर्यः । अर्थः प्राग्वत् ॥

1660. The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sûtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udâtta, as it was in the last; the udâtta here falls on य ॥

Here ends the chapter on Pragghitîya.

:o:

अथ तद्धितछयट्विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE AFFIXES छ and यत् ।

१६६१ । प्राक् क्रीताच्छः । ५ । १ । १ ॥

तेन क्रीतमित्यतः प्राक् छोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1661. From this sûtra forward up to 'tena-krîtam' V. 1. 37 S. 1702 the affix 'chha' bears rule.

Note:—The affix छ has the various senses taught in these thirty-seven Sûtras V. 1. 1 to 37 S. 1702. Thus in the Sûtra तस्मैहितं 'suitable for that', V. 1. 5 S. 1665 the word छ must be read to complete the sense. Thus वत्सेभ्योहितो=वत्सीयो गोधुक्; करभीय उष्ट्रः, अकरभीयः, भवत्सीयः ॥ The limitation of the jurisdiction of छ has been indicated in the sûtra with regard to the meaning of the affix, and not with regard to the affix. As an affix, छ has no force beyond V. 1. 17, S. 1679 the affix ढञ् being the ruling affix thereafter.

१६६२ । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । २ ॥

प्राक् क्रीतादित्येव । उवर्णान्ताद्गवादिभ्यश्च यत्स्याच्छस्यापवादः । नाभि नभं च * ॥ नभ्योऽक्षः । नभ्यमञ्जनम् । रथनाभावेवेदम् ॥ शुनः संप्रसारणं वा च दीर्घत्वम् * ॥ शून्यम् । शुन्यम् । ऊधसोऽनङ् च * ॥ ऊधन्यः ॥

1662. The affix 'yat' comes after a prâtipadika ending with उ (long or short), and after the words गो and the rest, the senses of the affix being those taught upto Sûtra V. 1. 37 S. 1702.

The senses of Prâk-krîtîya affixes are three, viz those taught in sûtras V. 1. 5, S. 1665 V. 1. 12 S. 1674 and V. 1. 16 S. 1678. This यत् debars छ ॥

Note:—the words सनङ्गुः meaning 'a kind of leather', and चरुः 'a kind of हविः offering', and सक्तुः'a kind of food', all end in उ and are governed by this sûtra, in spite of V. 1. 15 S. 1677 which applies especially to leathers, and V. I. 4 S. 1664, and its vârtika which applies especially to 'offerings' and 'food modifications'. This is an example where a subsequent sûtra does not debar a prior sûtra(I. 4. 2). Thus सनङ्गु + यत्=सनङ्गव्यं चर्म, 'leather fit for making Sanangu', चरु + यत्=चरव्या स्तण्डुलाः 'rice fit for making charu', सक्तु + यत्=सक्तव्या धानाः' 'barley fit for making Saktu',

Gaṇa Sûtra :—नाभि is replaced by नभ when the affix यत् is added. Thus नाभ्यै हितः = नभ्यः meaning अक्षः 'axis, axle' lit. 'fitted for the *nave* of the wheel'; or a wood fit to be made the nave of a wheel or अञ्जनम् the grease.

Note:— When the word नाभि means 'the navel' of a living being, then it will not take this यत्, but it will take the यत् of V. 1. 6 S. 1666. In that case, नभ will not replace नाभि; e. g. नाभि + यत् = नाभ्यम् 'suitable for navel' i, e. oil.

Gaṇa Sûtra :—The word श्वन् takes samprasâraṇa, व being changed to उ, and optionally this उ is lengthened; and the udâtta accent falls on the final. As श्वन् + यत् = शुन्यँम् or श्वन् + यत् = शून्यँम् fit for a dog. Contrary to VI. 4. 144, the न् of श्वन् is not elided before the taddhita affix यत् ॥

Gaṇa Sûtra :—The final of the word ऊधस् is replaced by अनङ्; e. g. ऊधस् + यत् = ऊध् + अन + य = ऊधन्यः कूपः 'a well'.

1 गो, 2 हविस्, 3 अक्षर, 4 विष, 5 बर्हिस्, 6 अष्टका, 7 स्खदा (स्खदा), 8 युग, 9 मेधा 10 स्रुच् (स्रक्), 11 नाभि नभं च, 12 शुनः संप्रसारणं वा च दीर्घत्वं तत्संनियोगेन चान्तोदात्तम 13 ऊधसोऽनङ्च, 14 कूप*, 15 खद*, 16 दर (उदर), 17 खर18 असुर*, 19 अध्वन (अध्वन; अध्वा) 20 स्तर*, 21 वेद*, 22 बीज*, 23 दीप्* (दीस) 24 स्कन्द ॥

१६६३ । कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ३ ॥

वत्स्यात् । कम्बल्यमूर्णापलशतम् । संज्ञायां किम् । कम्बलीया ऊर्णा ॥

1663. The affix यत् comes in the Prâk-krîtîya senses, after the word 'kambala', when a name is meant.

This debars 'chha'. Thus कम्बल + यत् = कम्बल्यं 'A kambalya-measure of wool' = 100 Palas of wool. This is the name of a measure, such as कम्बल्यमूर्णा पलशतम ॥

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe कम्बलीया ऊर्णा "wool" lit. 'fit for making blanket', which is formed by छ ॥

१६६४ । विभाषा हविरपूपादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ४ ॥

आमिक्ष्यं दधि । आमिक्षीयम् । पुरोडाश्यास्तण्डुलाः । पुरोडाशीयाः । अपूप्यम् । अपूपीयम् ॥

1664. The affix यत् comes optionally after the words denoting, 'offering,' and after "apûpa &c," in the sense of Prak-krîtîya.

Thus आमिक्ष्यं दधि, "fit for making आमिक्षा" i.e. curd :—or आमिक्षीयं with छ ॥ So also पुरोडाश्याः or पुरोडाशीया स्तण्डुलाः, 'suitable for making Purodâśa' i. e. a kind of rice.

Note:— The word हवि occurs in the गवादि class (V. 1. 2. S. 1662) and it necessarily take यत् there being no option. The हवि here, therefore, means things denoting sacrificial offerings, and not the word-form 'havi.'

So also after अपूपादि, as अपूप्यम् or अपूपीयम् ॥

1 अपूप, 2 तण्डुल, 3 (अभ्यूष), 4 अभ्योष, 5 अवोष, 6 अभ्येष, 7 पृथुक, 8 ओदन, 9 सूप, 10 पूप, 11 किण्व, 12 प्रदीप, 13 मुसल, 14 कटक, 15 कर्णवेष्टक, 16 इर्गल,* 17 अर्गल, 18 अन्नविकारेभ्यश्च, 19 यूप,* 20 स्थूणा, 21 दीप (पीप), 22 अश्व, 23 पत्र, 24 कट, 25 अयः स्थूण,

Gaṇa Sûtra:—The affix यत् comes optionally after words denoting modifications of food: such as सक्तु॥ In the case of 'saktu' however, no option is allowed. See V. 1. 2 S. 1662.

१६६५। तस्मै हितम्। ५। १। ५॥

वत्सेभ्यो हितो वत्सीयो गोधुक्। शङ्कवे हितं शङ्कव्यं दारु। गव्यम्। हविष्यम्॥

1665. An affix comes after a word in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of 'good for that.'

Thus वत्सेभ्यो हितो गोधुक्=वत्सीयः 'fit for calves' i. e. a cow-milker. So also शङ्कवे हितं=शङ्कु+यत्=शङ्कव्य (VI. 4. 146, S. 847. VI. 1. 79 S. 63). As शङ्कव्यं दारु, 'wood', 'fit for a stake' गव्यम्; हविष्यम्॥

१६६६। शरीरावयवाद्यत्। ५। १। ६॥

दन्त्यम्। कण्ठ्यम्। * नस् नासिकायाः॥ नस्यम्। नास्यम्॥

1666. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after a word denoting a part of the body.

The word शरीर means animal organism. This debars छ, thus, दन्त्यम् 'good for the teeth.' कण्ठ्यम्, ओष्ठ्यम्, नास्यम्, नस्यम् such as dentrifice, snuff, oil &c. See VI. 1. 213.

Vârt:—The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and तस्, and the word क्षुद्र follow: as, नस्यम्, नस्तः, नस् क्षुद्रः॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3. 55 S. 1430 and V. 1. 6 S. 1666; तस् is taught in V. 4. 45 S. 2126.

The word शिरस् 'head', is also governed by this rule, but शिरस् is replaced by शीर्षन् before यत् by the next sûtra.

१६६७। ये च तद्धिते। ६। १। ६१॥

यादौ तद्धिते परे शिरशब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशः स्यात्। शीर्षण्यः। तद्धिते किम्। शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति॥ वा केशेषु *॥ शीर्षण्याः शिरस्याः वा केशाः। अचि शीर्ष इति वाच्यम्॥ अजादौ तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षादेशः। स्थूलशिरस इदं स्थौलशीर्षम्॥

1667. There is the substitution of शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here, from the preceding Ashṭâdhyâyî sûtra. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sûtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस्॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि मुख्यो भवति, शीर्षण्यः स्वरः॥ The affix यत् is here added

by V. 1. 6 S. 1666. The word शीर्षन् retains its original form before this affix यत्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vârt :—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्षण्याः केशाः or शिरस्याः केशाः ॥

Vârt :—There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हास्तिशीर्षिः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इञ् (IV. 1, 96 S. 1096). So also स्थूलशिरस इदम् = स्थौलशीर्षम् ॥

Note :—Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). Again in forming the feminine of हास्तिशीर्षिः by adding ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 78 S 1198), arises this difficulty :—ष्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तिशीर्षिः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61 S. 1667). The form which we get will be this, हास्तिशीर्षिः + ष्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षिण् + य (VI. 1. 61 S.1667) = हास्तिशीर्षिण्या (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हास्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this ? Thus हास्तिशीर्ष + ष्यङ = हास्तिशीर्ष् + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a *zero* or लोपादेश) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthânivat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, S. 1667, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthânivat to इञ् affix.

१६६८ । खलयवमाषतिलवृषब्रह्मणश्च । ५ । १ । ७ ॥

खलाय हितं खल्यम् । यव्यम् । माष्यम् । तिल्यम् । वृष्यम् । ब्रह्मण्यम् । चाद्रव्या ॥

1668. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the word 'khala,' 'yava,' 'mâsha,' 'tila,' 'vṛisha' and 'brahmaṇa.'

This debars छ ॥ Thus खल्यम् "suitable for threshing floor". So also यव्यम्, माष्यम्, तिल्यम्, वृष्यम्, or ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥

Note :—No secondary derivatives can, however, be formed of the following वृषभ्यो हितम् । ब्राह्मणेभ्यो हितम् ; the full phrases must be used in these cases, for these words take neither छ nor यत् though वृष is = वृषन् and ब्रह्मन् is = ब्राह्मण ॥

The word च in the sûtra indicates that the rule applies to words other than those enumerated. Thus रथाय हिता = रथ्या ॥

१६६९ । अजाविभ्यां थ्यन् । ५ । १ । ८ ॥

अजघ्या यूथिः। अविघ्या॥

1669. The affix घ्यन् comes in the senes of 'good for that,' after the words 'aja 'and 'avi.'

This debars 'chha.' Thus अजघ्या यूथिः 'the yellow jasmine called yûthi.' अविघ्या यूथिः॥

१६७०। आत्मन्विश्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात्खः। ५। १। ९॥

1670. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the words 'âtman,' and 'viśvajana' and after compounds having the word 'bhoga' as their second term.

This debars छ॥ In the sûtra, the न् of आत्मन् has not been elided, indicating that it should not be compounded with the word भोग which would have been the case otherwise. It therefore follows from this irregular construction of the sûtra, that the word भोगोत्तरपद does not apply to the words आत्मन् and विश्वजन, but these words are themselves prakṛiti. Thus आत्मन्+ख= आत्मनीनम् 'suitable for one's self' the न् of âtman, which required to be elided by VI. 4. 149 S 679, is saved by the next sûtra.

१६७१। आत्माध्वानौ खे। ६। ४। १६९॥

एतौ खे प्रकृत्या स्तः। आत्मने हितमात्मनीनम्। विश्वजनीनम्। कर्मधारयोदेवेष्यते *॥ षष्ठीतत्पुरुषाद्बहुव्रीहेश्च छ एव। विश्वजनीयम्॥ पञ्चजनादुपसंख्यानम्*॥ पञ्चजनीनम्॥ सर्वजनाट्ठञ् खश्च *॥ सार्वजनिकः। सर्वजनीनः। महाजनाट्ठञ्*। माहाजनिकः। मातृभोगीणः। पितृ भोगीणः। राजभोगीनः॥ आचार्याद्णत्वं च *॥ आचार्यभोगीनः॥

1671. The final of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः (V. 1. 9. S. 1670).

Note :—अध्वानमलङ्गामी (V. 2. 16 S. 1817) अध्वनीनः॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम्॥ The first is formed by the samâsânta affix टच् added to the avyayîbhâva (V. 4. 108 S. 678), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85 S. 953).

So also विश्वजनीनम् 'suitable for all men.' The word विश्वजन must be a karmadhâraya compound, meaning 'all men,' for the application of this rule; when it is a Tatpurusha or a Bahuvrîhî compound, it will take छ॥ As, विश्वजनाय हितं = विश्वजनीयम् 'beneficial for man-kind.'

Vârt:—So also after Karmadhâraya Compound पंचजन, e, g, पंचजनीनम्, otherwise पंचजनीयम्॥

Vârt:—After the Karmadhâraya compound सर्वजन, there are the affixes ठञ् and ख, as सर्वजनीनं and सर्वजनिकम्; otherwise सार्वजनीयम्॥

Vârt:— The affix ठञ comes always after the word महाजन whether it be a Karmadhâraya or a Tatpurusha, but not so when it is a Bahuvrîhi Com-

pound. As महाजनाय हितं माहाजनिकं ॥ In a Bahuvrîhi it will be महाजनीयः with छ ॥

Compounds having भोग as their final term also take the affix ख. as, मातृभोगीणः and पितृभोगीणः ॥ The word भोग means 'body. But मात्रीयः and पित्र्यः with छ, when the word भोग does not follow.

Vârt :—The words राजा and आचार्य followed by 'bhoga' take always the affix ख, as राजभोगीनः and आचार्यभोगीनः ॥

Gaṇa sûtra :—In the case of आचार्यभोगीनः the न is not changed into ण (VIII. 4. 2.) The words do not take the affix ख when used singly. As, राज्ञेहितम्, आचार्याय हितम्, no affix being employed.

१६७२ । सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णढञौ । ५ । १ । १० ॥

सर्वाण्णा वेति वक्तव्यम् * सर्वस्मै हितं सार्वम । सर्वीयम् ॥ पुरुषाद्वधविकारसमूहतेनकृतेषु * ॥ भाष्यकारप्रयोगात्तेनेत्यस्य द्वन्द्वमध्ये निवेशः । पुरुषस्य वधः पौरुषेयः । तस्येदमित्यणि प्राप्ते । पुरुषस्य विकारः पौरुषेयः । प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ् इत्यञि प्राप्ते । समूहेऽण्यणि प्राप्ते । एकाकिनोऽपि परितः पौरुषेयवृता इवेति माघः । तेनकृतेमन्थेऽण्यणि प्राप्ते अमन्थे तु प्रासादादावप्राप्त एवेति विवेकः ॥

1672. The affixes ण and ढञ् come respectively in the sense of 'good for that' after the words 'sarva' and 'purusha'.

Vârt :—The affix ण comes optionally after सर्व as सर्वस्मैहितं = सर्वीयम or सार्वम् ॥

Vârt :—The affix ढञ् comes after पुरुष when the word so formed means : 'slaughter', 'modification', 'a crowd', or 'made by him'.

The word तेन is placed in the middle of the Dvandva, according to the employment of the author of Mahâbhâshya.

Thus पुरुषस्यवधः = पौरुषेयः 'man-slaughter.' Here अण् (IV. 3. 120. S. 1500). is debarred. So also पुरुषस्य विकारः = पौरुषेयः "human." Here अञ् (IV. 3. 154. S. 1532) is debarred.

Similarly in the sense of समूहः "crowd," as in the following line of Mâgha ;—

एकाकिनोऽपि परितः पौरुषेयवृता इव ॥ Here also the अण् of तस्य समूहः is debarred.

So also in the sense of "the book composed," the affix अण् would have come, but this debars it. When the thing made is not a book but "place" &c then no other sûtra applies, and this ordains ढञ् as a vidhi. Thus पौरुषेयो ग्रन्थः "a human book", as opposed to अपौरुषेया वेदाः "the non-human Vedas". So also पौरुषेयः प्रासादः "a man-built palace."

१६७३ । माणवचरकाभ्यां खञ् । ५ । १ । ११ ॥

माणवाय हितं माणवीनम् । चारकीणम् ॥

1673. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'good for that', after the words 'mâṇava', and 'charaka'.

This debars छ ॥ As माणवाय हितं = माणवीनम् ॥ So also चारकीणम् ॥

१६७४। तदर्थविकृतेः प्रकृतौ। ५। १। १२ ॥

विकृतिवाचकाच्चतुर्थ्यन्तात्तदर्थायां प्रकृतौ वाच्यायां छप्रत्ययः स्यात्। अङ्गारेभ्य एतानि अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि। प्राकारीया इष्टकाः। शङ्कव्यं दारु ॥

1674. After a word being the name of a product, the above-mentioned affix छ comes, to denote a thing which is the primitive that is serviceable for that.

Note:—The word प्रकृति means primitive or the material cause of a product. The word विकृति means 'the product' or 'modification of such primitive'. तदर्थ 'serviceable for that' i. e. the primitive being serviceable for the product. The word तदर्थ shows that the primitive must be serviceable for that particular product and nothing else. That is to say, an affix will not come to denote any product in general, but only when the primitive is serviceable for a prticular product and nothing else. The word तदर्थ shows also that the word must be in the 4th case when the affix is added. Some read the words तस्मै हितं also into this sûtra.

Thus अङ्गारेभ्यो हितानि एतानि काष्ठानि = अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि 'wood serviceable for making charcoal;' so also प्राकारीया इष्टकाः 'bricks serviceable for making a wall'. Here अङ्गारीय and प्राकारीय are formed by छ V. 1, 1. S. 1661 Similarly शङ्कव्यं दारु 'wood serviceable for a spear'.

Note:— Why do we say तदर्थम् 'serviceable thereto'? Observe यवानां धानाः, धानानां सक्तवः ॥ Here there is modification of primitive, but सक्तु is the product also of other things than धानाः such as लाजा &c.

Why do we say विकृतेः 'after a product'? Observe उदकार्थः कूपः, there is no affix. For कूपः 'a well' and उदक 'water' do not stand in the relation of प्रकृति and विकृति i. e. material cause and effect. As 'water' is not the modification or product of 'the well' though it is found in the well, and therefore the affix is not employed.

Why do we say प्रकृतौ 'to denote a primitive.' Observe अस्यर्था कोशी 'a sheath serviceable for a sword. The sword is a product of iron, but a sheath is not the primitive of the sword.

By using the words प्रकृति and विकृति it is further shown that the prakriti is liable to modification or vikâra.

१६७५। छदिरुपधिबलेर्ढञ्। ५। १। १३ ॥

छादिषेयाणि तृणानि। बालेयास्तण्डुलाः ॥ उपधिशब्दात्स्वार्थे इष्यते * ॥ उपधीयेत इत्युपधीः रथाङ्गं तदेव औपधेयम् ॥

1675. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'chhadis,' 'upadhi', and 'bali' denoting the product.

This debars छ. Thus छादिषेयाणि तृणानि, बालेयस्तण्डुलाः ॥

Ishti :—The affix comes after the word उपधि without changing the sense. उपधीयत इत्युपधिः=रथांगम् part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference or the wheel itself. The word औपधेयम् also means the same.

१६७६ । ऋषभोपानहोर्ञ्यः । ५ । १ । १४ ॥

छस्यापवादः । आर्षभ्यो वत्सः । औपानह्यो युञ्जः । चर्मण्यप्ययमेव पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन। औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

1676. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'ṛishabha' and 'upânah' denoting the products.

This debars छ ॥

Thus आर्षभ्यो वत्सः. औपानह्यो युञ्जः ॥ Even when the primitive is 'leather चर्म.' the affix 'fiya' will come after उपानह् debarring by anticipation the अञ् of V. I. 15. S. 1677. Thus औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

१६७७ । चर्मणोऽञ् । ५ । १ । १५ ॥

चर्मणो या विकृतिस्तद्वाचकादञ् स्यात् । वध्रयै इदं वार्ध्रं चर्म । वारत्रं चर्म ॥

1677. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after a word expressing the product of leather.

The word चर्मणः in the aphorism is in the genitive case. This अञ् debars छ ॥ Thus वार्ध्रं चर्म and वारत्रं चर्म a leather serviceable for making a 'vârdhra' and 'vâratra' i. e. a leather thong.

१६७८ । तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति । ५ । १ । १६ ॥

प्राकार आसामिष्टकानां स्यात्प्राकारीया इष्टकाः । प्रासादीयं दारु । प्राकारोऽस्मिन् स्यात् प्राकारीयो देशः । इतिशब्दो लौकिकीं विवक्षामनुसरयति । तेनेह न । प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यादिति ॥

1678. The above mentioned affixes come after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive or a locative, when the word in the first case is agent of the verb 'syât';—in other words—the above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of 'very well sufficient there to' and 'very well sufficient to be made therein'.

Note :—The word तद् shows that the word in construction must be in the first case, the words अस्य 'of it' and अस्मिन् 'in it' show the senses of the affix, the word स्यात् 'it can be' qualifies the primitive, the word इति, is for the sake of distinctness.

Thus प्राकार आसाम् इष्टकानां स्यात्=प्राकारीया इष्टकाः 'the bricks sufficient to raise a wall'. So also प्रासादीयं दारु ॥ Similarly प्राकारोऽस्मिन्देशे स्यात्=प्राकारीयो देशः 'place sufficient to make a wall therein'. प्रासादीया भूमिः ॥

Note:—The word स्यात् being in the Potential Mood (विधिलिङ्) of अस् 'to be', has the force of संभावन् 'potentiality, sufficiency' as given in Sûtras III. 3. 154. S. 2811 &c. Such as when the large number of bricks makes it *possible* to raise a wall, we say प्राकार आसामिष्टकानां स्यात् ॥ Similarly when the quality (गुण) of a land, such as its area, situation &c, makes it *possible* to erect a palace therein, we say, प्रासादोऽस्मिन्देशे स्यात् ॥

In the examples under this sûtra, there is no modification (विकार) of the primitive (प्रकृति) into a product, as was the case under sûtra V. 1. 12. S. 1674 The examples under this sûtra show merely the 'adequacy, fitness or sufficiency' of a thing for a certain purpose. Herein lies the difference between this sûtra and the previous ones.

The repetition of the word तद् twice in this sûtra shows the existence of the Grammatical maxim: अनेकस्मिन् प्रत्ययार्थे प्रत्येकं समर्थ विभक्तिः संबन्धनीयः 'when the sense of an affix is more than one, the case in construction to which the affix must be added must be shown in each case.'

Why there is no affixing in this case: प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यात्? The use of इति in the Sûtra would prevent this, the force of इति being that the clasical usage must be looked to in forming these derivatives.

१६७९ । पारिखाया ढञ् । ५ । १ । १७ ॥

पारिखेयी भूमिः ॥

1679. The affix ढञ् comes, after the word 'parikhâ' in the above senses of 'this is sufficient for that', and 'this is sufficient therein'.

This debars छ ॥ Thus पारिखेयी भूमिः 'land sufficient to make a mote thereon'.

Up to this Sûtra was the governing force of the affixes छ and यत् Hereafter another affix will be taught.

Here ends the chapter on छ and यत् affixes.

:o:

अथ तद्धितार्हीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ARHIYA AFFIXES.

१६८० । प्राग्वतेष्ठञ् । ५ । १ । १८ ॥

तेन तुल्यमिति वतिं वक्ष्यति ततः प्राक् ठञधिक्रियते ॥

1680. Upto Sûtra V. 1. 115 S. 1778. (excluding that) the affix **ठञ्** bears rule.

Note :—The affix **ठञ्** governs all the succeeding sûtras upto **तेनतुल्यंक्रिया चेद्वति**, and has the senses given to it in Sûtras V. 1. 37 S. 1702 &c. Strictly speaking the affix **ठञ्** governs only upto V. 1. 110 S. 1773 and not upto 115. Thus in V. 1. 72, the affix **ठञ्** must be read ; as **पारायणिकः, तौरायणिकः, चान्द्रायणिकः** ॥

१६८१ । आर्हादगोपुच्छसंख्यापरिमाणाट्ठक् । ५ । १ । १९ ॥

तदर्हतीत्येतदभिव्याप्य ठञधिकारमध्ये ठञोऽपवादष्ठगधिक्रियते गोपुच्छात्संख्यापरिमाणाच्च वर्जयित्वा ॥

1681. Upto Sûtra V. 1. 63 S. 1728 inclusive, the affix **ठक्** bears rule, 'with the exception of the word 'gopuchchha', or a Numeral, or a word denoting a measure of capacity.

Note :—Strictly speaking **ठक्** governs upto sûtra V. 1. 65. S. 1730. The word **आर्हात्** is made up of **आ + अर्हात्**। The force of **आ** here is **अभिविधि** or inclusive, so that in the Sûtra **तदर्हति** (V. 1. 63.) also, the **ठक्** will be employed. The affix **ठक्** debars **ठञ्** ॥ The sense will be the same as given in V. 1. 37 S. 1702. &c. the difference between **ठक्** and **ठञ्** being in accent only. Thus **निष्कया क्रीतं = नैष्किकम्** । So also **पाणिकम्** ॥

१६८२ । असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । २० ॥

आर्हादित्येतत्तेन क्रीतमिति यावत्सप्तदश सूत्र्यामनुवर्तते । निष्कादिभ्योऽसमासे ठक् स्यादार्हीयेष्वर्थेषु । नैष्किकम् । समासे । तु ठञ् ॥

1682. The affix **ठक्** comes after the words **निष्क** &c, when they are not parts of a compound, the sense of the affix being that taught in the subsequent sûtras upto V. 1. 63, S 1702.

The word **आर्हात्** is understood in the sûtra also. This **ठक्** debars **ठञ्** Thus **नैष्किकम्** ॥

But when it is a part of a compound, then the word निष्क will take the affix ठञ् ॥

Thus परमनिष्क + ठञ् ॥ Here applies the following rule.

Note:—The following seven are nishkâdi words:—1 निष्क, 2 पण, 3 पाद, 4 भाष, 5. वाह; 6. द्रोण; 7. षष्टि ॥ Drona denotes measure, shashṭi denotes numeral and would have taken ठञ् ॥

१६८३। परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः ।: ७। ३। १७ ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धिः स्यात् त्रिदादौ ॥ परमनैष्किकः । असमासग्रहणं ज्ञापकं भवति । इतः प्राक् तदन्तविधिरिति । तेन सुगव्यम् । यवापूप्यमित्यादि ॥ इत ऊर्ध्वं तु संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तग्रहणं प्राग्वतेरिष्यते तच्चालुकि ॥ पारायणिकः । द्वैपारायणिकः । अलुकीति किम् । द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं द्विशूर्पम् । द्विशूर्पेण क्रीते शूर्पादञ् मा भूत् । किं तु ठञ् । द्विशौर्पिकम् ॥ 'असंज्ञा' इति किम् । पञ्चकलापाः परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकलापिकम् । तदस्य परिमाणमिति ठञ् ॥

1683. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

Thus परमनैष्किकः ॥

The words 'asamâse etc when they are not parts of a compound' of the last sûtra are jñâpaka, indicating that in the preceding sûtras the tadanta-vidhi applied. Thus we have not only गव्यं, but सुगव्यम् also (V. 1. 2. S. 1662), not only अपूप्यम् but यवापूप्यम् also (V. 1. 4. S. 1664). But in the sûtras that follow, the tadanta-viddhi applies only when the first member of the compound is a numeral, and that too when there is no luk-elision of the affix. As पारायणिकः and द्वैपारायणिकः ॥ (But when not preceded by a numeral, the tadanta-vidhi does not apply: as परमपारायणम् वर्तयति।). Why do we say 'when there is no luk'. Observe द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विशूर्पम् ॥ द्विशूर्पेण क्रीते = द्विशौर्पिकम् with ठञ् not अञ् ॥ V. 1. 26 S. 1691).

Why do we say 'when it is not a name?' Observe पंचकलापिकम् ॥ It has taken the affix ठञ् by V. 1. 57 S. 1723.

Note:—The word परिमाण in this sûtra has its technical signification, and not its etymological sense. Technically परिमाण does not include संख्या, etymologically it does. Pâṇini has used this word परिमाण in some sûtras in its technical sense, in others in its etymological sense. Thus in sûtras IV. 1. 22. S. 480, and V. 1. 19. S. 1681 the technical sense is taken, while in sûtras IV. 3. 156. S. 1534 and V. 1. 57. S. 1723 the etymological sense is meant. Technically परिमाण means सर्वतो मानं or a measure of capacity, and surface, namely length and breadth and height or depth, such as प्रस्थः &c. i. e. a cubic measure and a square measure. In this sense it is to be distinguished from the measures of length or lineal measure, technically

called प्रमाण such as a वितस्त्य 'a cubit' &c, on the one side, and the measures of weight, technically called उन्मान such as पल, &c on the other side. In short उन्मान means a measure of weight or gravity, परिमाण means a measure of volume or capacity, प्रमाण means a lineal measure, and a संख्या is beyond all these.

Note :—Q. Is not the employment of the word असमासे in the Sûtra redundant? For by the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a prâtipadika, does not, contrary to I. 1. 72, S. 26, denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself;" the prâtipadika निष्क being especially mentioned in the sûtra, the rule will apply to the word निष्क and not to a word ending with निष्क ॥

A. The employment of the word असमासे in this Sûtra, indicates by implication (jñâpaka), that in spite of the above maxim, the तदन्तविधिः I. 1. 72. S. 26 applies to the previous sûtra, while in the subsequent sûtras it does not. As उगवादिभ्यो यत् (V. 1. 2, S. 1662) the यत् applies not only to गो &c but to words ending in गो &c. As गव्यम् and सुगव्यम्, अतिसुगव्यम् ॥ Not only अपूप्यम्, अपूपीयम् (V. 1. 4. S. 1664) but also यवापूप्यम् यवापुपीयम् ॥ Not only दन्त्य (V. 1. 6. S. 1666) but also राजदन्त्यम् ॥

While in the sûtras subsequent to this V. 1. 20, S, 1682 the tadanta-vidhi applies only to words preceded by a Sankhyâ and that also in Sûtras upto V. 1. 115. S. 1778 and not there after as, द्वैपारायणिकः and त्रैपारायणिक (V. 1. 72. S. 1726. Even in this latter case, when an affix is elided by लुक् the tadanta-vidhi does not apply. Thus द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्वि शूर्प + ठञ् (V. 1. 18. S. 1680) = द्विशूर्पम्, (the affix being elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693). Now in forming a tertiary derivative from this word द्विशूर्पम्, the tadanta-vidhi will not apply. Thus द्विशूर्पेण क्रीतं, here what affix are we to subjoin? If tadanta-vidhi applied, we get the affix अञ् (V. 1. 26. S. 1691) in the alternative. But tadanta-vidhi not applying, we get the general affix ठञ् V. 1. 8. S. 1669, and have द्विशौर्पिकम् ॥ Here the affix ठञ् is not elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693 as there is no Dvigu compounding. The above rule is summarised in the following *ishti* प्राग्वतेः संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तग्रहणमलुकि ॥

१६८४। अर्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा। ७। ३। २६ ॥

अर्धात्परिमाणवाचकस्योत्तरपदस्यादेरचो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ञिति णिति किति च। अर्धद्रोणेन क्रीतम् आर्धद्रौणीकम्। अर्धद्रौणिकम् ॥

1684. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्ध ॥

As अर्धद्रौणिकम् or आर्धद्रौणिकम्, with ठञ् (V. 1. 18.).

Note :—Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धकोशिकम् only (= अर्धकोशः प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

१६८५ । नातः परस्य । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

अर्धात्परस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न पूर्वपदस्य तु वा स्त्रियादौ । अर्धप्रास्थिकम् । आर्धप्रास्थिकम् ॥ अतःकिम् अर्धकौडविकम् । तपरः किम् । अर्धखार्यां भवा अर्धखारी । अर्धखारीभार्य इत्यत्र वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति पुंवद्भावनिषेधो न स्यात् ॥

1685. When the first vowel of the second member preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण्, or क्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. 1. 18 S. 1680) ॥ अर्धकांसिकः or आर्धकांसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भवः = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vṛiddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛiddhi in forming a Bahuvṛîhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. S. 840 as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c.)

Note:—Wherever Vṛiddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvṛîhi compound referring to a male person वैयाकरणी भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by *prohibition* of Vṛiddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

१६८६ । शताच्च ठन्यतावशते । ५ । १ । २१ ॥

शतेन क्रीतं शतिकम् । शत्यम् । अशते किम् । शतं परिमाणमस्य शतकः सङ्घः । इह प्रत्ययार्थो वस्तुतः प्रकृत्यर्थान्नभिद्यते । तेन ठन्यतौ न किंतु कनेव । असमास इत्येव । द्विशतेन क्रीतं द्विशतकम् ॥

1686. The affiix ठन् and यत् come in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word शत when it is not a part of a compound, and when it does not mean merely a 'hundred'.

The word आर्हात् V. 1. 19 S. 1681 is understood here also. These affixes ठन् and यत् debar the affix कन् V. 1. 22 S. 1687. Thus शतेन क्रीतम् = शत्यम् or शतिकम् 'purchased for a hundred gold coins'.

Why do we say अशते 'when not meaning merely 'a hundred'? Observe शतपरिमाणमस्य = शतकंनिदानम् 'a band whose measure is hundred'. The word अशते qualifies the sense of the affix, and not that of the base, the latter not being possible; for the word शत as a base must always mean 'a hundred'. The following examples will illustrate the meaning; शतमध्यायाः परिमाणमस्य ग्रन्थस्य

शतकः 'a book consisting of hundred Adhyayas'. In this case there is essentially no difference between the base (prakṛiti) and the sense of the affix (pratyayârtha), though there is apparent difference, for the sake of applying the affix. For शतकः is a book essentially consisting of hundred, while शत्यं 'a carriage purchased for a hundred coins,' does not contain hundred as its essential part. Similarly शतको गोसंघः 'a herd of cows hundred in number'. Here the संघः essentially consists of शत and so there is the affix कन् and not ठन् or यत् (V, I. 58). But not so in the case of शत्यं शाटकशतं, शतिकं शाटकशतं, for here the sense of the affix is formed by the sentence , and not discovered merely from the word. Hence the following Vârtika शतप्रतिषेधेऽन्यशतत्वेऽप्रतिषेधः ।

The word च in the sûtra draws in the word असमासे from the previous sûtra. Thus द्वौ च शतं च = द्विशतं, द्विशतेन क्रीतं = द्विशतकम् 'purchased for a hundred and two coins'. Here the affix is कन् V. 1. 22 S. 1687. So द्विशतकम् ॥ According to the Ishṭi given in the Sûtra VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 the tadanta-vidhi applies here.

१६८७ । संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन् । ५ । १ । २२ ॥

संख्यायाः कन् स्यादार्हीयेऽर्थे नतु त्यन्तशदन्तायाः । पञ्चभिः क्रीतः पञ्चकः । बहुकः । त्यन्तायास्तु साप्ततिकः । शदन्तायाः चात्वारिंशत्कः ॥

1687. The affix kan comes after a Numeral, when it does not end with ति or शत्, the sense of the affix being that taught hereafter upto V. 1. 63. S. 1728.

The word आर्हात् is to be read into this sûtra also. The word संख्या is defined in I. 1. 23 S. 258. This कन् debars ठञ् ॥ Thus पंचभिः क्रीतः = पंचकः, बहुकः, गणकः ॥

Why do we say 'when it does not end in ति or शत्'? Observe सप्ततिकः, चात्वारिंशतकः formed by ठञ् ॥

१६८८ । वतोरिड्वा । ५ । १ । २३ ॥

वत्वन्तात्कन इड्वा स्यात् । तावतिकः । तावत्कः ॥

1688. The affix, Kan' coming after a Numeral ending with वत् takes optionally the augment इट्, the sense of the affix being those given upto V. 1. 62.

The words ending in वत् are संख्या ; see I. 1. 23 : and would consequent take कन् by V. 1. 22. The present sûtra ordains the optional affixing of इट् to this कन् ॥ Thus तावत्कः or तावतिकः ॥

१६८९ । विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां ड्वुनसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २४ ॥

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । आभ्यां कन् स्यात् । असंज्ञायां ड्वुन् स्यात्कनोऽपवादः । विंशकः त्रिंशकः । संज्ञायां तु विंशतिकः । त्रिंशत्कः ॥

1689. The affix ड्वुन् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the words 'Viṅśati' and 'triṅśat' when it does not denote a Name: ann the ति and अत् of the base are dropped before this affix.

The affix कन् will be added by dividing the sûtra into two: viz: (1) विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां (2) ड्वुनसंज्ञायाम् ; the meanings being (1) the affix 'Kan' is added to viṅśati and triṅśat ; (2) The affix ḍvun is added to the same words, when not denoting a name.

Thus विंशति + ड्वुन् = विंश + अक (VI. 4. 142 S. 844) = विंशकः, त्रिंशत् + ड्वुन् = त्रिंश + अक (VI. 4. 143 S. 316) = त्रिंशकः ॥

When not denoting a Name विंशतिकः त्रिंशकः formed by affix कन् V. 1. 22.

१६९० । कंसाट्टिठन् । ५ । १ । २५ ॥

टो ङीबर्थः । इकार उच्चारणार्थः । कांसिकः । कांसिकी ॥ अर्धाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अर्धिकः । अर्धिकी ॥ कार्षापणाट्टिठन्वक्तव्यः प्रतिरादेशश्च वा * ॥ कार्षापणिकः । कार्षापणिकी । प्रतिकः । प्रतिकी ॥

1690. The affix टिठन् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word कंस ॥

This debars ङ्य्, the anubandha टि of टिठन् shows that the feminine of the word will be formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470). The ठ् of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the न् of टिठन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686). Thus कांसिकः fem कांसिकी ॥

Vârt:—So also it must be stated after the word अर्ध; e. g. अर्धिकः अर्धिकी ॥

Vârt:—So also after the word कार्षापण, e. g. कार्षापणिकः fem. कार्षापणिकी ॥ Sometimes the word प्रति is substituted for कार्षापण before this affix, as प्रतिकः, fem. प्रतिकी ॥

१६९१ । शूर्पादञन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । २६ ॥

शौर्पम्, शौर्पिकम् ॥

1691. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the senses taught upto VI. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the word 'śûrpa'.

This debars ठञ् which comes in the alternative. As, शूर्पेण क्रीतं = शौर्पम् or शौर्पिकम् ॥

१६९२ । शतमानविंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण् । ५ । १ । २७ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्याद्ठञ्ठकनामपवादः । शतमानेन क्रीतं शातमानम् । वैंशतिकम् । साहस्रम् । वासनम् ॥

1692. The affix अण् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the words 'śatamâna', 'viṅśatika', 'sahasra', and 'vasana'.

This debars ठञ्, ठक् and कन्॥ Thus शतमानेन क्रीतं = शातमानम्, so also वैंशतिकम्, साहस्रम् and वासनम्॥

१६९३। अध्यर्धपूर्वाद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम्। ५। १। २८॥

अध्यर्धपूर्वाद्द्विगोश्च परस्यार्हीयस्य लुक् स्यात्। अध्यर्धकंसम्। द्विकंसम्। संज्ञायां तु पाञ्चकलापिकम्॥

1693. The affix having the senses taught upto V. 1. 63. S. 1728, is elided by लुक्, after a stem beginning with the word adhyardha, and after a Dvigu compound, when it is not a Name.

The word आर्हात् is understood here also. Thus अध्यर्धकंसम्, द्विकंसम्, अध्यर्धशूर्पम्, द्विशूर्पम्, त्रिकंसम्, त्रिशूर्पम्॥ Here the affixes ठिठन् and अञ् are elided.

Note :—Though in the word द्विशूर्पम् &c. the affix is elided, it is only so when the affixing of the taddhita occasions a Dvigu compounding (II. 1. 51. S. 728) such as in द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विशूर्पम्॥ Here the resultant is a Dvigu compound. But in forming tertiary derivatives the affix is not elided, as द्विशूर्पेण क्रीतं = द्विशौर्पिकम्॥ Hence the following rule : द्विगोर्लुकि तन्निमित्तग्रहणम्॥ See IV. 1. 88. V. 1. 20.

Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् 'when not a Name'? Observe पांचलौहितिकम् or पंचलौहितिकम् and पांचकलापिकम् being names of certain measures. The feminine word लोहिनी is changed into the masculine by the Vârtika भस्याढे तद्धिते given under VI. 3. 35 .The lohinî is the *red* seed with which gold &c. is weighed.

Note :—The word अध्यर्द्ध is a Saṅkhyâ (See I. 1. 23. S. 258) and a word beginning with it will be a Dvigu compound. Its separate mention in this sûtra may appear superfluous. It is however so mentioned, in order to indicate (jñâpaka) that this word is not always a Saṅkhyâ. Thus for the purposes of the application of the affix कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17. S. 2085) this word is not a saṅkhyâ.

१६९४। विभाषा कार्षापणसहस्राभ्याम्। ५। १। २९॥

लुग्वा स्यात्। अध्यर्धकार्षापणम्। अध्यर्धकार्षापणिकम्। द्विकार्षापणम्। द्विकार्षापणिकम्। औपसंख्यानिकस्य ठिठनो लुक्। पक्षे अध्यर्धशतिकम्। द्विशतिकम्। अध्यर्धसहस्रम्। अध्यर्धसाहस्रम्। द्विसहस्रम्। द्विसाहस्रम्॥

1694. The affix having the senses taught up to V. 1. 63. S. 1728 is optionally luk-elided, after the words kârshâpaṇa, and sahasra, when they are preceded by adhyardha or are members of a Dvigu compound.

This sûtra makes the elision optional, when it was compulsory by the last sûtra. Thus अध्यर्द्धकार्षापणम् or अध्यर्द्धकार्षापणिकं, द्विकार्षापणम् or द्विकार्षापणिकम्, here the affix ठिठन् (V. 1. 25 S. 1690) is elided in one case, and not elided in the other. When it is not elided, प्रति may be substituted for कार्षापण (V. 1 25. S. 1690) अध्यर्द्धप्रतिकम्, द्विप्रतिकम् ॥

So also after the word सहस्र, e. g. अध्यर्द्धसहस्रम् or अध्यर्द्धसाहस्रम्, द्विसहस्रम् or द्विसाहस्रम् ॥ When the affix is not elided, the forms above shown with the irregular Vṛiddhi of the second stem, are evolved by sûtra VII. 3 15. S. 1752.

१६६५ । द्वित्रिपूर्वान्निष्कात् । ५ । १ । ३० ॥

लुग्वा स्यात् । द्विनिष्कम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । त्रिनिष्कम् । त्रिनैष्किकम् ।

बहुपूर्वाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ बहुनिष्कम् । बहुनैष्किकम् ॥

1695. The Ârhîya-affix (V. 1. 63. S. 1728) is optionally elided after a Dvigu occasioning compound, of the word nishka, preceded by dvi and tri.

The word द्विगोः 'a taddhita occasioning a Dvigu compound' of V. 1. 28. S. 1693 is to be read into this sûtra. Thus द्विनिष्कम् or द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनिष्कम् or त्रिनैष्किकम् (VII. 3. 17. S. 1683).

Vârt:—So also when nishka is preceded by बहु e. g. बहुनिष्कम् or बहुनैष्किकम् ॥ The irregular Vṛiddhi of the second term is caused by VII. 3. 17.

१६६६ । बिस्ताच्च । ५ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वित्रिबहुपूर्वाद्बिस्तादार्हीयस्य लुग्वा स्यात् । द्विबिस्तम् । द्विबैस्तिकमित्यादि ॥

1696. The ârhîya-affix (V. 1. 37-63) occasioning a Dvigu compound is optionally elided after the word bista, preceded by dvi or tri.

The word च in the sûtra draws in the words द्वित्रिपूर्वात् ॥ Thus द्विबिस्तम् or द्विबैस्तिकम् ॥

Note:—The separation of this sûtra is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra.

१६६७ । विंशतिकात्खः । ५ । १ । ३२ ॥

अध्यर्धपूर्वाद्द्विगोरित्येव । अध्यर्धविंशतिकीनम् । द्विविंशातिकीनम् ॥

1667. The affix kha (ईन्)comes in the ârhîya senses (V. 1. 37-63) after the word viṅśatika when preceded by the word adhyarddha or a Numeral, occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अध्यर्द्धविंशातिकीनम्, द्विविंशातिकीनम् ॥

Note:—Being especially ordained, this affix ख is not elided by V. 1. 28.

१६९८ । खार्या ईकन् । ५ । १ । ३३ ॥

अध्यर्धखारीकम् । द्विखारिकम् ॥ केवलायाश्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ खारीकम् ॥

1698. The affix îkan comes in the Ârhîya senses (V. 1. 37-63), after the word khârî, when preceded by the word adhyardha or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अध्यर्द्धखारीकम्, द्विखारिकम् ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word खारी alone, as खारीकम् ॥

१६९९ । पणपादमाषशताद्यत् । ५ । १ । ३४ ॥

अध्यर्धपण्यम् । द्विपण्यम् । अध्यर्धपाद्यम् । द्विपाद्यम् । इह पादः पादीति न । यस्येति लोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् । पद्यत्यतदर्थे इत्यपि न । प्राण्यङ्गार्थस्यैव तत्र ग्रहणात् ॥

1699. The affix yat comes in the ârhîya senses (V. 1. 37-63) after the words paṇa, pâda, mâsha and śata when preceded by the word adhyardha, or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अध्यर्द्धपण्यम्, द्विपण्यम्, so also अध्यर्द्धपाद्यम्, द्विपाद्यम् ॥ Here पाद is not changed to पद् by VI- 4. 130. S. 414; because the elided अ of पाद is sthânivat.

Thus द्विपाद+यत्=द्विपाद्+० (अ loped by यस्येतिच VI. 4. 148. S. 311)+यत् ॥ This lopa elided अ becomes sthânivat and द्विपाद is not considered as ending in पाद् but पाद and so VI. 4. 130 S. 414 does not apply.

Nor is पाद not changed into पद, by VI. 3. 53. S. 991. The substitution enjoined by VI. 3. 53 takes place when पाद means the *foot* of a living being, while here it means a measure of capacity.

१७०० । शाणाद्वा । ५ । १ । ३५ ॥

यस्यात्पक्षे ठञ् । तस्य लुक् । अध्यर्धशाण्यम् । अध्यर्धशाणम् ॥

1700. The affix यत् comes optionally after the word śâṇa in the ârhîya-senses (V. 1. 63), when it is preceded by the word adhyardha or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu.

This debars ठञ् which also comes in the alternative, and is then elided by V, 1. 28 S. 1693 Thus अध्यर्द्धशाण्यम् or अध्यर्द्धशाणम् ।

१७०१ । द्वित्रिपूर्वादण् च । ५ । १ । ३६ ॥

शाणादित्येव । यावत् । तेन त्रैरूप्यम् । परिमाणान्तस्या संज्ञाशाणयोरिति पर्युदासादादिवृद्धिरेव । द्वैशाणम् । द्विशाण्यम् । द्विशाणम् । इह ठञादयस्त्रयोदशप्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषां समर्थविभक्तयोऽर्थाश्चाकाङ्क्षिताः इदानीमुच्यन्ते ॥

1701. The affix **अण्** as well as 'yat' optionally also comes after the word śâṇa, in the ârhîya-senses (V. 1. 37-63) when preceded by the words **द्वि** and **त्रि** .

The **यत्** comes optionally by the last sûtra and is also drawn into this by the word **च**. Thus we have three forms, **द्विशाण्यम्**, **द्वैशाणम्** and **द्विशाणम्** ॥

Note:—The irregular Vṛiddhi of the second term in cases of compounds of numerals, taught in VII. 3. 15-17 S. 1752, 1754, 1683, does not however take place in the case of **शाण** this word being especially excluded from the operation of those rules, see VII. 3. 17. The Vṛiddhi here is regular as taught by the general rule VII. 2. 117.

Thus in the preceding sûtras V. I. 18. to V. I. 36. thirteen affixes have been taught, but the meaning of those affixes have not been given, nor the construction of the words to which they are to be added. In the following sûtras are given the meanings and the construction.

१७०२ । तेन क्रीतम् । ५ । १ । ३७ ॥

ठञ् । गोपुच्छेनक्रीतं गौपुच्छिकम् । साप्ततिकम् । प्रास्थिकम् । ठक् । नैष्किकम् ॥

1702. The thirteen affixes taught in V. 1. 18-36, have the sense of "purchased with this price", and are added to a word in the third case in construction.

The thirteen affixes **ठञ्**, **ठक्**, **ठन्**, **यत्**, **कन्**, **ड्वुन्**, **ठिठन्**, **अञ्**, **अण्**, **ख**, **ईकन्**, **यत्**, and **अण** have already been taught. Now is taught their sense, and the case construction of the word to which they should be added. The **तेन** shows that the words must be in the 3rd case in construction: and **क्रीतम्** shows that the sense is that of 'purchased'. The illustrations have already been given in the previous sûtras. Some more may be mentioned here. Thus **गोपुच्छेन क्रीतम्** = **गौपुच्छिकम्** (the accent falling on **गौ**); so also with words denoting Numbers and Measures, as **सप्तत्याक्रीतम्** = **साप्ततिकम्**, **प्रास्थिकम्**, **नैष्किकम्** ॥

१७०३ । इद्गोण्याः । १ । २ । ५० ।

गोण्या इत्स्यात्तद्धितलुकि । लुकोऽपवादः । पञ्चभिर्गोणीभिः क्रीतः पटः पञ्चगोणिः ।

1703. The short **इ** is substituted in the place of goṇî, when the Taddhita affix is elided by luk.

By the sûtra I. 2. 49. S. 1408 when a Taddhita is elided, the long **ई** of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word **गोणी** in which under similar circumstances the short **इ** replaces the long **ई**, as in the compound **पंचगोणि**: purchased for five goṇis. Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased," has been

rejected after गोणो by V. I. 28. S. 1693 therefore by the previous sûtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sûtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ ॥

Note :—This sûtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhâga. Thus इत् is made one sûtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of a Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ ॥ Thus purchased with five needles = पंचाभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पंचसूचिः दशसूचिः ॥ This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

१७०४ । तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ । ५ । १ । ३८ ॥

संयोगः संबन्धः । उत्पातः शुभाशुभसूचकः । शतिकः शत्यो वा धनपतिसंयोगः । शतिकं शत्यं वा दक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनम् । शतस्य निमित्तमित्यर्थः ॥ वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शमनकोपनयोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ वातस्य शमनं कोपनं वा वातिकम् । पैत्तिकम् । श्लैष्मिकम् ॥ सान्निपातावोति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सान्निपातिकम् ॥

1704. The above affixes have further the sense of "for its sake", when the meaning is a relation or an unwonted appearance.

The word तस्य shows that the word in construction must be in the 6th case, the word निमित्तं 'cause or occasion' gives the sense of the affix; संयोग means 'a connection, or relation': उत्पातः means 'a portent indicative of good or bad luck.' Thus शतस्य निमित्तं धनपतिना संयोगः = शत्यः 'a connection with a rich man for the sake of getting a hundred.' So also शतिकः, साहस्रः ॥ So also शतस्य निमित्तमुत्पातो दक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनम् = शत्यम्, शतिकम्, साहस्रम् "the twiching of the right eye for the sake of a hundred" i. e. indicative of acquiring or losing a hundred, a thousand &c.

Vârt :—The above affixes come after the words वात, पित्त, and श्लेष्म in the senses of allaying or vitiating. As वातिकम् 'allaying or vitiation of windy humour.' So also पैत्तिकम्, श्लैष्मिकम् ॥

Vârt :—Also after the word सन्निपात, as, सान्निपातिकम् ॥

१७०५ । गोद्यचोऽसंख्यापरिमाणाश्वादेर्यत् । ५ । १ । ३९ ॥

गोर्निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा गव्यः । द्व्यचः, धन्यः । यशस्यः । स्वर्ग्यः । गोद्व्यचः किम् । विजयस्य वैजयिकः । असंख्येत्यादि किम् । पञ्चानां पञ्चकम् । सप्तकम् । प्रास्थिकम् । खारीकम् । अश्वादि, आश्विकम् । आढिमकम् ॥ ब्रह्मवर्चसादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ब्रह्मवर्चस्यम् ॥

1705. After the word गो and after a word having two syllables, with the exception of a Numeral, or a Measure of capacity, or aśva &c, the affix yat (य) is added, in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that'.

This debars ठञ् ॥ As गो निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा = गव्यः 'a connection or a portent for the sake of a cow.' So also after a word of two syllables, as, धन्यः, स्वर्ग्यः, यशस्यः ॥

Why do we say "when not a word denoting a Numeral or a Measure of capacity or अश्व &c"? Observe पंचानां निमित्तं = पंचकम्, सप्तकम्, अष्टकम्; प्रास्थिकम्, खारीकम्, आश्विकः formed by V. 1. 22, 18, 19.

Vârt:—The word ब्रह्मवर्चस should be enumerated: e. g. ब्रह्मवर्चसस्य निमित्तं गुरुणा संयोगः = ब्रह्मवर्चस्यम् "relationship with a teacher in order to acquire Brahmavarchasa."

1 अश्व, 2 अश्मन्, 3 गण, 4 ऊर्णा, 5 उमा, 6 गङ्गा (भङ्ग भङ्गा), 7 वर्षा (वर्ष), 8 वसु ॥

१७०६ । पुत्राच्छ च । ५ । १ । ४० ॥

पुत्र्यम् । पुत्रीयः । पुत्र्यः ॥

1706. After the word putra, the affix chha (ईय) also comes, as well as yat (य), in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that.'

The word पुत्र being a dissyllabic word would always have taken यत् by the last aphorism. This ordains छ also. Thus पुत्रस्य निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा = पुत्रीयः or पुत्र्यः ॥

१७०७ । सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणञौ । ५ । १ । ४१ ॥

सर्वभूमेर्निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा सार्वभौमः । पार्थिवः । सर्वभूमिशब्दोऽनुशतिकादिषु पठ्यते ॥

1707. The affixes अण् and अञ् are respectively added to the words sarvabhûmi and pṛithivî, in the above mentioned sense of "a connection or a portent for its purpose".

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus सर्वभूमिनिमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा = सार्वभौमः, so also पार्थिवः ॥ In सार्वभौमः there is Vṛiddhi of both members of the compound by VII. 3. 20. S. 1438.

१७०८ । तस्येश्वरः । ५ । १ । ४२ ॥

1708. To the same bases sarvabhûmi and pṛithivî, are added the same affixes aṇ and añ respectively, in the sense of "lord thereof".

Note:—Thus सर्वभूमेरीश्वरः = सार्वभौमः 'the lord of the whole earth', पार्थिवः 'the lord of the earth'.

Note:—The word तस्य, showing the genitive construction of the base, has been repeated in this sûtra, though its anuvṛitti was running into it from V. 1. 38 S. 1704 in order to show that the senses given in V. 1. 38 do not extend further.

Had तस्य not been repeated here, the word ईश्वरः would have been an attribute, like the words संयोग and उत्पात, of the word निमित्तः ॥

१७०९ । तत्र विदित इति च । ५ । १ । ४३ ॥

सर्वभूमेरीश्वरः सर्वभूमौ विदितो वा सार्वभौमः । पार्थिवः ॥

1709. To the same bases sarvabhûmi and pṛithivî, being in the 7th case in construction, are added the same affixes aṇ and añ respectively, when the sense is that of "known therein".

The word विदितः means known, published &c. सर्वभूमौ विदितः = सार्वभौमः "known in the whole world." So also पार्थिवः ॥

१७१० । लोकसर्वलोकाट्ठञ् । ५ । १ । ४४ ॥

तत्र विदित इत्यर्थे । लौकिकः । अनुशतिकादित्वादुभयपदवृद्धिः । सार्वलौकिकः ॥

1710. The affix ṭhañ comes in the sense of 'known therein', after the words loka and sarvaloka, in the 7th case in construction.

Thus लोके विदितः = लौकिकः, सार्वलौकिकः ॥ The irregular Vṛiddhi of both members takes place by VII. 3. 20 S. 1438.

१७११ । तस्य वापः । ५ । १ । ४५ ॥

उप्यते अस्मिन्निति वापः क्षेत्रम् । प्रस्थस्य वापः प्रास्थिकम् । द्रौणिकम् । खारीकम् ॥

1711. The above mentioned affixes (V. 1. 18 &c) come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'sown with so much'.

The word वापः means 'sown therein' i. e. a field. Thus प्रस्थस्य वापः क्षेत्रं = प्रास्थिकम् 'sown with a Prastha', द्रौणिकम्, खारीकम्, i. e. a field sown with a quantity of grain measuring a Prastha or a Droṇa or a Khâri.

१७१२ । पात्रात् ष्ठन् । ५ । १ । ४६ ॥

पात्रस्य वापः क्षेत्रं पात्रिकम् । पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

1712. The affix shṭhan comes in the sense of 'sown with so much', after the word pâtra.

This debars ठञ् ॥ The न् of ष्ठन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197, S. 3686) the ष् is for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). The word पात्र denotes a measure of capacity. Thus पात्रस्यवापः = पात्रिकं क्षेत्रम्, fem पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

१७१३ । तदस्मिन्वृद्ध्यायलाभशुल्कोपदा दीयते । ५ । १ । ४७ ॥

वृद्धिर्दीयत इत्यादि क्रमेण प्रत्येकं संबन्धादेकवचनम् । पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धिः आयः लाभः शुल्कम् उपदा वा दीयते पञ्चकः । शतिकः । शत्यः । साहस्रः । उत्तमर्णेन मूलातिरिक्तं ग्राह्यं वृद्धिः । ग्रामादिषु स्वामिग्राह्यो भाग आयः । विक्रेत्रा मूल्यादधिकं ग्राह्यं लाभः । रक्षानिर्वेशो राजभागः शुल्कः । उत्कोच उपदा ॥ चतुर्थ्यर्थ उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चास्मै वृद्ध्यादिर्दीयते पञ्चको देवदत्तः । सममब्राह्मणे दानमितिवदधिकरणस्यविवक्षा वा ॥

1713. The above mentioned affixes have also the sense of "an interest, or a rent, or a profit, or a tax, or a bribe given thereby or in that".

The affix is added to a word in the first case (तद्) in construction. The sense of the affix is that of a locative (अस्मिन्). The word दीयते 'is given' in the singular number joins with each one of the word वृद्धि, आय &c. The sum paid by a debtor to his creditor over and above the principal, is called वृद्धि or interest. The share of profit taken by the landlord in villages &c. is called आय or rent. The increase over the capital by sale of cloth &c. is called लाभ or profit. The share of the king for protection &c. is called शुल्क or tax. The present or bribe is called उपदा ॥ Thus पंचास्मिन् वृद्धिर्वा आयो वा लाभो वा शुल्को दीयते = पंचकः 'that transaction &c. in which five percent is given as interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe'. Similarly शत्यः, शतिकः, साहस्रः &c.

Vârt:—So also in the sense of a Dative. As पंचास्मै वृद्धिर्वा आयो वा लाभो वा उपदा दीयते = पंचको देवदत्तः "Devadatta to whom five per cent is given as Interest &c". This Vârtika may be redundant, if we take the locative as sometime having the force of dative also. As in the sentence सममब्राह्मणे दानं ॥

१७१४ । पूरणार्धाट्ठन् । ५ । १ । ४८ ।

यथाक्रमं ठक्ठिटनोरपवादः । द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते द्वितीयिकः । तृतीयिकः । अर्धिकः । अर्धशब्दो रूपकस्यार्धे रूढः ॥

1714. The affix ṭhan comes in the same sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein" after a word denoting an ordinal, and after the word ardha.

This debars ठक् and ठिठन् ॥ Thus द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते = द्वितीयिकः, तृतीयिकः, पंचमिकः, सप्तमिकः, अर्द्धिकः ॥ The word अर्द्ध is technically the name of रूपकार्धः ॥

१७१५ । भागाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ४९ ॥

चाट्ठन् । भागशब्दोऽपि रूपकस्यार्धे रूढः । भागो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते भाग्यं भागिकं शतम् । भाग्या भागिका विंशतिः ॥

1715. The affix yat (यं) comes after the word bhâga in the sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein."

By the word च in the sûtra ठन् also comes. This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus भागो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते = भाग्यं or भागिकं शतम्; भाग्या or भागिका विंशतिः ॥ The word भाग also denotes रूपकार्ध ॥

१७१६ । तद्धरति वहत्यावहति भाराद्वंशादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ५० ॥

वंशादिभ्यः परो यो भारशब्दस्तदन्तं यत्प्रातिपदिकं तत्प्रकृतिकादद्वितीयान्तादित्यर्थः । वंशभारं हरति वहत्यावहति वा वांशभारिकः । ऐक्षुभारिकः । भाराद्वंशादिभ्य इत्यस्य व्याख्यान्तरं भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्य इति । भारभूतान्वंशान् हरति वांशिकः । ऐक्षुकः ॥

1716. The above mentioned affixes, after the word **भार** preceded by the word **वंश** &c, have the sense of 'who carries away, or conveys or brings that'.

The case in construction here is accusative (तद्) ॥ Thus वंशभारं हरति, वहति आवहति वा वांशभारिकः, ऐक्षुभारिकः ॥

According to another explanation, the phrase भाराद् वंशादिभ्यः is explained as भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्यः ॥ Then the sûtra will mean "the above named affixes come after वंश &c. when they denote a load". Thus भारभूतान् वंशान् हरति = वांशिकः, ऐक्षुकः ॥

Note :—The word हरति means 'to carry to another place or to steal'; वहति means 'to carry on ones back or head,' आवहति means', 'to produce or bring.'

1 वंश, 2 कुटज, 3 बल्वज, 4 मूल, 5 स्थुणा, (स्थुण) 6 अक्ष, 7 अश्मन्, 8 अश्व, 9 लक्षण, 10 इक्षु, 11 खट्वा ॥

१७१७ । वस्नद्रव्याभ्यां ठन्कनौ । ५ । १ । ५१ ॥

यथासंख्यं स्तः । वस्नं हरति वहत्यावहति वा वस्निकः । द्रव्यकः ॥

1717. The affixes ṭhan and kan come respectively after the words vasna and dravya, in the second case in construction, in the same sense of 'who carries &c'.

Thus वस्नं हरति वहति वा = वस्निकः, द्रव्यकः ॥

१७१८ । संभवत्यवहरति पचति । ५ । १ । ५२ ॥

प्रस्थं संभवति प्रास्थिकः कटाहः । प्रस्थं स्वस्मिन्समावेशयतीत्यर्थः । प्रास्थिकी ब्राह्मणी । प्रस्थमवहरति पचति वेत्यर्थः ॥ तत्पचतीति द्रोणादण् च * ॥ चाड्डन् । द्रोणं पचतीति द्रौणी । द्रौणिकी ॥

1718. The above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of "what is capable of holding that; or takes away that, or cooks that."

The word तद् is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the accusative. The word संभव means the *capacity* to hold the exact quantity; अवहार means 'taking

away, or containing'. Thus प्रस्थं संभवति = प्रास्थिकः 'a vessel capable of holding a prastha measure.' So प्रस्थमवहरति or पचति = प्रास्थिकः 'a vessel or a person that takes away, holds or cooks a Prastha measure.' Similarly कौडविकः and खारीकः ॥ The word संभव does not govern the word पचति, thus प्रस्थं पचति ब्राह्मणी = प्रास्थिकी Brâhmanî who cooks a Prastha.'

Vârt:—The affix अण् also comes after the word द्रोण in the sense of 'who cooks that.' e. g. द्रोणं पचति ब्राह्मणी = द्रौणी or द्रौणिकी ॥

१७१९। आढकाचितपात्रात्खोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । ५३ ॥

पक्षे ठञ् । आढकं संभवति अवहरति पचति वा आढकीना । आढकिकी । आचितीना । आचितिकी । पात्रीणा । पात्रिकी ॥

1719. The affix kha (ईन) may optionally be added in the above sense of 'being capable of holding &c,' after the word âḍhaka, âchita, and pâtra.

This ख debars ठञ् which comes in the alternative. Thus आढकं संभवति, अवहरति पचति वा = आढकीना or आढकिकी, आचितीना or आचितिकी, पात्रीणा or पात्रिकी ॥

१७२०। द्विगोः ष्ठंश्च । ५ । १ । ५४ ॥

आढकाचितपात्रादित्येव । आढकाद्यन्तादिगोः संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु ष्ठन्खौ वा स्तः । पक्षे ठञ् । तस्याध्यर्धेति लुक् । षित्त्वान्ङीष् । द्व्याढकिकी । द्व्याढकीना । द्विगोरिति ङीप् । द्व्याढकी । द्व्याचितिकी । द्व्याचितीना । अपरिमाणेति ङीप्प्रतिषेधात् द्व्याचिता । द्विपात्रिकी । द्विपात्रीणा द्विपात्री ॥

1720. The affix shṭhan as well as the affix ख (ईन) may optionally come, after the same words âḍhaka, âchita, and pâtra, being final of a Dvigu compound, the sense being that of 'what can hold,' &c.

The ख is read into the sûtra by the word च of the aphorism. These two affixes ख and ष्ठन् being especially ordained, are not to be elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. But when, in the alternative, we add the general affix ठञ्, then it is elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. The न् of ष्ठन् is for accent (VI. 1. 19 S. 2645), and the ष् for ङीष् ॥ Thus we have 3 forms;—द्व्याढकिकी, द्व्याढकीना, or द्व्याढकी; द्व्याचितिकी, द्व्याचितीना, द्व्याचिता ॥ In this case of द्व्याचिता the feminine is not formed by ङीष् (IV. 1, 21. S. 479) because of the specific prohibition contained in IV. 1. 22. S. 480. So also द्विपात्रिकी, द्विपात्रीणा and द्विपात्री ॥

१७२१। कुलिजाल्लुक्खौ च । ५ । १ । ५५ ॥

कुलिजान्तादिगोः संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु लुक्खौ वा स्तः । चात् ष्ठंश्च । लुगभावे ठञः श्रवणम् । द्विकुलिजी । द्विकुलिजिकी । द्विकुलिजीना । द्विकुलिजिकी ॥

1721. After the word kulija, being the final of a Dvigu, there is optionally the elision of the above affixes, or

the adding of the affix ख (इन), in the sense of 'what can hold that &c'

By च the affix ठन् is also added. The elision being optional, the affix ठञ् V. 1. 18 S. 1680 may *optionally* be elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. Thus we get *four* forms : द्विकुलिजिकी (ठन्), द्विकुलिजीना (ख), द्विकुलिजो (ठञ् लुक्), द्वैकुलिजिकी (ठञ्) ॥ In the last example, there is not vriddhi of the second term, though it was so required by VII. 3. 17.S. 1683. The anomaly is explained by holding that the word कुलिज should be included in the exception along with संज्ञा and शाण of VII. 3. 17.

१७२२ सोऽस्यांशवस्नभृतयः । ५ । १ । ५६ ॥

अंशो भागः । वस्नं मूल्यम् । भृतिर्वेतनम् । पञ्च अंशो वस्नो भृतिर्वास्य पञ्चकः ॥

1722. The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have also the sense of ' this is his portion, price or pay.'

The सः shows that the case in construction is nominative. The word अंश means ' share ,' वस्न means ' price.' भृति means ' wages .' Thus पंच अंशो वस्नो वा भृतिर्वास्य = पंचकः' ' whose portion, price or pay is five.'

१७२३ । तदस्य परिमाणम् । ५ । १ । ५७ ॥

प्रस्थं परिमाणमस्य प्राप्तिको राशिः ॥

1723. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have the sense of " this is its measure."

The word तद् shows that the word in construction should be in the nominative case. Thus प्रस्थः परिमाणमस्य = प्रास्थिको राशिः 'a heap whose mass is a Prastha.' So also खारीकः, शत्यः, शतिकः, साहस्रः, द्रौणिकः, कौडविकः, वार्षशतिकः, वार्षसहस्रिकः ॥ So also षष्टिर्जीवित परिमाणमस्य = षाष्टिकः, द्विसाप्ततिकः ॥

Note:—Why the words तदस्य have been repeated in this sûtra, when their anuvritti could have been drawn from the last aphorism, the word सो ऽस्य and तदस्य being the same ? The repetition shows that the affixes are again ordained, so that the elision taught in V. 1. 28 S. 1693 does not apply. Thus द्विषष्टीजीवितपरिमाणमस्य = द्विषाष्टिकः, द्विसाप्ततिकः, ॥ Here the affix is not elided by V. 1. 24.

१७२४ । संख्यायाः संज्ञासङ्घसूत्राध्ययनेषु । ५ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रमनुवर्तते । तत्र संज्ञायां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययो वाच्यः । यद्वा द्योकयोरितिवत्संख्यामात्रवृत्तेः परिमाणिनि प्रत्ययः । पञ्चवै पञ्चकाः शकुनयः । पञ्च पारिमाणमंषामिति वा । सङ्घे पञ्चकः । सूत्रे अष्टकं पाणिनीयम् । सङ्घशब्दस्य प्राणिसमूहे रूढत्वात्सूत्रं पृथगुपात्तम् । पञ्चकमध्ययनम् ॥ स्तोमे ऽविधिः * ॥ पञ्चदश मन्त्राः परिमाणमस्य पञ्चदशः । सप्तदशः । एकविंशः । सोमयागेषु छन्दोगैः क्रियमाणा पृष्ठ्याविसंज्ञिका स्तुतिः स्तोमः ॥

1724. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1893 &c come after a word denoting a numeral, in the sense of " this is its measure,"

when the word so formed means a Name, a Multitude, a Book, or a fixed way and mode of study.

The phrase तदस्य परिमाणम् is understood here. The word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case. When it is a Name, the affix does not change the sense of the radical. Thus पंचकाः = पंचः 'the Five' as पंचका शकुनयः; त्रिकाः 'the Three' 'शालङ्कायनाः ॥ The sense of the primitive is changed when it means a संघ 'a multitude or flock' as पंचकः संघः, अष्टकः ॥ So-also when it means a सूत्र 'a Book', as अष्टाध्यायाः परिमाणमस्य सूत्रस्य = अष्टकं पाणिनीयम् 'The Ashtaka of Pânini viz a Book comprising Eight Adhyâyas'. So also दशकं वैयाघ्रपदीयम्, त्रिकम काशकृत्स्नम् ॥ Is not a collection of Adhyâyas the same as संघः? No, the word संघः is confined to a collection of living beings only.

The word अध्ययन means 'study'. Its numerical measure (संख्या परिमाण) means the particular number of times, or ways in which it should be read. Thus पंचकोऽधीतः 'what is studied five-times, or in five modes सप्तकोऽधीतः so also अष्टकः or नवकः ॥

Vârt:—The affix ड comes after the words पंचदश &c, when the word means a Stoma. As, पंचदश मन्त्राः परिमाणमस्य = पंचदशः स्तोमः, सप्तदशः स्तोमः &c. The indicatory ड् causes the elision of final (टि) by VI. 4. 143, S. 316 in the cases of words like एकविंशः &c. In the case of पंचदशः the न् is elided by VI. 4. 144. S. 679. Stoma is the praise-hymn sung by the Chhandoga priests at the soma-sacrifice. A triad of verses by repetition becomes 15, 17 &c. Thus in sapta-daśa stoma the last verse of the triad is repeated seven-times, the other two five times each, thus we have seventeen verses. Similarly when every verse of the triad is recited five times, we have pancha-daśa stoma. When every verse of the triad is recited seven times, it becomes eka vimśa stoma &c.

१७२५ । पङ्क्तिविंशतित्रिंशद्चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम् । ५ । १ । ५९ ॥

एते रूढिशब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

1725. The following words are anomalous: pañkti 'a verse', viñśati 'twenty', triñśat 'thirty', chatvâriñśat 'forty', pañchâśat 'fifty', shashṭhi 'sixty', saptati 'seventy', aśîtî 'eighty', navati 'ninety', and śata 'a hundred'.

Note:—The words तदस्य परिमाणम् are understood here also: पंक्ति is formed by adding क्ति to पंच, the final being elided, meaning 'a verse the measure of which is five', i. e a half quarter consisting of 5 syllables. The word विंशति is formed by adding शतिच् to the word विन् which replaces the two word द्वयो-

दशतः as द्वौ दशतौ परिमाणमस्य संघस्य = विंशतिः ॥ So the affix शत् comes after त्रिन् representing त्रयोदशतः ; so for चतुर्णां दशनां we have चत्वारिन् and then add शत्, similarly with पंचाशत् ॥ Similarly with the rest.

Note :—All the rest appears to be the conjectural etymology of Patanjali and Kâśikâ Kâra, and hence it is omitted.

Note :—The word पंक्ति also means 'a line'. As ब्राह्मणपङ्क्तिः, पिपीलिका पंक्तिः ॥ Here the sense has no relation to its etymology.

१७२६। पञ्चद्दशतौ वर्गे वा । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

पञ्च परिमाणमस्य पञ्चवर्गः । दशत् । पक्षे पञ्चकः । दशकः ॥

1726. The word pañchat and daśat in combination with varga, may be anomalously so formed, in the sense of 'this is its measure'.

This ordains डति instead of कन् V. 1. 22, which also comes in the alternative. As पंचवर्गः, दशवर्गः or पञ्चकोवर्गः, दशकोवर्गः ॥

१७२७। त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतोब्राह्मणे संज्ञायां डण् । ५ । १ । ६२ ॥

त्रिंशदध्यायाः परिमाणमेषां ब्राह्मणानां त्रैंशानि । चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥

1727. The affix ḍaṇ comes after the words triṅśat and chatvâriṅśat, in the sense of 'this is its measure', when it is the Name denoting a Brâhmaṇa-book.

The word वर्ग does not govern this sûtra. The indicatory ड् causes the elision of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it (VI. 4. 143. S. 316). The force of the locative case in ब्राह्मणे is that of अभिधेय and not विषय, i. e. when the word means a Brâhmaṇa itself. Had the force been that of विषय, it would have meant, 'in the Brâhmaṇa literature'. As त्रिंशदध्याया परिमाणमेषां ब्राह्मणानां = त्रैंशानि ब्राह्मणानि The Brâhmaṇa containing thirty Adhyâyas'. So चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥ These are the names of certain Brâhmaṇas.

१७२८। तदर्हति । ५ । १ । ६३ ॥

लब्धुं योग्यो भवतीत्यर्थे द्वितीयान्ताड्डाद्यः स्युः । श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति श्वैतच्छत्रिकः ॥

1728. The affixes V. 1. 18. S. 1680 &c, have also the sense of 'who deserves that'.

The case in construction here is accusative. Thus श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति = श्वैतच्छत्रिकः "who deserves the White Umbrella".

१७२९। छेदादिभ्यो नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ६४ ॥

नित्यमाभीक्ष्ण्यम् । छेदं नित्यमर्हति छैदिको वेतसः । छिन्नप्ररूढत्वात् ॥ विराग विरङ्गं च * ॥ विरगं नित्यमर्हति वैरङ्गिकाः ॥

1729. After the words छेद &c in the second case in construction, the above-mentioned affixes have the sense of "who deserves that under all circumstances".

Thus छेदं नित्यमर्हति = छैदिकः, so also वैराङ्गिकः ॥

1 छेद, 2 भेद, 3 द्रोह, 4 दोह, 5 नर्त (वर्त), 6 कर्ष, 7 तीर्थ*, 8 संप्रयोग, 9 विप्रयोग, 10 प्रयोग*, 11 विप्रकर्ष, 12 प्रेषण, 13 संप्रश्न, 54 विप्रश्न* 15 विकर्ष*, 16 प्रकर्ष*, 17 विराग विरङ्गं च (from विराग is formed वैराङ्गिक). ॥

१७३० । शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

शिरश्छेदं नित्यमर्हति शीर्षच्छेद्यः । शैर्षच्छेदिकः । यद्यकोः सन्नियोगेन शिरसः शीर्षभावो निपात्यते ॥

1730. The affix yat as well as the above affixes come after the word Śîrshachchheda in the accusative, in the sense of 'who deserves that under all circumstances'.

Thus शिरश्छेदं नित्यमर्हति = शीर्षच्छेद्यः, or शैर्षच्छेदिकः ॥ The word शिरस् is changed irregularly into शीर्ष before the affix.

१७३१ । दण्डादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

एभ्यो यत् स्यात् । दण्डमर्हति दण्ड्यः । अर्घ्यः । वध्यः ॥

1731. After the words daṇḍa &c in the accusative, the affix ya comes in the sense of 'who deserves that'.

The word नित्य does not govern this sûtra. This य debars ठक् V. 1. 19. S. 1681. Thus दण्डमर्हति = दण्ड्यः 'deserving to be killed'. अर्घ्यः, वध्य ॥

1 दण्ड, 2 मुसल, 3 मधुपर्क, 4 कशा, 5 अर्घ, 6 मेघ, 7 मेधा, 8 सुवर्ण*, 9 उदक, 10 वृध, 11 युग, 12 गुहा, 13 भाग, 14 द्रुम, 15 भङ्ग*,॥

Note:—The Kâsikâ gives the sûtra as दण्डादिभ्यो यः; another version gives the sûtra as दण्डादिभ्यः only drawing the affix यत् from the last sûtra.

१७३२ । पात्राद् घंश्च । ५ । १ । ६८ ॥

चाद्यत् तदर्हतीत्यर्थे । पात्रियः । पात्र्यः ॥

1732. The affix ghan together with yat comes in the sense of "deserving that", after the word pâtra.

This debars ठक् and ठञ् ॥ The word पात्र denotes measure also. Thus पात्रमर्हति = पात्र्यः or पात्रियः ॥

१७३३ । कडङ्करदक्षिणाच्छ च । ५ । १ । ६९ ॥

चाद्यत् । कडं करोतीति विग्रहे अत एव निपातनात् खच् । कडङ्करं माषमुद्गादिकाष्ठमर्हतीति कडङ्करीयो गौः । कडङ्कर्यः । दक्षिणामर्हतीति दक्षिणीयः । दक्षिण्यः ॥

1733. The affix chhan (ईय) as well as yat (य) comes in the sense of 'deserving that', after the words kaḍaṅkara and dakshiṇâ.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus कडङ्करमर्हति = कडङ्करीयः or कडङ्कर्यः 'one deserving straw' such as a cow. So also दक्षिणीयः or दक्षिण्यो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmaṇa deserving alms.'

१७३४ । स्थालीबिलात् । ५ । १ । ७० ॥

स्थालीबिलमर्हति स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुलाः । स्थालीबिल्याः । पाकयोग्या इत्यर्थः ॥

1734. The affixes chha (छ) and yat (य) come in the sense of 'deserving that', after the word sthâlîbila.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुलाः or स्थालीबिल्याः 'rice deserving the pot' i. e. cookable rice.

१७३५ । यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां घखञौ । ५ । १ । ७१ ॥

यथासंख्यं स्तः । यज्ञवृत्विजं वाऽर्हति यज्ञियः । आर्त्विजीनो यजमानः ॥ यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां तत्कर्माईतीत्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ यज्ञियो देशः । आर्त्विजीन ऋत्विक् ॥

1735. The affixes gha and खञ् come respectively after the words yajña and ṛitvija, in the sense 'of deserving that.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus यज्ञियो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmaṇa worthy of honor at a sacrifice.' आर्त्विजीनो ब्राह्मणः ॥

Vârt:—After the words yajña and ritvija, these affixes have also the sense of "deserving the performance thereof". Thus यज्ञकर्मार्हति = यज्ञियो देशः 'a place fit for the performance of sacrifice.' ऋत्विक् कर्मार्हति = आर्त्विजीन ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Here ends the governing power of ठक् V, 1. 19. S. 1681 hence forward is the government of ठञ् V. 1. 18.

:o:

अथ तद्धित ठञधिकार प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE AFFIX ठञ् ।

१७३६ । पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायणं वर्तयति । ५ । १ । ७२ ॥

पारायणं वर्तयति पारायणिकश्छात्रः । तुरायणं यज्ञविशेषः । तं वर्तयति तैरायणिको यजमानः ।

1736. The affix ṭhañ comes in the sense of 'who performs this', after the words pârâyaṇa, turâyana and châṇdrâyana being in the 2nd case in construction.

The force of अर्हति ceases. Thus पारायणिक. श्छात्रः, a pupil, who reads under a teacher': तारायणिको यजमानः, चान्द्रायणिकस्तपस्वी ॥ the word पारायण means a teacher, (परस्य करोति) ॥

१७३७ । संशयमापन्नः । ५ । १ । ७३ ॥

संशयविषयीभूतोऽर्थः सांशयिकः ॥

1737. The affix ṭhañ comes after the word saṅśaya in the accusative construction, the sense being "fallen into this, or thrown into it".

Thus संशयमापन्नः प्राप्तः = सांशयिकः स्थाणुः "a doubtful pillar", i. e. in a precarious state.

१७३८ । योजनं गच्छति । ५ । १ । ७४ ॥

यौजनिकः । क्रोशशतयोजनशतयोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ क्रोशशतं गच्छति क्रौशशतिकः । यौजनशतिकः ॥ ततोऽभिगमनमर्हतीति च वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ क्रोशशतादभिगमनमर्हतीति क्रौशशतिको भिक्षुः । यौजनशतिक आचार्यः ॥

1738. The affix ṭhañ comes in the sense of 'who goes', after the word yojana in the accusative construction.

Thus योजनंगच्छति = यौजनिकः ॥

Vârt:—So also after the words क्रोशशत and योजनशत ॥ As क्रौशशतिकः यौजनशतिकः ॥

Vârt:—The affix after these two words means also "who is worthy to be approached from so far". As क्रोशशतादभिगमनमर्हति = क्रौशशतिको भिक्षुः. यौजनशतिक आचार्यः ॥

१७३९ । पथः ष्कन् । ५ । १ । ७५ ॥

षो ङीषर्थः । पन्थानं गच्छति पथिकः । पथिकी ॥

1739. The affix shkan comes in the same sense of 'who goes there', after the word patha, being in the 2nd case in construction.

Of the affix श्कन्, ष् is for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). and न् for accent (VI.1. 197 S. 3686). As पन्थानं गच्छति = पैथिकः fem पथिकी ॥

१७४० । पन्थो ण नित्यम । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति पान्थः । पान्था ॥

1740. The affix ṇa comes after the word pantha which becomes the substitute of pathin, the sense of the affix being " who always goes ".

The word नित्य qualifies the sense, of the affix. Thus पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति = पान्थः as पान्थो भिक्षां याचते ॥ Why नित्यं ? See पथिकः ॥

१७४१ । उत्तरपथेनाहृतं च । ५ । १ । ७७ ॥

उत्तरपथेनाहृतं औत्तरपथिकम् । उत्तरपथेन गच्छति औत्तरपथिकः ॥ आहृतप्रकरणे वारिजङ्गल-स्थलकान्तारपूर्वादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ * वारिपथिकम् ॥

1741. The affix ठञ् comes, after the word uttara-patha in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who passes by that way' 'what is conveyed by that way.'

The construction of the sûtra shows that the base must be in the 3rd case. The word च shows that the word गच्छति 'who passes by that way' should also be read into the aphorism. Thus उत्तरपथेनाहृतं = औत्तरपथिकम् or उत्तरपथेन गच्छति = औत्तरपथिकः ॥

Vârt:—So also after the word पथ preceded by the words वारि, जङ्गल, स्थल, कान्तार the affix has the sense of 'conveyed by that way' or passing by that way. As वारिपथेनाहृतः = वारिपथिकम्, वारिपथेन गच्छति = वारिपथिकः masculine or neuter according as the affix means conveyed or passing.

१७४२ । कालात् । ५ । १ । ७८ ॥

द्युद्यादिभ्योऽणित्यतः प्रागधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1742. In the following sûtras, the phrase " after a word denoting time " should be supplied to complete the sense.

The word कालात् bears rule in the following aphorisms upto V. 1. 97. S. 1761 exclusive. Thus the next sûtra तेन निर्वृत्तम् means 'accomplished by means thereof'. We must read the word काल into it. As मासेन निर्वृत्तम् = मासिकम् &c.

१७४३। तेन निर्वृत्तम्। ५। १। ७९॥

अह्ना निर्वृत्तमाह्निकम्॥

1743. The affix ṭhañ comes after a word denoting time, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of "to be accomplished by that time".

Thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तं = आह्निकम् "to be accomplished in a day" i e. a certain portion of reading &c, आर्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्॥

१७४४। तमधीष्टोभृतोभूतो भावी। ५। १। ८०॥

अधीष्टः सत्कृत्य व्यापारितः। भृतो वेतनेन क्रीतः। भूतः स्वसत्तया व्याप्तकालः। भावी तादृशएवा नागतः कालः। मासमधीष्टो मासिकोऽध्यापकः। मासं भृतो मासिकः कर्मकरः। मासं भूतो मासिको व्याधिः। मासं भावी मासिक उत्सवः॥

1744. The above-named affixes come after a word expressing time, in the accusative case in construction, in the sense of "solicited to instruct for such a period," "hired for such a period," "which had lasted for such a period," or "which will last so long".

The word अधीष्टः means "honorary office", therefore 'one solicited to teach, but who accepts no pay' III. 3. 161, भृतः means "engaged on wages", भूतः means 'the time pervaded or occupied by its existence', and भावी the same as last in the future. The word denoting time will be in the second case by II. 3. 5 S. 558. Thus मासमधीष्टः = मासिकोऽध्यापकः, so also मासंभृतः = मासिकः कर्मकरः, मासंभूतः = मासिको व्याधिः, मासंभावी = मासिक उत्सवः॥

१७४५। मासाद्वयसि यत्खञौ। ५। १। ८१॥

मासं भूतो मास्यः। मासीनः॥

1745. The affixes yat and khañ come after the word mâsa, in denoting 'age'.

This debars ठञ्॥ The word भूतः of the previous sûtra should be read into this. Thus मासंभूतः = मास्यः or मासीनः 'a month old'.

Note:—Why do we say when denoting 'age'? Observe मासिकः॥

१७४६। द्विगोर्यप्। ५। १। ८२॥

मासाद्वयसीत्यनुवर्तते। द्वौ मासौ भूतो द्विमास्यः॥

1746. The affix yap comes after the word mâsa when forming a Dvigu compound; and meaning 'age'.

Thus द्वौ मासौ भूतः = द्विमास्यः, त्रिमास्यः॥

१७४७। षण्मासाण्ण्यच्च । ५ । १ । ८३ ॥

वयसीत्येव । यच्यनुवर्तते । चाड्डञ् । षाण्मास्यः । षण्मास्यः । षाण्मासिकः ॥

1747. After the word shaṇmâsa, come the affixes ṇyat as well as **यप्** and **ठञ्**, in the sense of 'age'.

The word vayasi is understood here. So also the affix **यप्** ॥ By force of च we draw in **ठञ्** also.

Thus **षाण्मास्यः**, **षण्मास्यः**, and **षाण्मासिकः** ॥

१७४८। अवयसि ठंश्च । ५ । १ । ८४ ॥

चाण्ण्यत् । षण्मासिको व्याधिः । षाण्मास्यः ॥

1748. The affix ṭhan comes also after the word shaṇmâsa, when 'age' is not meant.

The च draws in the affix **ण्यत्** also. Thus **षण्मासिको व्याधिः** or **षण्मास्यः** 'a disease lasting six months'.

१७४९। समायाः खः । ५ । १ । ८५ ॥

समामधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा समीनः ॥

1749. The affix kha (**ईन**) comes in the fourfold senses of "solicited," "hired", "lasted", and "will last," after the word samâ.

This debars **ठञ्** ॥ Thus **समामधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा = समीनः** ॥ Some say, the sense of the affix is **तेन निर्वृत्तं** V. I. 79, S. 174; as **समया निर्वृत्तः = समीनः** ॥

१७५०। द्विगोर्वा । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

समायाः ख इत्येव । तेन परिजय्येत्यतः प्राङ्निर्वृत्तादिषु पञ्चस्वर्थेषु प्रत्ययाः । द्विसमीनः । द्वैसमिकः ॥

1750. The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses taught in V. 1. 79. 80 S. 1743 and 1744 after the word Samâ, forming a Dvigu.

In the alternative **ठञ्** will also apply. Upto sûtra V. 1. 93. S. 1757, the affixes have the fivefold senses of, to be accomplished by that time (S. 1743) 'solicited', 'hired', 'lasted' and 'will last' (S. 1744). Thus **द्विसमीनः** or **द्वैसमिकः** ॥ Then Vârtika taught in V. 1. 20 (**प्राग्वते संख्यापूर्वपदानां तद्धितमहणमलुकि**) applies here also. Thus **द्वैमासीनः** or **द्वैमासिकः**, **त्रिमासीनः** or **त्रैमासिकः** ॥

१७५१। रात्र्यहः संवत्सराच्च । ५ । १ । ८७ ॥

द्विगोरित्येव । द्विरात्रीणः । द्वैरात्रिकः । द्व्यहीनः । द्वैयह्निकः । समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वान्न टच् । द्विसंवत्सरीणः ॥

1751 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses (V. 1. 79, 80 S. 1743 and 1744) after the words râtri, ahan, and samvatsara, occasioning a Dvigu.

The word dvigu is understood in this sûtra.

In the alternative ख will also come. Thus द्विरात्रीणः, द्वैरात्रिकः, व्यहीनः VI. 4. 145 S. 789 or द्वैयह्निकः॥ The samâsânta affix not being universally applicable, we have no टच्॥ द्विसंवत्सरीणः, द्विसांवत्सरिकः VII. 3. 15. S. 1752. This form gets the irregular vriddhi by the following.

१७५२। संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च। ७। ३। १५॥

संख्याया उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः स्याद् ञिदादौ। द्विसांवत्सरिकः। द्वे षष्टी भृतो द्विषाष्टिकः। संख्यायाः परिमाणान्तस्येत्येव सिद्धे संवत्सरग्रहणं परिमाणग्रहणे कालपरिमाणस्याग्रहणार्थम्। तेन द्वैसमिकं इत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिर्न॥

1752. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vriddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्॥

Thus द्विसांवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टो भृतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1, 80 S. 1744) द्विषाष्टिकः = द्वे षष्टी अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा॥ The words द्वि, षष्टी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16 S. 1754). and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kâlâdhikâra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though) this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sûtra VII. 3. 17 S. 1683 implies that the word परिमाण in that sûtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vriddhi takes place in the regular way: as द्वैसमिकः॥

Note:—Similarly in sûtra IV. 1. 22, S. 480 the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sûtras (and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

१७५३। वर्षाल्लुक् च। ५। १। ८८॥

वर्षशब्दान्तादुद्विगोर्वा ख्लः। पक्षे ठञ् वा च लुक्। त्रीणि रूपाणि। द्विवर्षीणो व्याधिः। द्विवार्षिकः। द्विवर्षः॥

1753. The above affixes kha and ṭhañ may also be elided after a Dvigu ending in varshâ.

The affix ख as well as ठञ् come in the five fold senses V. 1. 79, 80, after the word वर्षा forming a Dvigu; and these two affixes may also be elided optionally. Thus we have three forms; द्विवर्षीणो, द्विवार्षिको or द्विवर्षो व्याधिः 'a' disease that lasted two years'. (Compare VII. 3. 16, S. 1754. but when the

sense is that of भावी, the form will be द्वैवर्षिकः ॥) To get this irregular vṛiddhi, the following sûtra applies.

१७५४। वर्षस्याभविष्यति। ७। ३। १९॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः स्यात्। द्विवार्षिकः। भविष्यति तु द्वैवर्षिकः। अधीष्टभृतयोरभविष्यतीति प्रतिषेधो न। गम्यते हि तत्र भविष्यत्ता न तु तद्धितार्थः। द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भृतो वा कर्म करिष्यतीति द्विवार्षिको मनुष्यः॥

1754 After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षे अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो वा=द्विवार्षिकः॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिकः, त्रैवर्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भृत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हति॥ (=त्रीणि वर्षाणि भावि)॥ The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधीष्ट and भृत (V. 1. 80 S. 1744), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भृतो वा कर्म करिष्यति=द्विवार्षिको मनुष्यः॥ Here VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 applies and it causes the vṛiddhi of the second member. This sûtra is again given below for the sake of context.

१७५४ क। परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः। ७। ३। १७॥

द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य द्विकौडविकः। द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं द्विसौवर्णिकम्। द्विनैष्किकम्। असंज्ञेति किम्। पञ्च कपालाः परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकपालिकम्। तद्धितान्तः संज्ञा। द्वैशाणम्। कुलिज-शब्दमपि केचित्पठन्ति। द्वैकुलिजिकः॥

1754 A. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य=द्विकौडविकः (V. 1. 109 S. 1772) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं=द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V. 1. 37 S. 1702), द्विसौवर्णिकम्॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vârtika to V. 1. 29 S. 1694. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम्॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनैष्किकम् (V. 1. 30 S. 1695). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चकपालिकम् (=पञ्चकपालानि परिमाणमस्य V. 1. 30 S. 1695) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe द्वैशाणम्॥ त्रैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. 1. 35 S. 1700 and 36 S. 1701). Some read the sûtra as असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 S. 1721 द्वैकुलिजे त्रैयप्राजनमस्॥

१७५५। चित्तवति नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ८९ ॥

वर्षशब्दान्तादुत्तरेषां प्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लुक् स्यात् चेतने प्रत्ययार्थे । द्विवर्षो दारकः ॥

1755. The affixes meaning "accomplished &c V. 1. 79, 80" are necessarily elided after the word varshâ forming a Dvigu, when it refers to a being endowed with reason.

Here the elision is compulsory and not optional. Thus द्विवर्षो दारकः 'a boy two years old'.

Note:—Why do we say चित्तवति "when meaning endowed with reason"? Observe द्विवर्षीणो व्याधिः ॥

१७५६। षष्टिकाः षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते । ५ । १ । ९० ॥

बहुवचनमतन्त्रम् । षष्टिको धान्यविशेषः । तृतीयान्तात्कन् रात्रशब्दलोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

1756. The anomalously formed word shashṭikâḥ has the meaning of "what are matured in six nights".

The word is not necessarily always plural, though so exhibited in the sûtra.

The word षष्टिकाः may be said to be formed by adding कन् to षष्टिरात्रि in the 3rd case in construction, then eliding the word रात्रि, the force of the affix being 'matured'. Thus षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते = षष्टिकाः 'a kind of barley'. It is a name of barley and therefore does not apply to pulse, beans &c, though they may also ripen in six days.

१७५७। तेन परिजय्यलभ्यकार्यसुकरम् । ५ । १ । ९३ ॥

मासेन परिजय्यो जेतुं शक्यो मासिको व्याधिः । मासेन लभ्यं कार्यं सुकरं वा मासिकम् ॥

1757. The affix ṭhañ comes after a word denoting time, in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of "to be subdued", "to be gained or attained", "to be completed" and "to be easily completed in that time".

Thus मासेन परिजय्यः (शक्यते जेतुं) = मासिको व्याधिः, मासेन लभ्यम् कार्यं or सुकरम् मासिकम् ॥

१७५८। तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् । ५ । १ । ९४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तात्कालवाचिनोऽस्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । मासं ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य स मासिको ब्रह्मचारी । आर्धमासिकः । यद्वा प्रथमान्तादस्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः । मासोऽस्येति मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्यम् ॥ महानाम्न्यादिभ्यः षष्ठ्यन्तेभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ महानाम्न्यो नाम विदामघवन्नित्याद्या ऋचः । तासां ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य माहानाम्निकः । हरदत्तस्तु भस्याढ इति पुंवद्भावान्माहानाम्निक इत्याह ॥ चतुर्मासाराण्यो यज्ञे तत्र भव इत्यर्थे * ॥ चतुर्षु मासेषु भवन्ति चातुर्मास्यानि यज्ञकर्माणि ॥ संज्ञायामण् * ॥ चतुर्षु मासेषु वर्तते चातुर्मासी आषाढी । अण्णन्तत्वाङ्ङीप् ॥

1758. The affix ṭhan comes after a word of time in the sense of "an abstinence that lasts so long" or "who practises abstinence so long".

The word तद् shows that the word must be in the accusative case: अस्य shows the force of the affix. ब्रह्मचर्य्यः joins both. Thus मासं ब्रह्मचर्य्यमस्य = मासिको ब्रह्मचारी "who practises abstinence for a month". So also आर्धमासिकः, सांवत्सरिकः ॥ The second case is by II. 3. 5. S. 558.

Another explanation is, the affix ṭhañ comes after a word in the *first* case in construction, in the sense of an abstinence which lasts for such a period. As मासोऽस्य ब्रह्मचर्यस्य = मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्यम् "an abstinence lasting for a month". आर्धमासिकं, सांवत्सरिकं ॥

In the first case the affix relates to a person, in the second, to the vow itself. Both these explanations are valid, as the structure of the aphorism is open to both constructions.

Vârt :—So also after the words महानाम्नी &c in the genitive construction. As महानाम्निकः। Mahânâmni are certain Rik verses. But Haradatta gives the form महानामिकः by applying the rule of masculisation of the Vârtika भस्याऽढे (VI. 3, 35. S. 836) In this case VI. 4. 144. S. 679 causes the elision of टि ॥

After these words, the affix means also 'who practises that'. As महानाम्नीश्चरति = माहानाम्निकः, आदित्यव्रातिकः, गौदानिकः ॥ महानाम्नी + ठञ् = महानामन् + ठञ् (VI. 3. 35. S. 836 Vârt) = महानामिकः (VI. 4. 144 S. 679).

Note :—The affix ङिनि comes after the words अवान्तरदीक्षा &c, in the sense of 'who practises'. As अवान्तरदीक्षांचरति = अवान्तरदीक्षी, तिलव्रतिन् ॥

Note :—The affixes ङ्वुन् and ङिनि come after the word अष्टचत्वारिंशत्, as अष्टचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि व्रतंचरति = अष्टचत्वारिंशकः or अष्टचत्वारिंशिन् ॥

Note :—The same affixes comes after the words चतुर्मास्य &c, the final य being elided. As चतुर्मास्यानि चरति = चातुर्मासकः or चातुर्मासिन् ॥

Vârt :—The affix मय comes after चतुर्मास, in the sense of 'produced there'. As चतुर्षु मासेषु भवानि = चातुर्मास्यानि ॥ It refers to a sacrifice.

Vârt :—The affix अण् comes, when it is a Name, as चतुर्षु मासेषु भवा = चातुर्मासी पौर्णमासी ॥ So also आषाढी, कार्तिकी, फाल्गुनी ॥ The feminine ङीप् is added because it is an अण् formed word.

१७५९। तस्य च दक्षिणा यज्ञाख्येभ्यः। ५। १। ९५ ॥

द्वादशाहस्य दक्षिणा द्वादशाहिकी। आख्याग्रहणादकालादपि। आग्निष्टोमिकी। वाजपेयिकी ॥

1759. The affix ṭhañ, comes after a word being the name of a sacrifice, in the sense of "the fee thereof".

As द्वादशाहस्य दक्षिणा = द्वादशाहिकी। So also. अग्निष्टोमस्य दक्षिणा = आग्निष्टोमिकी, वाजपेयिकी ॥

The word आख्या in the sûtra implies that the affix comes even after those sacrifice-denoting words which do not express time (V. 1. 78 S. 1742). Had it not been used, the sûtra would have applied only to such sacrifice-denoting words as एकाहः, द्वादशाहः which are time-denoting words as well. The Vârtika in V. 1. 20. S. 1682 would apply to द्वादशाह, &c. Some texts do not read च in the sûtra.

१७६० । तत्र च दीयते कार्यं भववत् । ५ । १ । ९६ ॥

प्रावृषि दीयते कार्यं वा प्रावृषेण्यम् शारदम् ॥

1760. The affixes having the sense of भव (IV. 3. 53, S. 1428, IV. 3. 11 S. 1381) come after a time-denoting word, in the sense of "what is given in that, and what is done in that".

As प्रावृषि दीयते or कार्यं = प्रावृषेण्यं (IV. 3. 17. S. 1388) शारदम् (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387). All these words mean also what is given or done in those seasons. The words वत् in भववत् means that all the rules of तत्रभवः (IV. 3. 53. S. 1428) apply here.

This sûtra should be divided into two parts, one joining with the previous sûtra, as तत्र च दीयते, यज्ञाख्येभ्यः, as आग्निष्टोमिकं भक्तं, राजसूयिकम्, वाजपेयिकम् ॥

Here ends the section on Time-affixes.

१७६१ । व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । ९७ ॥

व्युष्टे दीयते कार्यं वा वैयुष्टम् । व्युष्ट, तीर्थ, संग्राम, प्रवास इत्यादि ॥

1761. The affix aṇ comes after the words व्युष्ट &c in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of "being given therein or done therein".

Thus व्युष्टे दीयते कार्यं वा = वैयुष्टम्, नैत्यम् ॥

1 व्युष्ट, 2 नित्य, 3 निष्क्रमण, 4 प्रवेशन, 5 उपसंक्रमण, 6 तीर्थ, 7 अस्तरण (आस्तरण), 8 संग्राम, 9 संघात; 10 आग्निपद, 11 पीलुमूल (पीलु, मूल) 12 प्रवास, 13 उपवास, 13 संभ्रम, 15 दीर्घ, ॥

१७६२ । तेन यथाकथाच हस्ताभ्यां णयतौ । ५ । १ । ९८ ॥

यथाकथाचैत्यव्ययसंघातात्तृतीयान्ताद्धस्तशब्दाच्च यथासंख्यं णयतौ स्तः ॥ अर्थाभ्यां तु यथासंख्यं नेष्यते * ॥ यथाकथा च दीयते कार्यं वा याथाकथाचम् । अनादरेण देयं कार्यं वेत्यर्थः । हस्तेन दीयते कार्यं वा हस्त्यम् ॥

1762. The affixes ण and यत् come respectively after the words yathâ-kathâ-cha, and hasta, being in the third case in construction, having the sense of what is "given or is done in this way or with this".

The words दीयते and कार्यं apply to both; the rule of यथासंख्यम् (I. 3. 10 S. 128) not applying to it. The word यथा कथाच is an Indeclinable, meaning contempt. Of course this word cannot take any case-affix, it therefore only gives the sense of third case. As यथाकथाच दीयते कार्यं वा = यथाकथाचम् ; given with contempt or done with contempt, हस्तेन दीयते कार्यं वा = हस्त्यम् ॥

१७६३ । संपादिनि । ५ । १ । ९९ ॥

ठञ् । तेनेत्येव । कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि कार्णवेष्टकिकं मुखम् । कर्णालंकाराभ्यामवश्यं शोभत इत्यर्थः ॥

1763. The affix ṭhañ comes after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of "fitted for that".

The word संपादिन् means 'suitable, proper, fit.' The word संपादिन् is formed by adding णिनि to संपद् , the force of the affix being that of necessity (III. 3. 170 S. 3311). as कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि मुखं = कर्णवेष्टकिकं मुखं 'a face fit for ear-rings' which becomes beautified by ear ornaments &c. वास्त्रयुगिकम् शरीरम् i. e. वस्त्रयुगेन विशेषतः शोभते ॥

१७६४ । कर्मवेषाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०० ॥

कर्मणा संपादि कर्मण्यं शौर्यम् । वेषेण संपादि वेष्यो नटः । वेषः कृत्रिम आकारः ॥

1764. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of "being fitted with that", after the words karma and vesha, in the third-case in construction.

This debars ṭhañ. कर्मणा संपद्यते = कर्मण्यं शौर्यम् , वेषेण संपद्यते = वेष्यो नटः ॥ 'Vesha' means artificial appearance, i. e. disguise.

१७६५ । तस्मै प्रभवति सन्तापादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । १०१ ॥

सन्तापाय प्रभवति सान्तापिकः । सांग्रामिकः ॥

1765. The affix ṭhañ comes after the words santâpa &c in the dative construction, in the sense of "what is able to effect that".

The word प्रभवति means 'able, capable'. The dative here has the force of अलम् (II. 3. 16 S. 583). As, संतापाय प्रभवति = सांतापिकः, सांग्रामिकः

1 संताप, 2 संनाह, 3 संग्राम, 4 संयोग, 5 संपराय, 6 संवेशन, 7 संपेष, 8 निष्पेष, 9 सर्ग, 10 निसर्ग, 11 विसर्ग, 12 उपसर्ग, 13 प्रवास, 14 उपवास, 15 संघात, 16 संवेष*, 17 संवास, 18 संमोदन, 19 सक्तु, 20 मांसौदनाद्विगृहीतावपि, 21 असर्ग, ॥

१७६६ । योगाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । १०२ ॥

ष्ठाइञ् । योगाय प्रभवति योग्यः । यौगिकः ॥

1766. The affix yat (य) is also added in this sense of 'able to effect that', to the word yoga.

By force of the word च 'and' the affix ठञ् also applies. Thus योगाय प्रभवति = योग्यः or यौगिकः ॥

१७६७। कर्मण उकञ्। ५। १। १०३॥

कर्मणे प्रभवति कार्मुकम् ॥

1767. The affix ukañ comes after the word karman, in the same sense of 'able to effect that'.

This debars ठञ्. As कर्मणेप्रभवति = कार्मुकं धनुः ॥ This word कार्मुकम् means always a 'bow', and is never employed to designate anything else.

१७६८। समयस्तदस्य प्राप्तम्। ५। १। १०४॥

समयः प्राप्तोऽस्य सामयिकम् ॥

1768. The affix ṭhañ comes after the word samaya, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "that has arrived for it".

Thus सामयिकं कर्म = 'a work for which the time has come'.

१७६९। ऋतोरण्। ५। १। १०५॥

ऋतुः प्राप्तोऽस्य आर्तवम् ॥

1769. The affix aṇ comes after the word ṛitu, meaning "that has come for it".

As ऋतुःप्राप्तोऽस्य = आर्तवं पुष्पम् (Guṇa by VI. 4. 146 S. 847) "the flower for which the season has arrived".

१७७०। कालाद्यत्। ५। १। १०७॥

कालः प्राप्तोऽस्य काल्यं शीतम् ॥

1770. The affix yat (य) comes after the word kâla, in the same sense of 'time for it'.

As काल्यं शीतं ॥ See VI. 1. 213. S. 3701.

१७७१। प्रकृष्टे ठञ्। ५। १। १०८॥

कालादित्येव। तदस्येति च। प्रकृष्टो दीर्घः कालोऽस्येति कालिकं वैरम् ॥

1771. The affix ṭhañ comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of "longstanding".

As प्रकृष्टो कालोऽस्य = कालिकमृणम् "long-standing debt". कालिकम् वैरम् "long-standing enmity".

In this sûtra काल and तदस्य are understood, but not so the word प्रायम् ॥

१७७२ । प्रयोजनम् । ५ । १ । १०९ ॥

तदस्येत्येव । इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य ऐन्द्रमहिकम् । प्रयोजनं फलं कारणं च ॥

1772. The affix ṭhañ comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of "that whose occasion or purpose is this".

As इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य=ऐन्द्रमहिकम्, the word प्रयोजन means fruit or cause.

१७७३ । विशाखाषाढादण्मन्थदण्डयोः । ५ । १ । ११० ॥

आभ्यामण् स्यात्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थे क्रमान्मन्थदण्डयोरर्थयोः । विशाखा प्रयोजनमस्य वैशाखो मन्थः । आषाढो दण्डः ॥ चूडादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चूडा, चौडम् । श्रद्धा, श्राद्धम् ॥

1773. The affix aṇ comes in the sense of 'that whose purpose is this', after the words visâkhâ, and ashâḍhâ, when the derivative of the first is combined with मन्थ and that of the second with दण्ड ॥

As वैशाखो मन्थः, आषाढो दण्डः ॥

Vârt:—So also after the words चूडा &c. As चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य=चौडम्, श्रद्धा प्रयोजनमस्य=श्राद्धम् ॥

१७७४ । अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यश्छः । ५ । १ । १११ ॥

अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1774. The affix Chha (ईय) comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the words अनुप्रवचन &c.

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य=अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1 अनुप्रवचन, 2 उत्थापन, 3 उपस्थापन, 4 संवेशन, 5 प्रवेशन, 6 अनुप्रवेशन, 7 अनुवासन 8 अनुवचन, 9 अनुवाचन, 10 अन्वारोहण, 11 प्रारम्भण, 12 आरम्भण, 13 आरोहण, 14 अनुवेशन, 15 अनुवासन, 16 प्ररोहण ॥

१७७५ । समापनात्सपूर्वपदात् । ५ । १ । ११२ ॥

व्याकरणसमापनं प्रयोजनमस्य व्याकरणसमापनीयम् ॥

1775. The affix Chha comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the word samâpana, when it has a word in composition preceding it.

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus व्याकरण समापनं प्रयोजनमस्य=व्याकरण समापनीयम् ॥

Note:—The specific mention of the word पद in the aphorism indicates that the rule will not apply when a word other than a 'pada,' such as the affix 'bahuch,' V. 3. 68. S. 2023 precedes the word Samâpana.

१७७६ । ऐकागारिकट् चौरे । ५ । १ । ११३ ॥

एकमसहायमगारं प्रयोजनमस्य मुमुक्षितोः स ऐकागारिकश्चौरः ॥

1776. The word ऐकागारिकट् is irregularly formed, in the sense of a 'thief'.

The feminine will be in ङीप् ॥ Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य=ऐकागारिकः fem.° की ॥

Note:—This word can be regularly formed by ठञ्, but it will always be restricted to mean a thief. When any other thing is designated, it will not take this affix. Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य भिक्षाः, here there will be no affixing. The feminine moreover will be in ङीप् ॥ Some say the word is formed by adding the affix इकट् with the irregular Vṛiddhi of the first syllable.

१७७७ । आकालिकडाद्यन्तवचने । ५ । १ । ११४ ॥

समानकालावाद्यन्तौ यस्येत्याकालिकः । समानकालस्याकाल आदेशः । आशु विनाशीत्यर्थः । पूर्वेदिने मध्याह्नादावुत्पद्य दिनान्तरे तत्रैव नश्वर इति वा ॥ आकालादंश्च * ॥ आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

1777. The word âkâlikaṭ is irregularly formed in the sense of "what coincides with the beginning and the end i. e. what lasts only an instant".

The word आकाल is substituted for समानकाल ॥ Thus आकालिकः स्तनयित्नुः 'a thunder lasting for an instant'. आकालिकी विद्युत्—"a lightening lasting a twinkle". i. e. whose death is equal to its time of birth or dying as born.

Vârt:—The affixes ठन् and ठञ् also come after आकाल; as आकालिकाः विद्युत् ॥

So far is the governing power of the affix ठञ् V. 1. 18.

:o:

अथ तद्धित तस्मात्अधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXV.

AFFIXES DENOTING CONDITION AND ACTION.

१७७८ । तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः । ५ । १ । ११५ ॥

ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं ब्राह्मणवदधीते । क्रिया चेदिति किम् । गुणतुल्ये मा भूत् । पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्थूलः ॥

1778. The affix vati (**वत्**) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "like that", when the meaning is 'similarity of action'.

As ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं वर्तते = ब्राह्मणवत् ; as in the sentence ब्राह्मणवदधीते ॥

Why do we say "action"? The affix will not be joined when the similarity is in 'quality'. As पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्थूलः "as big as the son".

१७७९ । तत्र तस्येव । ५ । १ । ११६ ॥

मथुरायामिव मथुरावत् शुघ्ने प्राकारः । चैत्रस्येव चैत्रवन्मैत्रस्य गावः ॥

1779. The affix vati comes also in the sense of "like what is there in or thereof".

As मथुरायामिव = मथुरावत् 'like that in Mathura'. as मथुरावत् शुघ्ने प्राकारः, चैत्रस्येव चैत्रवन्मैत्रस्य गावः &c.

१७८० । तदर्हम् । ५ । १ । ११७ ॥

विधिमर्हति विधिवत्पूज्यते । क्रियामहणं मण्डूकप्लुत्यानुवर्तते । तेनेह न । राजानमर्हति छत्रम् ॥

1780. The affix "vati" comes after a word in the second case in construction, in the sense of "befitting that or suited to that".

Thus विधिमर्हति = विधिवत् पूज्यते "respected as god". The word kriyâ should be read into this sûtra from V. 1. 115, S. 1778, by 'frog-leap' anuvṛitti, for it is not to be read in S. 1779.

Therefore, not here राजानमर्हति छत्रम् "the umbrella as befits a king".

१७८१ । तस्य भावस्त्वतलौ । ५ । १ । ११९ ॥

प्रकृतिजन्यबोधे प्रकारो भावः । गोर्भावो गोत्वम् । गोता । त्वान्तं क्लीबं, तलन्तं स्त्रियाम् ।

1781. The affixes tva and tal come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of "the nature thereof".

As गोर्भावः = गोत्वम् or गोता ॥ The word formed by tva is of Neuter gender, that formed by tal is feminine.

१७८२ । आ च त्वात् । ५ । १ । १२० ॥

ब्राह्मणस्त्व इत्यतः प्राक् त्वतलावधिक्रियेते । अपवादैः सह समावेशार्थं । गुणवचनादिभ्यः कर्मणि विधानार्थं चेदम् । चकारो नञ्सुभ्यामपि समावेशार्थः । स्त्रिया भावः स्त्रैणम् । स्त्रीत्वम् । स्त्रीता । पौंस्नम् । पुंस्त्वम् । पुंस्ता ॥

1782. From this forward as far as the aphorism V. 1. 136, S. 1801 the affixes त्व and तल् bear rule.

Thus in V. 1. 122, S. 1784 त्व and तल् are read, giving the forms पृथुत्वम् and पृथुता &c. This rule is intended to secure admission for these two affixes notwithstanding the bars in the shape of subsequent aphorisms directing the employment of other affixes. These affixes signify, in addition to भाव (nature), कर्म (action) also, in V. 1. 124. S. 1788. The word च in the aphorism is intended to secure their admission notwithstanding the affixes नञ् and सुप् (VI. 1. 87 S. 69). Thus स्त्रिया: भावः = स्त्रैणम्, स्त्रीत्वम्, स्त्रीता 'the nature of a female'. पुंस्तम्, पुंस्ता, पौंस्नम् ॥

१७८३ । न नञ्पूर्वात्तत्पुरुषादचतुरसंगतलवणवटयुधकतरसलसेभ्यः । ५ । १ । १२१ ॥

इतः परं ये भावप्रत्ययास्ते नञ्तत्पुरुषान्न स्युश्चतुरादीन्वर्जयित्वा । अपटित्वम् । अपटुत्वम् । नञ्पूर्वात्किम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । तत्पुरुषात्किम् । नास्य पटवः सन्तीत्यपटुस्तस्य भावः आपटवम् । अचतुरेति किम् । आचतुर्यम् । आसङ्गत्यम् । आलवण्यम् । आवट्यम् । आयुध्यम् । आकत्यम् । आरस्यम् । आलस्यम् ॥

1783. The affixes denoting 'nature', taught hereafter, do not come after a Tatpurusha compound formed by the negative particle नञ्, with the exception of the following :—chatura, saṅgata, lavaṇa, vaṭa, budha, kata, rasa, and lasa.

Thus the words अपटि and अपटु will have two forms only i. e. अपटित्वम् or अपटिता, अपटुत्वम् or अपटुता ॥

Note :—While by V. 1. 128, S. 1793 other compounds will have यक् also, as सैनापत्यम् ॥ An exception to this is आविदुर्यं (VII-2. 25 S. 3065). as used by the author himself.

Why do we say नञ् पूर्वात् " a Tatpurusha whose first member is नञ्". Observe बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a Tatpurusha ?' Observe, when the word अपटु is a Bahuvrîhi compound meaning नास्य पटवः सन्ति, its derivative will be आपटवम् ॥

So also the compounds of चतुर &c, with नञ् e. g. आचतुर्यम्, आसंगत्यम्, आलवण्यम्, आवट्यम्, आबुध्यम्, आकत्यम्, आस्त्यम्, आलस्यम् ॥ In some texts, there is युध instead of बुध ॥

१७८४ । पृथ्वादिभ्य इमनिज्वा । ५ । १ । १२२ ॥

वावचनमणादिसमावेशार्थम् ॥

1784. The affix imanich (इमनिच्) comes optionally in the sense of 'nature', after the words prithu &c.

The word वा 'optionally' is employed with the intention of securing admission for the affixes अण् &c. Thus पृथु + इमन्। Now applies the following

१७८५ । र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः । ६ । ४ । १६१ ॥

हलादेर्लघोर्ऋकारस्य रः स्यात् इष्ठेमेयस्सु ॥

1785. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and इयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double censonant).

Thus पृथु इमन् = प्र्थु + इमन्। Now applies the following.

१७८६ । टेः । ६ । ४ । १५५ ॥

भस्य टेर्लोपः स्यादिष्ठेमेयस्सु । पृथ्वोर्भावः प्राथिमा । पार्थवम् । म्रादिमा । मार्दवम् ॥

1786. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् follow.

Thus पृथ्वोर्भावः = प्रथिमन् nom प्रथिमा (पृथु + इमन् = प्रथ् + इमन् VI. 4. 161. = प्रथ् + इमन् VI. 4. 155 = प्रथिमा), or पार्थवम् by V. I 131. S. 1796. So also म्रदिमा or मार्दवम् ॥ The उ of पृथु and मृदु is elided by the present Sûtra and र is substituted for ऋ by VI. 4, 161. S. 1785. Of course, the affixes त्व and तल् come here also as, पृथुत्वम्, मृदुत्वम्, पृथुता, मृदुता ॥

1 पृथु, 2 मृदु, 3 महत्, 4 पटु, 5 तनु, 6 लघु, 7 बहु, 8 साधु, 9 आशु, (आसु!), 10 उरु (ऊरु), 11 गुरु 12 बहुल, 13 खण्ड, 14 दण्ड, 15 चण्ड, 16 अकिंचन, 17 बाल*, 18 होड, 19 पाक, 20 वत्स, 21 मन्द, 22 स्वादु, 23 ह्रस्व, 24 दीर्घ, 25 प्रिय, 26 वृष, 27 ऋजु, 28 क्षिप्र, 29 क्षुद्र, 30 अणु*, 31 वेणु (!).

१७८७ । वर्णदृढादिभ्यः ष्यञ्च । ५ । १ । १२३ ॥

चादिमानिच । शौक्ल्यम् । शुक्लिमा । दार्ढ्यम् । *

पृथुमृदुभृशकृशदृढपरिवृढानामेव रस्त्वम् । * ब्रढिमा । घोर्ङीत्यर्थः । औचिती । यथाकामी ॥

1787. The affix shyañ also comes, as well as imanich after a word denoting colour, and after the words dridha &c, in the sense of 'nature thereof'.

Thus शुक्लस्य भावः = शौक्ल्यम्, शुक्लिमन्, शुक्लत्व, शुक्लता: ॥ कार्ष्ण्यम्, कृष्णिमन्, कृष्णत्वम्, कृष्णता; दार्ढ्यम् द्रढिमन् (nom. मा), दृढत्वम्, दृढता ॥

The ष् of ष्यञ् shows that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). As औचित्यः fem. औचिती (VI. 4. 148. and 150 S. 311 and 472). So also यथाकामी ॥

Vârt:—The following are the six words which substitute र for ऋ under VI. 4. 161. S. 1785 पृथु, मृदु, भृश, कृश, दृढ, परिवृढ, ॥ Thus द्रढिमा ॥

Note:—It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मातृ, भ्रातृ, &c. as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति, भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥ See. III. 1 21. S. 2677.

१७८८। गुणवचनब्राह्मणादिभ्यः कर्मणि च। ५। १।१२४ ॥

चाङ्क्वे। जडस्य कर्म भावो वा जाड्यम्। मूढस्य भावः कर्म वा मौढ्यम्। ब्राह्मण्यम् ॥ *

अर्हतो नुम् च ॥ अर्हतो भावः कर्म वा आर्हन्त्यम्। आर्हन्ती। ब्राह्मणादिराकृतिगणः ॥

1788. The same affix ṣhyañ has after a word expressive of quality, and after Brâhmaṇa &c, the sense of 'the activity or occupation of something or some one.'

The च in the aphorism is employed with the intention of including भाव or "nature". The word कर्म denotes activity. जडस्य भावः कर्म वा = जाड्यम् ॥ So also मौढ्यम्, ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम् ॥

This class of ब्राह्मण &c is âkṛitigaṇa i. e. the fact of a word belonging to which is known only from the forms met with in writers of authority.

Vârt:—The augment नुम् is added to अर्हत् when it takes the affix ष्यञ् ॥ Thus the activity or nature of अर्हत् will be आर्हन्त्यम् fem आर्हन्ती the त is elided by VI. 4. 150 S. 472.

The words यथा तथ and यथापुर preceded by the negative particle अ, i. e. the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर belong to the Brâhmaṇâdi class. They also take ष्यञ्; the vṛiddhi in their case is governed by the following sûtra.

१७८९। यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण। ७। ३। ३१ ॥

नञः परयोरेतयोः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पर्यायेणादेरचो वृद्धिर्भिदादौ। अयथातथाभावः आयथातथ्यम्, अयथातथ्यम्। अयथापुर्यम्। अयथापुर्यम्। आपादसमाप्तेर्भावकर्माधिकारः ॥ चतुर्वर्णादीनां स्वार्थ उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चत्वारो वर्णाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यम्। चातुराश्रम्यम्। चैस्वर्यम्। षाड्गुण्यम्। सैन्यम्। सान्निध्यम्। सामीप्यम्। औपम्यम्। त्रैलोक्यमित्यादि। सर्वे वेदाः सर्ववेदास्तानधीते सर्ववेदः। सर्वादेरिति लुक्। स एव सार्ववेद्यः। चतुर्वेदस्त्रोभयपदवृद्धिश्च * ॥ चतुरो वेदानधीते चातुर्वेदः स एव चातुर्वैद्यः। चतुर्विद्यस्येति पाठान्तरम्। चतुर्विद्य एव चातुर्वैद्यः ॥

1789. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vṛiddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛiddhi, the words remain unchanged.; and when these words are vṛiddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आयथातथ्यम् or अयाथातथ्यम्, आयथापुर्यम् or अयाथापुर्यम् ॥ In the sûtra the compounds are exhibited as यथातथ and यथापुर and are Avyayībhâvas (II. 1. 7. S. 661), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened.

The words भाव and कर्म bear rule upto the end of the seventh Book chapter three.

Vârt :—The affix does not change the sense in चातुर्वर्ण्य &c, as चत्वार एव वर्णाः = चातुर्वर्ण्यम्, ॥ चतुराश्रम्यम्, वैस्वर्यम्, षाड्गुण्यम्, सैन्यम्, सान्निध्यम्, सामीप्यम्, औपम्यम् त्रैलोक्यम् ॥ &c.

So also सर्ववेदाः = सर्ववेदाः All-Vedas. One who studies All-Vedas is सर्ववेदः the affix is here luk-elided by the vârtika under IV. 2. 60. S. 1270. This word सर्ववेद takes the affix ष्यञ् without any change of sense. As सार्ववेद्यः

Vârt :—There is vṛiddhi of both members of the compound चतुर्वेदः 'who studies four Vedas' before ṣhyañ. As चतुर्वेद + ष्यञ् = चातुर्वैद्यः ॥ Instead of चतुर्वेदस्य, another reading of this Vârtika is चतुर्विद्यस्य thus चतुर्विद्य + ष्यञ् = चातुर्वैद्यः । चतुर्वेदः is formed from विद्या by अण् luk elision (IV. 1. 88. S. 1080), चतुर्विद्यः by इक् elision (IV. 2. 60 S. 1270. vârt).

१७९० । स्तेनाद्यन्नलोपश्च । ५ । १ । १२५ ॥

नेति संघातग्रहणम् । स्तेन चौर्ये पचाद्यच् । स्तेनस्य भावः कर्म वा स्तेयम् । स्तेनादिति योगं विभज्य स्तैन्यमिति ष्यञन्तमपि केचिदिच्छन्ति ॥

1790. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of "nature thereof or action thereof", after the word stena, in the genitive, and न is elided before this affix.

The न in the sûtra is taken in its composite form, *i. e.* न् + अ ॥ The elision herein taught is of न NA and not of न् N only. The word स्तेन is formed by अच् of पचादि class.

Note :—Had न of the sûtra meant the single letter न्, there would arise the following anomaly स्तेन + ष्यञ् = स्तेन् + य (the अ is elided by VI. 4. 148. S. 311). Here the elided अ becomes sthânivat by I. 1. 57 S. 50 and so when न् is elided by the present sûtra, we have स्ते + ० + ० + य ॥ The elided अ would cause the ए to be changed to अय &c the form would be स्तय्य ॥ Hence the whole syllable न is elided by this sûtra and not separately by the application of S. 311 and this sutra.

As स्तेनस्य भावः कर्म वा = स्तेयम् ॥ Some divide the sûtra into two स्तेनात् ष्यञ् भवति (2) ततो यन्न लोपश्च, as स्तैन्यम् and स्तेयम् ॥

१७९१ । सख्युर्यः । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

सख्युर्भावः कर्म वा सख्यम् ॥ दूतवणिग्भ्यां च * ॥ दूतस्य भावः कर्म वा दूत्यम्। वणिज्यमिति काशिका ॥ माधवस्तु वणिज्याशब्दः स्वभावात् स्त्रीलिङ्गः। भाव एव चायं प्रत्ययो न तु कर्मणीत्याह। भाष्ये तु दूतवणिग्भ्यां चेति नास्त्येव। ब्राह्मणादित्वाद्वाणिज्यमपि ॥

1791. The affix य comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word सखि ॥

As सख्यम् 'friendship'.

Vârt:—So also after the words, दूत and वणिक्, as दूत्यम् ॥ According to Kâśikâ we have वणिज्यम् ॥ Mâdhava says "वाणिज्या is inherently feminine. The affix śyañ is added to it in the sense of 'nature' and never in the sense of action." In the Bhâshya this vârtika is not at all found. The word वाणिज्यम् is formed by V. 1. 124, S. 1788 वणिक belonging to ब्राह्मणादि class.

१७९२। कपिज्ञात्योर्ढक्। ५। १। १२७ ॥

कापेयम्। ज्ञातेयम् ॥

1792. The affix ḍhak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the words kapi and jñâti.

Thus कपेर्भावः कर्म वा=कापेयम्, ज्ञातेयम् ॥ The rule of यथासंख्य (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply any where under this head.

१७९३। पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक्। ५। १। १२८ ॥

सैनापत्यम्। पौरोहित्यम् ॥ राजाऽसे * ॥ राजशब्दोऽसमासे यकं लभते इत्यर्थः। राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा राज्यम्। समासे तु ब्राह्मणादित्वात् ष्यञ्। आधिराज्यम ॥

1793. The affix yak comes in the senseof 'nature or action thereof', after a compound ending with pati, and after purohita &c.

Thus सैनापतेः भावः कर्म वा=सैनापत्यम्, पौरोहित्यम्, राज्यम् ॥

1 पुरोहित, 2 राजासे (असमासे, राजन् असे), 3 ग्रामिक (संग्रामिक), 4 पिण्डिक, 5 सुहित *, 6 बाल, 7 मन्द, 8 खण्डिक, 9 दण्डिक, 10 वर्मिक (वर्मित,) 11 कर्मिक, 12 धर्मिक *, 13 शिलिक (शीलिक), 14 सूतिक, 15 मूलिक, 16 तिलक (तिलिका), 17 अञ्जलिक, 18 अञ्जनिक, (अञ्जतिका), 19 कृषिक, 20 पुत्रिक (पुत्रक), 21 अश्विक*, 22 क्षत्रिक, 23 पर्षिक*, 24 पथिक (पथिका), 25 चमिक, 26 प्रतिक, 27 सारथि (सारथिक), 28 आस्तिक*, 29 सूचिक, 30 संरक्ष*, 31 सूचक (संरक्षसूचक), 32 नास्तिक*, 33 अजानिक), 34 शाकवर (शाकवर), 35 नागर*, 36 चूडिक, 37 एषिक, 38 मिलिक, 39 स्तानिक, 40 चूडितिक, 41 कृषिक, 42 पूतिक, 43 पत्रिक 44 सलनिक, 45 पक्षिक, 46 जलिक, 47 शर्मिक, 48 तिथिक, 49 प्रश्निक, 50 प्रविक, 51 परिक्षक, 52 पूजनिक, 53 मूचिक, 54 स्वरिक ॥

G. *Vârt*:—The word râjan gets yak augment when not in a compound. As राज्यम् "the nature or action of the king-royal". In the compound it will take śyañ of the Brâhmaṇâdi class." As आधिराज्यम् ॥

१७९४ । प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽञ् । ५ । १ । १२९ ॥

प्राणभृज्जाति । आश्वम् । औष्ट्रम् । वयोवचनम् । कौमारम् । कैशोरम् । औद्गात्रम् । औन्नेत्रम् । सौष्ठवम् । दौष्ठवम् ॥

1794. The affix añ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after class names of animals, and words expressing age, as well as after udgâtṛi &c.

Thus अश्वस्य भावः कर्म वा = आश्वम्, औष्ट्रम्, कौमारम्, कैशोरम्, औद्गात्रम्, औन्नेत्रम् । सौष्ठवम्, दौष्ठवम् ॥

1 उद्गातृ, 2 उन्नेतृ, 3 प्रतिहर्तृ, 4 प्रशास्तृ, 5 होतृ, 6 पोतृ, 7 हर्तृ, (कर्तृ), 8 ग्यगणक 9 पक्षिगणक (पक्षिगणक पक्षिगणक), 10 सुष्ठु, 11 दुष्ठु, 12 अध्वर्यु, 13 वधू, 14 सुभग मन्त्रे ॥ In the Mantra literature subhaga takes अञ्, as महते सौभागय ; sometimes there is no अञ् as सौभाग्य मस्मै दत्त्वाय ॥

१७९५ । हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । १३० ॥

द्विहायनम् । त्रैहायनम् । यौवनम् । स्थाविरम् । श्रोत्रियस्य यलोपश्च * ॥ श्रौत्रम् । कुशलचपल-निपुणपिशुनकुतूहलक्षेत्रज्ञा युवादिषु ब्राह्मणादिषु च पठ्यन्ते । कौशल्यम् । कौशलमित्यादि ॥

1795. The affix aṇ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after compounds ending in hâyana, and after yuvana &c.

Thus द्विहायनस्य भावः कर्म वा = द्वैहायनम्, त्रैहायनम्; यौवनम्, स्थाविरम् ॥

Gaṇa-Vârt:—The य of श्रोत्रिय is elided, as श्रोत्रियस्य भावः कर्म वा = श्रौत्रम् ॥

1 युवन्, 2 स्थविर, 3 होतृ, 4 यजमान, 5 पुरुषासे (पुरुष असमासे), 6 भ्रातृ (भ्रातृ), 7 कुतुक (कतक), 8 श्रमण (श्रमण), 9 कटुक*, 10 कमण्डलु, 11 कुक्षी, 12 सुक्षी, 13 दुःक्षी, 14 सुहृदय, 15 दुर्हृदय, 16 सुहृद्, 17 दुर्हृद् 18 सुभ्रातृ, 19 दुर्भ्रातृ, 20 वृषल, 21 परिव्राजक, 22 सब्रह्मचारिन्, 23 अनृशंस, 24 हृदयासे (हृदय असमासे), 25 कुशल, 26 चपल, 27 निपुण, 28 पिशुन, 29 कुतूहल, 30 क्षेत्रज्ञ, 31 श्रोत्रियस्य यलोपश्च, 32 धातृ, 33 कृतक, 34 कुचुक, 35 कन्दुक, 36 मिथुन, 37 कुलली, 38 महस्, 39 कितव, 40 पोतः ॥

The word कुशल, चपल, निपुण, पिशुन, कुतूहल and क्षेत्रज्ञ belong both to the Yuvâdi and Brâhmaṇadi class. As कौशल्यम् or कौशलम् &c.

१७९६ । इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात् । ५ । १ । १३१ ॥

शुचेर्भावः कर्म वा शौचम् । मौनम् । कवेर्यं काव्यम् । कविशब्दस्य ब्राह्मणादित्वात्ष्यञ् ॥

1796. The affix aṇ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof,' after a stem ending in इक् (इ, ई, उ, ऊ, or ऋ or ऌ), when the preceding syllable is prosodially light.

Thus शुचे र्भावः कर्म वा = शौचम्, मौनम् (मुनि), (Why do we say लघुपूर्वात् 'the preceding syllable being light'? Observe काण्डुत्वम्, पाण्डुत्वम्) ॥ Why काव्यम् from कवि ? The word कवि takes ष्यञ् as belonging to the Brâhmaṇâdi class V. 1. 124.

१७९७। योपधाद्गुरुपोत्तमाद्वुञ्। ५। १। १३२॥

रामणीयकम्। अभिधानीयकम्॥ सहायाद्वा * साहाय्यम्। साहायकम्॥

1797. The affix vuñ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a polysyllabic stem whose penultimate letter is य्, and whose penultimate syllable is prosodially heavy.

Note:—The word उपोत्तमं means the last syllable but one in a word of three syllables or more. That word whose penultimate syllable is गुरु 'heavy' is called गुरुपोत्तमम्; the योपधा means 'having penultimate य॥

Thus रमणीयकम् from रमणीय, अभिधानीयकम्।

Note:—Why do we say "the penultmate letter being य्"? Observe विमानस्त्वं from विमान॥

Note:—Why do say गुरुपोत्तमं "the penultimate syllable being heavy"? Witness स्त्रियस्त्वम्॥

Vârt:—Optionally so after the word सहाय; as साहायकम् and साहाय्यम्॥

Note:—The words उपोत्तम् and उपधा should be distinguished: the first means penultimate *syllable* (implying thereby the word is of more than two syllables); and the second means penultimate *letter*.

१७९८। द्वन्द्वमनोज्ञादिभ्यश्च। ५। १। १३३॥

शैष्योपाध्यायिका। मानोज्ञकम्॥

1798. The affix vuñ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a dvandva compound and after the words manojña &c.

Thus गोपालपशुपालानां भावः कर्म वा=गोपालपशुपालिका। शैष्योपाध्यायिका, मानोज्ञकम्॥

1 मनोज्ञ, 2 प्रियरूप, 3 अभिरूप, 4 कल्याण, 5 मेधाविन्, 6 आढ्य, 7 कुलपुत्र, 8 छान्दस, 9 छात्र, 10 श्रोत्रिय, 11 चोर, 12 धूर्त, 13 विश्वदेव (वैश्वदेव), 14 युवन्, 15 कुपुत्र *, 16 रामपुत्र, 17 रामकुलाल*, 18 रामषण्ड (रामखण्ड), 19 रामकुमार, 20 सुकुमार, 21 बहुल, 22 अवश्यपुत्र, (अवश्य) 23 अमुष्यपुत्र, 24 अमुष्यकुल, 25 सारपत्र, *, 26 शतपुत्र, 27 कुशल, 28 अहोपुरुष॥

१७९९। गोत्रचरणाच्छ्लाघात्याकारतदवेतेषु। ५। १। १३४॥

अत्याकारोऽधिक्षेपः। तद्वेतस्तेगोत्रचरणयोर्भावकर्मणिप्राप्तः। अवगतवान्वा। गार्गिकया श्लाघते॥ गार्ग्यत्वेन विकत्थत इत्यर्थः। गार्गिकयाऽत्याकुरुते। गार्गिकामवेतः। काठकेन श्लाघते॥

1799. The affix vuñ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a family-name (Gotra), and after the Name of a Vaidic School, when one boasts thereby, or manifests his contempt thereby, or when it means one who has attained that (or has come for an inspection or inquiring thereof).

Note :—The word श्लाघा means boasting ; अत्याकार means 'contempt', तद् अवेत: means तद्प्राप्त: 'who has gained that ; or तज्ज्ञ: who inquires that'. The word तद् refers to गोत्र and चरण ॥ The word तदवेत: means "who has obtianed that or who has known that".

To take first श्लाघा, as गार्गिकयाश्लाघते or काठिकयाश्लाघते "boasts of belonging to the family of Garga, or the school of Kaṭha". To take अत्याकार:, as गार्गिकयात्याकुरुते, काठिकयात्याकुरुते "he manifests contempt upon another, because of his belonging to the clan of Garga or School of Kaṭha". To take तदवेता as गार्गिकामवेत: or काठिकामवेत: = प्राप्त: or अवगतवान् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when it means boasting &c" Observe गर्ग्यत्वम्, कठत्वम् ॥ The य of गार्ग्य is elided in the above examples by VI. 4. 148. & VI. 4. 151.

१८०० । होत्राभ्यश्छः । ५ । १ । १३५ ॥

होत्राशब्दः ऋत्विग्वाची स्त्रीलिङ्गः । बहुवचनाद्विशेषग्रहणम् । अच्छावाकस्य भावः कर्म वा अच्छावाकीयम् । मैत्रावरुणीयम् ॥

1800. The affix chha (छ) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after words expressing Hotrâ priests.

The word hotrâ is feminine and denotes a kind of priest. होत्राभ्य: is plural, to prevent the application of I. 1. 68. S. 25 ; therefore the rule does not apply to the word-form 'hotrâ derived from हु + तृन् meaning a ṛitvij.

Thus आच्छावाकीयम्, मैत्रावरुणीयम्, ब्राह्मणाच्छंसीयम्, आग्नीध्रीयम्, प्रतिप्रस्थात्रीयम्, नेष्ट्रीयम्, पोत्रीयम् ॥

१८०१ । ब्रह्मणस्त्वः । ५ । १ । १३६ ॥

होत्राधिनो ब्रह्मशब्दात्त्वः स्यात् । छस्यापवादः । ब्रह्मत्वम् । नेति वाच्ये त्ववचनं तलो बाधनार्थम् । ब्राह्मणपर्यायाद्ब्रह्मनूशब्दात्तु त्वतलौ । ब्रह्मत्वम् । ब्रह्मता ॥

1801. The affix tva (त्व) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word Brahman, denoting a kind of Hotrâ priest.

This debars छ ॥ Thus ब्रह्मणो भावः कर्म वा = ब्रह्मत्वम् ॥ This debars तल् ॥ When ब्रह्मन् means a Brâhmaṇa, by caste, we have ब्रह्मत्वम् or ब्रह्मता ॥ So much for the province of the affixes नञ् and अञ् (IV. 1. 87).

:o:

अथ तद्धितमत्वर्थीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE AFEIX मतुप् ।

१८०२ । धान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खञ् । ५ । २ । १ ॥

भवन्त्यस्मिन्निति भवनम् । मुद्गानां भवनं क्षेत्रं मौद्गीनम् ॥

1802. The affix khañ comes after the name of any particular corn, being in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of "a place of growing," when that place is a field.

Note :—The word धान्यानां 'of grains', shows that the word in construction should be in the genitive case. The plural number shows that the affix is not to be added to the word-form धान्य, but to words which denote various kinds of dhânya (I 1. 63 S. 263). भवन means 'the place where a thing is produced or grows (भवन्ति जायन्ते)' ॥

Thus मुद्गानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = मौद्गीनम्, कौद्रवीणम्, कौलत्थीनम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "of grains"? There will be no affixing in a case like तृणानां भवनं क्षेत्रं ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when it is a field"? Observe मुद्गानां भवनं कुशूलं 'a granary where kidney-beans grow'.

१८०३ । व्रीहिशाल्योर्ढक् । ५ । २ । २ ॥

व्रैहेयम् । शालेयम् ॥

1803. The affix ḍhak comes in the above sense of 'a place of growing, when it is a field', after the words व्रीहि and शालि ॥

Thus व्रीहीणां भवनं क्षेत्रे = व्रैहेयम्, शौलयम्, शौलय 'a field fit for growing rice'.

१८०४ । यवयवकषष्टिकाद्यत् । ५ । २ । ३ ॥

यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं यव्यम् । यवक्यम् । षष्टीक्यम् ॥

1804. The affix yat comes in the same sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', after the words yava, yavaka, and shashṭika.

This debars खञ् ॥ Thus यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = यव्यम्, यवक्यम् षाष्टिक्यम ॥ See VI. 1 213 S. 3701 for accent.

१८०५ । विभाषा तिलमाषोमाभङ्गाणुभ्यः । ५ । २ । ४ ॥

यत् वा स्यात् । पक्षे खञ् । तिल्यम् । तैलीनम् । माष्यम् । माषीणम् । उम्यम् । औमीनम् । भङ्ग्यम् । भाङ्गीनम् । अणुव्यम् । आणवीनम् ॥

1805. The affix yat comes, in the sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', optionally after the words tila, mâsa, umâ, bhangâ and aṇu.

The affix khañ will come in the alternative. Thus तिल्यम् or तैलीनम् 'a field for growing sesamum', माष्यम् or माषीणम् 'a field for growing beans', उम्यम् or औमीनम् 'a field of linseed', भङ्ग्यम् or भाङ्गीनम् 'a field of hemp', अणव्यम् or आणवीनम् 'a field for small grain'.

१८०६ । सर्वचर्मणः कृतः खखञौ । ५ । २ । ५ ॥

असामर्थ्येऽपि निपातनात्समासः । सर्वश्चर्मणा कृतः सर्वचर्मीणः । सार्वचर्मीणः ॥

1806. The affix kha (ईन) and khañ (ईन) come in the sense of "wholly made thereof", after the word sarva-charman.

The word सर्व is here a part of the sense of the affix, and joins with the word कृतः, and with चर्मन् ॥ The compounding is, in fact, made by the affix, for between सर्व and चर्मन there is no sâmarthya or construction, and so it can not be compounded with it, by any rule of samâsa. Sâmarthya is necessary for that purpose. Here सर्व is in construction with कृतः ॥ So the compounding of sarva with charman is anomalous. Thus सर्वश्चर्मणकृतः = सर्वचर्मीणः or सार्वचर्मीणः "made wholly of leather."

१८०७ । यथामुखसंमुखस्य दर्शनः खः । ५ । २ । ६ ॥

मुखस्य सदृशं यथामुखं प्रतिबिम्बम् । निपातनात्सादृश्येऽव्ययीभावः । समं सर्वं मुखं संमुखम् । समशब्दस्यान्तलोपो निपात्यते । यथामुखं दर्शनो यथामुखीनः । सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः संमुखीनः ॥

1807. The affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of 'a mirror', after the words yathâmukha, and sanmukha being in the 6th case in construction.

The word दर्शनः means that in which something is seen, such as, a looking glass, mirror &c, which reflects things. The word यथामुख "a reflection" is an Avyayîbhâva compound, the meaning of यथा being that of likeness (II. 1. 6. S. 652). Thus यथामुखं दर्शनः = यथामुखीनः 'showing or reflecting the likeness of the face'—a mirror. सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः = सम्मुखीनः 'showing or reflecting the whole face'—a looking-glass. सम means 'all'; and in forming the compound the final अ of सम is elided.

१८०८। तत्सर्वादेः पथ्यङ्गकर्मपत्रपात्रं व्याप्नोति। ५। २। ७॥

सर्वादेः पथ्यादयन्ताद् द्वितीयान्तात्खः स्यात्। सर्वपथान् व्याप्नोतिसर्वपथीनः। सर्वाङ्गीणः। सर्वकर्मीणः। सर्वपत्रीणः। सर्वपात्रीणः॥

1808. After the words pathi, aṅga, karman, patra or pâtra, preceded by sarva, being in the second case in construction, the affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of "what pervades or fills the whole of that".

Thus सर्वपथान् व्याप्नोति = सर्वपथीनोरथः; सर्वाङ्गीणस्तापः, सर्वकर्मीणः पुरुषः, सर्वपत्रीणः सारथिः, सर्वपात्रीण ओदनः॥

१८०९। आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति। ५। २। ८॥

पादस्याग्रं प्रपदं तन्मर्यादीकृत्य आप्रपदम्। आप्रपदीनः पटः॥

1809. The affix kha (ईन) comes after the word âprapada, in the sense of "reaching thereto".

The word प्रपद means the 'top of the foot'. आ means "upto". आप्रपद is an Avyayîbhâva compound meaning 'to the top of the foot'. Thus आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति = आप्रपदीनः पटः 'cloth reaching to the end of the feet', i. e. showing the width of the cloth by comparison with the body.

१८१०। अनुपदसर्वान्नायानयं बद्धाभक्ष्ययतिनेयेषु। ५। २। ९॥

अनुरायामे सादृश्ये च। अनुपदं बद्धा अनुपदीना उपानत्। सर्वान्नानि भक्षयति सर्वान्नीनो भिक्षुः। अयानयः स्थलविशेषः। तं नेयो ऽयानयीनः शारः॥

1810. The affix kha comes after the words anupada, sarvânna, and ayânaya, being in the second case in construction, in the senses of 'so bound', 'eating that', and 'to carry thereto' respectively.

Thus अनुपदं बद्धा = अनुपदीना 'a kind of shoe'; this word is always feminine. The force of अनु here is that of 'length' or 'likeness'. That is 'a shoe of the measure of a foot'. So सर्वान्नानि भक्षयति = सर्वान्नीनो भिक्षुः 'a mendicant who eats the whole food'. So also अयानयीनः शारः 'a chessman or piece that is taken to the position on the chess called ayânaya'. The word अयानय is compounded of two words अय, meaning 'going from right to left', and अनय 'from left to right', and it means a particular position in which the pieces moving from right to left and left to right cannot move further, and attack the other pieces.

Note:—According to some अयानयीन is the name of the front pieces in one's own row of chess-men. A piece which moves only on one side, does not admit

of this affix. The piece which is carried from one side to another, admits of this affix. Others move only in one direction अय or अनय, but not both. Kaiyyata: वस्तु शारः एक पार्श्वएव संचरति तत्र न भवति प्रत्ययो, यो हि शारः पार्श्वात् पार्श्वान्तरमानीयते, स एव अयानयं नीयते, अन्यास्तु अयमेव नीयते, अनयमेव नीयते वा ॥

१८११ । परोवरपरम्परपुत्रपौत्रमनुभवति । ५ । २ । १० ॥

परांश्चावरांश्चानुभवतीति परोवरीणः । अवरस्योत्वं निपात्यते। परांश्च परतरांश्चानुभवति परम्परीणः। प्रकृतेः परम्परभावो निपात्यते । पुत्रपौत्रानुभवति पुत्रपौत्रीणः । परम्पराशब्दस्तु अव्युत्पन्नं शब्दान्तरं स्त्रीलिङ्गं तस्मादेव स्वार्थे ष्यञ्निपात्यते । कथं पारोवर्यवदिति । असाधुरेवायम् । खप्रत्ययसन्नियोगेनैव परोवरेति निपातनात्

1811. The affix kha comes in the sense of "who witnesses or experiences that", after the words parovara, parampara and putrapautra in the second case in construction.

The word परोवर is compounded of पर and अवर the ओ in रो being irregular, the compounding being caused by the affix परांश्चावरांश्च अनुभवति = परोवरीणः "who lives to see high and low". The word परम्पर is compounded of पर and परतर, the compounding being caused by the affix. As परांश्च परतरांश्चानुभवति = परम्परीणः ॥ Similarly पुत्रपौत्रीणः ॥

The word परम्परा is a separate word as well, not formed by or admitting this affix. As मन्त्रिपरम्परा मन्त्रं भिनत्ति ॥ This is a feminine word: from this we get by shyañ without change of meaning पारम्पर्यम् । How do you explain the form पारोवर्यवत् ? It is certainly incorrect because the form परोपर is valid only before the affix ख and nowhere else.

१८१२ । अवारपारात्यन्तानुकामं गामी । ५ । २ । ११ ॥

अवारपारंगामी अवारपारीणः । अवारीणः । पारीणः । पारावारीणः । अत्यन्तं गामी अत्यन्तीनः । भृशं गन्तेत्यर्थः । अनुकामं गामी अनुकामीनः । यथेष्टं गन्तेत्यर्थः ॥

1812. The affix kha comes in the sense of "who purposes to go", after the words avârapâra, atyanta, and anukâma, being in the accusative case in construction.

The word गामी means 'गमिष्यति', see III. 3. 3. S. 3171. The genitive case is prohibited by II. 3. 70 : the word गामी governing the accusative. Thus अवारपारंगामी = अवारपारीणः ॥

So also when the words are reversed. As पारावारीणः ॥ So also when the words are taken separately, as अवारीणः and पारीणः ॥ So also अत्यन्तं गामी = अत्यन्तीनः = भृशं गन्ता ॥ So also अनुकामीनः = यथेष्टं गन्ता ॥

१८१३ । समांसमां विजायते । ५ । २ । १२ ॥

यलोपोऽवशिष्टविभक्तेरलुक् च पूर्वपदेनिपात्यते । समांसमीना गौः । समांसमीना सा चैव प्रतिवेष प्रसूयते ॥ खप्रत्ययानुत्पत्तौ यलोपो वा वक्तव्यः * ॥ समांसमां विजायते । समायां समायां वा ॥

1813. The affix kha comes after the word samâmsamâm in the sense of 'who bears in the womb'.

The word विजायते means गर्भं धारयति 'who bears in the womb'. This verb governs the accusative of time समांसमां by II. 1. 29. S. 691. Thus समांसमां विजायते = समांसमीना गौः, समांसमीना वडवा ॥

According to others the aphorism means "the affix comes in the sense of to give birth to or to get a young". i. e. विजायते = गर्भमोचनं ॥ According to them, the verb governs the locative समायां समायां विजायते = समांसमीना, the यु of the first समायां being elided, the rest of the vibhakti (आम) remains. The word will mean "an animal that gives birth to a young one every year". See Amarakosha II. 9. 72.

Vârt:—Sometime there is no affixing, but the whole sentence is to be used to express this meaning, or the only of both members is to be elided and a sentence formed. As समां समां विजायते or समायां समायां विजायते ॥

१८१४ । अद्यश्वीनावष्टब्धे । ५ । २ । १३ ॥

अद्य श्वो वा विजायते अद्यश्वीना वडवा । आसन्नप्रसवेत्यर्थः । केचित्तु विजायते इति नानुवर्तयन्ति । अद्यश्वीनं मरणम् । आसन्नमित्यर्थः ॥

1814. The word adyaśvînâ is anomalous, meaning "a female near delivery".

The word विजायते is understood here. The word अवष्टब्ध means 'imminent, near'. It is formed by अव + स्तंभ + क्त, the being changed to ष् by VIII, 3. 68. S. 2273. Thus अद्य वा श्वो वा विजायते = अद्यश्वीना वडवा "a mare likely give birth to-day or to-morrow".

Some do not read विजायते in to the sûtra, which then means "The word adyaśvîna is irregularly formed meaning *imminent*". As अद्यश्वीनं मरणं imminent death.

१८१५ । आगवीनः । ५ । २ । १४ ॥

आङ्पूर्वाद्गोः कर्मकरे खप्रत्ययो निपात्यते । गोः प्रत्यर्पणपर्यन्तं यः कर्म करोति स आगवीनः ॥

1815. The word âgavîna "a day-servant" is irregularly formed.

This word is formed by adding ख to the word गो preceded by the preposition आ, as आगो + ख = आगवीनः ॥ The force of the affix is that of 'a servant.' A person who is engaged in business till the return of the cows from pasture i. e. a day-labourer.

१८१६ । अनुग्वलंगामी । ५ । २ । १५ ॥

अनुगु । गोः पश्चात्पर्याप्तं गच्छति । अनुगवीनो गोपालः ॥

1816. The affix kha comes after the word anugu, in the sense of who is 'fit to follow'.

Thus the word अनुगु means गोः पश्चाद् ॥ Thus अनुगु पर्याप्तं गच्छति = अनुगवीनः 'who is suited or able to follow after the cows' i. e. a cowherd.

✓ १८१७ । अध्वनो यत्खौ । ५ । २ । १६ ॥

अध्वानमलं गच्छति अध्वन्यः । अध्वनीनः । ये चाभावकर्मणोः । आत्माध्वानौ खे इति सूत्राभ्यां प्रकृतिभावः ॥

1817. The affixes yat (य) and kha (ईन) come after the word adhvan, in the above sense of 'who is fit or able to follow'.

Thus अध्वानमलंगामी = अध्वनीनः or अध्वन्यः 'able to undertake a journey'. By aphorisms VI. 4. 168, 169 S. 1154, and 1671 the word अध्वन् retains its original form before the affixes य and ख, not losing its final अन्, which it does before other affixes, by VI. 4. 144. S. 679.

१८१८ । अभ्यमित्राच्छ च । ५ । २ । १७ ॥

चाद्यत्खौ । अभ्यमित्रीयः । अभ्यमित्र्यः । अभ्यमित्रीणः । अमित्राभिमुखं सुष्ठु गच्छतीत्यर्थः ॥

1818. The affix Chha (ईय) also as well as yat and kha, comes after the word abhyamitra, in the sense of 'who is able to go'.

The च draws in यत् and ख ॥ Thus अभ्यमित्रं अलंगामी = अभ्यमित्रीयः, अभ्यमित्र्यः अभ्यमित्रीणः 'a warrior who valiantly encounters his enemy' = अमित्राभिमुखं सुष्ठु गच्छति ॥

१८१९ । गोष्ठात्खञ् भूतपूर्वे । ५ । २ । १८ ॥

गोष्ठो भूतपूर्वः गौष्ठीनो देशः ॥

1819. The affix khañ comes after the word goshṭha in the sense of 'it formerly had been'.

The word गोष्ठ is a compound of गो + स्था i. e. a cow-pen, it means the place all around a cow-pen. The word भूतपूर्व qualifies it. Thus गोष्ठो भूतपूर्वः = गौष्ठीनो देशः 'a place which was formerly a Goshṭha'. Otherwise when not meaning formerly, we have गोष्ठो वर्तते ॥

१८२० । अश्वस्यैकाहगमः । ५ । २ । १९ ॥

एकाहेन गम्यते इत्येकाहगमः । आश्वीनोऽध्वा ॥

1820. The affix khañ comes after the word aśva, in the genitive case in construction, the sense being 'what is travelled over or traversed in one day'.

The word अश्वस्य being in the sixth case shows the construction it should have before the affix. The एकाहगमः means एकाहेन गम्यते i. e, what is or can be gone over in one day. Thus अश्वस्यैकाहगमोऽध्वा = आश्वीनः, as आश्वीनानि शतं पतित्वा = यावन्ति योजनान्यैकाहिनाश्वेन गम्यते तावतां शतं गत्वा ॥ सहस्राश्वीने वा इतः स्वर्गो लोकः ॥

२८२१ । शालीनकौपीने अधृष्टाकार्ययोः । ५ । २ । २० ॥

शालाप्रवेशमर्हति शालीनः अधृष्टः । कूपपतनमर्हति कौपीनं पापम । तत्साधनत्वात्तद्वस्त्रेऽप्यत्वाद्वा पुरुषलिङ्गमपि । तत्संबन्धात्तदाच्छादनमपि ॥

1821. The word śālīna and kaupīna are anomalous, when meaning 'modest' and 'a shameful action' respectively.

The word अधृष्ट means 'not proud', अकार्यम् means 'unfit to be done' i. e. an infamous act. The words come from शाला "a hall" and कूप 'a well'. It is not easy to trace any connection between 'modesty' and 'a hall', or between 'shameful' and 'a well'. However some say शालाप्रवेशमर्हति 'who deserves to enter a hall', = शालीनः, कूपावतारमर्हति 'who deserves to be thrown into a well' कौपीनः, hence a thing to be concealed as the male organ; and the dress that conceals it. As शालीनो जडः, कौपीनं पापं ॥

२८२२ । व्रातेन जीवति । ५ । २ । २१ ॥

व्रातेन शरीरायासेन जीवति नतु बुद्धिवैभवेन स व्रातीनः ॥

1822. The affix khañ comes after the word vrâta in the third case in construction, the sense being "who leads this life, or who lives by this".

The word व्रात means a multitude or mass composed of various castes, who have no fixed employment, and live by violence, or by bodily labor. व्रातेन जीवति = व्रातीनः 'a person who lives by the labour of his body, and not by the power of his brain'.

२८२३ । सप्तपदीनं सख्यम् । ५ । २ । २२ ॥

सप्तभिः पदैरवाप्यते सप्तपदीनम ॥

1823. The word sâptapadîna is anomalous, when meaning 'friendship'.

The word सप्तपदीन comes from सप्तपद but the connection of senses is not very clear. It is said सप्तभिः पदैरवाप्यते = सप्तपदीनम् "formed by walking together seven steps or by talking together seven words".

Note:—The circumambulation of the Fire by the bride and bridegroom in seven steps makes the marriage irrevocable. सप्तपदीनं seems to have some connection

with that. The word सान्नपदीनः or नं means 'a friend' also; the abstract sense being made applicable by analogy to the person as well.

१८२४। हैयङ्गवीनं संज्ञायाम्। ५। २। २३॥

ह्योगोदोहस्य हियङ्गुरादेशः विकारार्थे खञ् च निपात्यते। दुह्यत इति दोहः क्षीरम्। ह्योगोदोहस्य विकारो हैयङ्गवीनं नवनीतम्॥

1824. The word "haiyaṅgavîna" is anomalous, when it is a Name.

The word हैयङ्गवीनम् means 'fresh butter'. The word comes from ह्यः 'yesterday' and गोदोह 'cow's milk'. ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकारः 'prepared from yesterday's milk' i. e. "fresh butter'. The affix does not come in the sense of any विकार in general. There is no affixing in ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार when it means उदश्वित् or 'whey'.

१८२५। तस्य पाकमूले पील्वादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुणञ्जाहचौ। ५। २। ३४॥

पीलूनां पाकः पीलुकुणः। कर्णस्य मूलं कर्णजाहम्॥

1825. The affixes kuṇâp (कुण) and jâhach (जाहच्) come after the words pilu &c and karṇa &c respectively, when the senses are respectively 'the fruiting-season of this' and 'the root of this'.

The word तस्य shows that the construction must be genitive. The affix कुणप् comes after पील्वादि words, signifying 'ripening', and the affix जाहच् comes after कर्णादि words signifying the 'root'.

Thus पीलूनां पाकः = पीलुकुणः, कर्कन्धुकुणः, so also कर्णस्य मूलं = कर्णजाहम्॥

1 कर्ण, 2 अक्षि, 3 नख, 4 मुख, 5 केश, 6 पाद, 7 गुल्फ, 8 भ्रू, 9 शृङ्ग (भ्रूभङ्ग! भ्रूशृङ्ग), 10 दन्त, 11 ओष्ठ, 12 पृष्ठ, 13 नख, 14 अङ्गुष्ठ॥

1 पीलु, 2 कर्कन्धु (°न्धू), 3 शमी, 4 करीर, 5 कुवल, 6 बदर, 7 अश्वत्थ, 8 खदिर॥

१८२६। पक्षात्तिः। ५। २। २५॥

मूलमहणमात्रमनुवर्तते। पक्षस्य मूलं पक्षतिः॥

1826. The affix ti (ति) comes after the word paksha in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'the root of it'.

Note:—The word मूल of the last sûtra is drawn into this aphorism; and not the word पाक as well. This is an exceptional case of अनुवृत्ति, generally the whole is drawn and not a portion. Hence arises the following maxim क्वचिदेकदेशोऽप्यनुवर्तते "Sometimes it also happens that only a part of the words of a rule which are mutually connected is valid in a subsequent rule, while the rest ceases to be valid".

Thus पक्षस्य मूलं = पक्षाति: i. e. प्रतिपत् 'the root or the first day of a Paksha or a fortnight'.

१८२७। तेन वित्तश्चुञ्चुप्चणपौ। ५। २। २६॥

यकारः प्रत्यययोरादौ लुप्तनिर्दिष्टस्तेन चस्य नेत्संज्ञा। विद्यया वित्तो विद्याचुञ्चुः। विद्याचणः॥

1827. The affixes chuñchup (चुञ्चु) and chaṇap (चण) come after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'celebrated through this'.

The word वित्त means known, illustrious. Thus विद्यया वित्तः = विद्याचुञ्चुः, विद्याचणः, केशचणः॥ The initial च् in these affixes is not इत् (I. 3. 7. S. 189) because the affixes really are यचुञ्चुप् and यचणप्॥ Thus य् is elided after words. So च् is not the initial of an affix, and does not get इत् designation.

१८२८। विनञ्भ्यां नानाञौ न सह। ५। २। २७॥

असहार्थे पृथग्भावे वर्तमानाभ्यां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययौ। विना। नाना॥

1828. The affixes ना and नाञ् come respectively after the words वि and नञ्, in the sense of 'not being together'.

Thus वि + ना = विना 'without'; नञ् + नाञ् = नाना 'several'.

१८२९। वेः शालच्छङ्कटचौ। ५। २। २८॥

क्रियाविशिष्टसाधनवाचकास्त्वार्थे। विस्तृतम् विशालम्। विशङ्कटम्॥

1829. The affixes śâlach (शालच्) and śaṅkaṭach (शंकटच्) come after the preposition वि, without changing the sense.

Thus विगत शृङ्गम् = विशालम् विशंकटम्॥ Thus these words may apply to a cow, as विशालः, विशंकटः॥ According to some these words are adjectives meaning 'great, large' &c. There is no connection here of the sense of the base and the affix.

१८३०। संप्रोदश्च कटच्। ५। २। २९॥

सङ्कटम्। प्रकटम्। उत्कटम्। चाद्विकटम्॥ अलाबूतिलोमाभङ्गाभ्यो रजस्युपसंख्यानम्*॥ अलाबूनां रजः अलाबूकटम्॥ गोष्ठजादयः स्थानादिषु पशुनामभ्यः*॥ गवां स्थानं गोगोष्ठम्॥ संघाते कटच्*॥ अवीनां सङ्घातोऽविकटः॥ विस्तारे पटच्*॥ आविपटः॥ द्वित्वे गोयुगच्*॥ द्वावुष्ट्रौ उष्ट्रगोयुगम्॥ षट्त्वे षड्गवच्॥ *॥ अश्वषड्गवम्॥ स्नेहे तैलच्*॥ तिलतैलम्। सर्षपतैलम्॥ भवने क्षेत्रे शाकटशाकिनौ*॥ इक्षुशाकटम्। इक्षुशाकिनम्॥

1830. The affix kaṭach (कट) comes after the words sam, pra, ud, (and vi).

The वि is read into the sûtra by virtue of the word च॥ Thus संकटम्, प्रकटम्, उत्कटम्, विकटम्॥

Vârt :—The affix कटच् comes after अलाबु, तिल, उमा, and भङ्गा in denoting dust thereof. As अलाबूनां रजः = अलाबूकटम्, तिलकटम्, उमाकटम्, भंगाकटम् ॥&c.

Vârt :—The affix गोष्टच् comes after the names of animals, in denoting the places. As गवां स्थानं = गोगोष्ठं, &c.

Vârt :—When a flock is denoted, the affix कटच् is added, as अविकटः ॥

Vârt :—When spreading is denoted, the affix is पटच्, and आविपटः ॥

Vârt :—When a couple is denoted, the affix is गोयुगच्, as उष्ट्रगोयुगम् ॥

Vart :—When six is denoted, the affix is षड्गवच्, as अश्वषड्गवम् ॥

Vârt :— The affix तैलच् comes when it means the oil of it. As तिलतैलम्; सर्षपतैलम् ॥

Vârt :—The affixes शाकट and शाकिन denote 'a field where it grows', after the words इक्षु &c. As इक्षुशाकटम्, इक्षुशाकिनं ॥

१८३१ । अवात्कुटारच्च । ५ । २ । ३० ॥

चात्कटच् । अवाचीनोऽवकुटारः । अवकटः ॥

1831. The affix **कुटारच्** as well as **कटच्** comes after the word **अव** ॥

As अवकुटारः, अवकटः 'downwards,' 'very deep'.

१८३२ । नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटञ्नाटज्भ्रूटचः । ५ । २ । ३१ ॥

अवादित्येव । नतं नमनम् । नासिकाया नतं अवटीटम् । अवनाटम् । अवभ्रटम् । तद्योगान्नासिका अवटीटा । पुरुषोऽप्यवटीटः ॥

1832. The affixes **टीटच्, नाटच्** and **भ्रूटच्** come after the word **अव**, in the sense of a hooked nose, when the word so formed is a Name.

Thus नासिकाया नतम् = अवटीटम्, or अवनाटम्, अवभ्रटम् ॥ The word signifies the nose, as well as the person also, as अवटीटा नासिका, अवटीटः पुरुषः ॥

१८३३ । नेर्बिडञ्बिरीसचौ । ५ । २ । ३२ ॥

निबिडम् । निबिरीसम् ॥

1833. The affixes **बिडच्** and **बिरीसच्** come after the word **नि**, in the above sense of hooked nose, the whole word, being a Name.

Thus निबिडम् and निबिरीसम् ॥

Note :—How do you say निबिडाः केशाः or निबिडं वस्त्रम् ? It is by analogy.

१८३४ । इनच् पिटच्चिक चि च । ५ । २ । ३३ ॥

नेरित्येव । नासिकाया नतेऽभिधेये इनच्पिटचौ प्रत्ययौ प्रकृतेश्चिक चि इत्यादेशौ च । कप्रत्ययञिकादेशौ च वक्तव्यौ * । चिक्किनम् । चिपिटम् । चिक्कम् ॥ क्लिन्नस्य चिल् पिल् लभ्रास्य चक्षुषी * । क्लिन्ने चक्षुषी अस्य चिल्लः । पिल्लः ॥ चुल् च * ॥ चुल्लः

1834. The affixes इनच् and पिटच् come after the word नि in the above sense of a hooked nose; and चिक् and चि are the substitutes of नि before those affixes respectively.

Thus नि + इनच् = चिक् + इनच् = चिकिनः; नि + पिटच् = चि + पिटच् = चिपिटः ॥

Vârt :—So also comes क, and चिक् replacing नि, as नि + क = चिक् + क = चिकः ॥

Vârt :—The affix ल comes after the word क्लिन्न in the sense of 'its eyes'; and चिल् and पिल् are substitutes of क्लिन्नः as क्लिन्ने अस्य चक्षुषी = चिल्लः, पिल्लः 'blear-eyed'

Vârt :—चुल is also the substitute. As चुल्लः ॥

Note :—These words apply to the 'eye' also, as चिल्ले, पिल्ले, चुल्ले "sore-eyes." They apply to 'person' also.

✓ १८३५ । उपाधिभ्यां त्यकन्नासन्नारूढयोः । ५ । २ । ३४ ॥

संज्ञायामित्यनुवर्तते । पर्वतस्यासन्नं स्थलमुपत्यका । आरूढं स्थलमधित्यका ॥

1835. The affix tyakan (त्यक) comes after the words upa and adhi, in the sense of 'nearness' and 'elevation' respectively; the words so formed being Names

Thus उपत्यका = पर्वतस्यासन्नम् lowland, a land at the foot of the mountain, अधित्यका = पर्वतस्यारूढम् a table-land, high-land.

Note :—The rule VII. 3. 44 S. 463 does not apply here, so we do not get the forms उपत्यिका or अधित्यिका ॥

✓ १८३६ । कर्मणि घटोठच् । ५ । २ । ३५ ॥

घटत इति घटः । पचाद्यच् । कर्मणि घटते कर्मठः पुरुषः ॥

1836. The affix aṭhach (अठ) comes after the word karma, in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'employing oneself zealously in it.'

The word घट means zealous work. It is formed from √घट with the अच् of the Pachâdi. Thus कर्मणि घटते = कर्मठ पुरुषः 'a clever, proficient person.'

✓ १८३७ । तदस्य संजातं तारकादिभ्य इतच् । ५ । २ । ३६ ॥

तारकाः संजाता अस्य तारकितं नभः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1837. The affix itach (इत) comes after the words târakâ &c. in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'that whereof this is observed'.

Thus तारकाः संजाता अस्य नभसः = तारकितं नभः 'a starry sky' i. e. a night in which stars are visible. पुष्पिता वृक्षः 'a tree in which flowers have grown'.

The तारकादि class is आकृतिगण ॥

1 तारका, 2 पुष्प, 3 कर्णक, 4 मञ्जरी*, 5 ऋजीष, 6 व्रण*, 7 सूच (सूचक), 8 मूत्र, 9 निष्क्रमण, 10 पुरीष, 11 उच्चार, 12 प्रचार, 13 विचार, 14 कुड्मल, 15 कण्टक, 16 मुसल*, 17 मुकुल, 18 कुसुम, 19 कुतूहल, 20 स्तबक, 21 किसलय, 22 पल्लव, 23 खण्ड, 24 वेग, 25 निद्रा, 26 मुद्रा, 27 बुभुक्षा, 28 धेनुष्या, 29 पिपासा, 30 श्रद्धा, 31 अभ्र, 32 पुलक, 33 अङ्गारक, 34 वर्णक, 35 द्रोह, 36 मोह, 37 सुख, 38 दुःख, 39 उत्कण्ठा (उत्कण्ट), 40 भर, 41 व्याधि, 42 वर्मन्*, 43 व्रण*, 44 गौरव*, 45 शास्त्र, 46 तरंग, 47 तिलक, 48 चन्द्रक (चन्द्र) 49 अन्धकार, 50 गर्व, 51 मुकुर, 52 हर्ष, 53 उत्कर्ष, 54 रण*, 55 कुवलय, 56 गर्ध, 57 क्षुध् (क्षुधा), 58 सीमन्त, 59 ज्वर, 60 गर*, 61 रोग, 62 रोमाञ्च, 63 पण्डा, 64 कज्जल, 65 तृष्*, 66 कोरक, 67 कल्लोल, 68 स्थपुट,* 69 फल, 70 कञ्चुक*, 71 शृङ्गार*, 72 अङ्कुर, 73 शैवल*, 74 बकुल*, 75 अभ्र*, 76 आराल*, 77 कलङ्क, 78 कर्दम, 79 कन्दल, 80 मूर्छा*, 81 अङ्गार, 82 हस्तक (हस्त), 83 प्रतिबिम्ब*, 84 विप्रतन्त्र (वितप्र, तन्त्र)*, 85 प्रत्यय*, 86 दीक्षा*, 87 गर्ज, 88 गर्भादप्राणिनि (गर्भिताः शालयः but गर्भिणी गौः), 89 तन्द्रा, 90 स्रवक, 91 कर, 92 आन्दोल, 93 गौर, 94 राग ॥

४ १८३८ । प्रमाणे द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रचः । ५ । २ । ३७ ॥

तदस्येत्यनुवर्तते । ऊरु प्रमाणमस्य ऊरुद्वयसम् । ऊरुदघ्नम् । ऊरुमात्रम् ॥ प्रमाणे लः * ॥ शमः । दिष्टिः । वितस्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्नित्यम् * ॥ द्वौ शमौ प्रमाणमस्य द्विशमम् ॥ प्रमाणपरिमाणाभ्यां संख्यायाश्चापि संशये मात्रच्वक्तव्यः * ॥ शममात्रम् । प्रस्थमात्रम् । पञ्चमात्रम् । वत्वन्तात्स्वार्थे द्वयसञ्मात्रचौ बहुलम् * ॥ तावदेव तावद्द्वयसम् । तावन्मात्रम् ॥

1838. The affixes dvayasach (द्वयस) daghnach (दघ्न) and mâtrach (मात्र), come in denoting "that whereof this is the lineal measure" after a word in first case in construction.

The word तत्स्य is understood here. Thus ऊरुः प्रमाणमस्य=ऊरुद्वयसम्, ऊरुदघ्नम्, ऊरुमात्रम् 'as high as the thigh'.

Note:—As ऊरुद्वयसमुदकम् 'water reaching upto the thigh'. According to some the first and the second affixes (dvayasa and daghna) come in denoting the measure of altitudes and depths, and not horizontal measures. The affix मात्रच् comes in a general sense also. As प्रस्थमात्रम् 'a cubit long'.

Vârt:—The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure. Thus शमः प्रमाणमस्य =शमः 'that which is śama (a hand) in length'. Similarly दिष्टिः, वितस्तिः ॥

Note:—The affix mâtra only is elided, the other two affixes are never applicable to these words.

Vârt:—The elision is invariable after a Dvigu. As द्वौ शमौ प्रमाणमस्य =द्विशमम् ॥

Note:—Why do we say "invariable"? The elision will take place even where there is doubt. द्वे दिष्टि स्यातां वा न वा=द्विदिष्टिः ॥

Vârt:—The affix मात्रच् comes after words denoting lineal measure, and mass measure, and after a numeral, even when there is doubt. As

शमामात्रम् = शमः प्रमाणमस्य स्यान्न वा, प्रस्थमात्रम्, पंचमात्रम् ॥ An exception to this is contained in the 2nd Vârtika, where mâtra is elided in Dvigu compounds, owing to the word नित्य being used there.

Vârt :—The affixes द्वयसच् and मात्रच् come without changing the sense, diversely after a word ending in वतु ; as तावद्द्वयसम्, = तत् परिमाणमस्य धान्यास्तावत् तावन्मात्रम् &c.

१८३९ । पुरुषहस्तिभ्यामण् च । ५ । २ । ३८ ॥

पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य पौरुषम् । पुरुषद्वयसम् । हास्तिनम् । हस्तिद्वयसम् ॥

1839. The affix an also, as well dvayasach &c, comes after the words purusha and hasti, in the first case in construction in the sense of 'that whereof this is the lineal measure.'

The phrase तदस्य प्रमाण is understood here. By च the affixes द्वयसच् &c are drawn in. Thus पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य = पौरुषम्, पुरुषद्वयसम्, पुरुषदघ्नम्, पुरुषमात्रम्, हस्तिद्वयसम्, हस्तिदघ्नम्, हस्तिमात्रम्, हास्तिनम् ॥

Note :—The affix is always elided after a Dvigu. As द्विपुरुषमुदकम्, त्रिपुरुषम्, द्विहस्ति, त्रिहस्ति, द्विपुरुषी, त्रिपुरुषी, द्विहस्तिनी, त्रिहस्तिनी ॥

१८४० । यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप् । ५ । २ । ३९ ॥

यत्परिमाणमस्य यावान् । तावान् । एतावान् ॥

1840. The affix vatup (वतुप्) comes after the words yad, tad, and etad, being in the first case in construction, in signifying "that whereof this is the measure of volume".

The phrase तदस्य is understood here. As यत् परिमाणमस्य = यावान् । This form is thus evolved; यत् + वतुप् = यावत् (the ti अत् being replaced by आ by VI. 3. 91) = यावन्त् (the नुम् being added by VII. 1. 70) = यावान्त् (the अ being lengthened by VI. 4. 41); the vibhakti सु being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and त् being elided by VIII. 2. 23 we get finally यावान्, तावान्, एतावान् ॥

१८४१ । किमिदम्भ्यां वो घः । ५ । २ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां वतुप्स्थाद्वस्य च थः । कियान् । इयान् ॥

1841. After the words kim and idam, घ (इय्) is substituted for the व् of vatup.

Thus किम् + वतुप् = क + वतुप् (VI. 3. 90) = क् + घतुप् (VI. 4. 148) = कियत् nom. कियान्. Similarly इयत् nom, इयान् ॥

१८४२ । किमः संख्यापरिमाणे डति च । ५ । २ । ४१ ॥

चाद्वतुप् । तस्य च वस्य घः स्यात् । का संख्या येषां ते कति । कियन्तः ॥

1842. The affix ḍati (अति with the elision of इ) as well as the affix vatup comes after the word किम्, in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'numerical quantity'.

The च introduces the affix वतुप् which is changed into वतुप् (इयत्)॥ The word संख्यापरिमाणे means संख्यायाः परिमाणं i. e. संख्यापरिच्छेदः making estimate by numbers. As का संख्या परिमाण मेषां ब्राह्मणानां=कति ब्राह्मणाः or कियन्तोब्राह्मणाः how many Brahmanas in number do you estimate these. This always comes in the plural.

१८४३। संख्याया अवयवे तयप्। ५। २। ४२॥

पञ्चावयवा अस्यपञ्चतयं दारु॥

1843. The affix tayap (तय) comes after a numeral, in the sense of "that whereof the parts are so many".

The word तदस्य is understood here. Thus पंच अवयवा अस्य=पंचतयम् having five parts. The part being connected with the whole, the force of the affix is to denote the whole.

१८४४। द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायज्वा। ५। २। ४३॥

द्वयम्। द्वितयम्। त्रयम्। त्रितयम्॥

1844. The affix ayach (अय) is optionally the substitute of tayap, after words dvi and tri.

As द्वाववयवावस्य=द्वयम्, or द्वितयम्, त्रयम् or त्रितयम् 'a couple' 'a triad' (VI. 4. 148).

१८४५। उभादुदात्तो नित्यम्। ५। २। ४४॥

उभशब्दात्तयपोऽयच् स्यात् स चाद्युदात्तः। उभयम्॥

1845. After the word udha, ayach is always the substitute for tayap, having the acute (udâtta) accent on its first syllable.

Note:—The affix अयच् having indicatory च् takes the acute accent on the final syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710), i. e. on अ, the special mention of udâtta in the sûtra shows that the accent should be on a syllable which would otherwise not have taken it i. e. the first syllable i. e. अ; for had this not been the meaning, there was no necessity of using the word udâtta in the sûtra.

If उभ is a Sankhyâ word (I. 1. 23 S. 258), in the classical sense, it would have taken तयप्, the present sûtra ordains अय instead as a substitute always. If it is not a Sankhyâ, then we should first ordain तयप् after it, by the process of splitting the sûtra V. 2. 42 into two, thus संख्यायाः तयप्, अवयवे तयप् and then replace तयप् by अय॥

Thus उभौ पीतलोहितौ अवयवौ यस्य=उभयः॥ उभये देवमनुष्याः'; उभयोः मणिः॥

१८४६ । तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति दशान्ताड्डः । ५ । २ । ४५ ॥

एकादश अधिका अस्मिन्नेकादशम् ॥ शतसहस्रयोरेवेष्यते * ॥ नेह एकादश अधिका अस्यां विंशतौ ॥ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः समानजातीयत्व एवेष्यते * ॥ नेह । एकादश माषा अधिकाः अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

1846. The affix ḍa (अ with the elision of अन् of the base), comes after a Numeral ending in daśan, being in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is surplus in it".

Thus एकादश अधिका अस्मिन् शते = एकादशं शतं "hundred + eleven". So also एकादशं सहस्रं ॥

Ishti :—This applies only after शत and सहस्र, therefore, it does not apply here :—एकादशाधिकाः अस्यां विंशतौ ॥

Ishti :—This rule applies when both words denote a thing of the same denomination. As एकादश कार्षापणा अधिका अस्मिन् कार्षापणे शते = एकादशं कार्षापणशतं ॥ But not here :—एकादश माषा अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

Note :—The word इति in the sûtra is for clearness. The rule applies to शतसहस्रं also, as एकादशं शतसहस्रं which may mean either (1) एकादश शतान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् or (2) एकादश सहस्राण्यधिकान्यस्मिन् ॥

१८४७ । शदन्तविंशतेश्च । ५ । २ । ४६ ॥

डः स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे । त्रिंशदधिका अस्मिन् त्रिंशं शतम् । विंशम् ॥

1847. The affix ḍa comes in the sense of "this is surplus in it", after a Numeral ending in शत् and after विंशति ; with the elision of अत् and अति ॥

The indicatory ड causes elision of टि portion VI. 4. 142. S. 844. Thus त्रिंशदधिका अस्मिञ्छते = त्रिंशं शतं

Note :—This rule applies to abstract Numerals. Hence not here, गोत्रिंशदधिका अस्मिन् गोशते ॥

So also after विंशति ; as विंशं शतं ॥

१८४८ । संख्यायागुणस्य निमाने मयट् । ५ । २ । ४७ ॥

भागस्य मूल्ये वर्तमानात्प्रथमान्तात्संख्यावाचिनः षष्ठ्यर्थे मयट् स्यात् । यवानां द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्यो दश्चिञ्जागस्य द्विमयमुदश्चित्र्यवानाम् । गुणस्येति किम् । द्वौ व्रीहियवौ निमानमस्योदश्चितः । निमाने किम् । द्वौ गुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तैलस्य द्विगुणं क्षीरं पच्यते तैलेन ॥

1848 The affix mayaṭ (मय with feminine in ङीष्) comes after a Numeral in denoting a thing given in exchange in the sense of "containing so many times more of something" or "the price of a portion of this is so many equal portions of the other".

The word तदस्य from V. 2. 36 should be read in this. The sense of the aphorism is " after a Numeral in the first case in construction (तद्), with the force of a genitive (अस्य), comes the affix मयट्, when the word in the first case in construction denotes the value (निमान) of a portion (गुण)". The word गुण means भाग or " portion ", and निमान means 'price'. In comparing the quality of one thing with another, निमान is the value or price. Thus यवानां द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्योदश्वित्भागस्य = द्विमयमुदश्वित् यवानां " two parts of Yava is the price of one part of Udaśvit ". Similarly त्रिमयम्, चतुर्मयम्, lit. " Udaśvit is त्रिमय or 'two-times' the value of yava ".

Note :—The word गुणस्य is in the singular number. The comparison must therefore, be made with *one* portion of one thing, with the several portions of the other. The ratio must be x : 1, but never x : 2, or x : 3 &c. Therefore, the rule does not apply here, द्वौ भागौ यवानां मय उदश्वितः ॥ The x also must be more than one. The rule therefore does not apply here : एको भागो निमानमस्य ॥

The word गुण denotes an integral number, therefore the rule will not apply to fraction. As द्वौ भागौ यवानामध्यर्द्धं उदश्वितः ॥

The affix also comes in the sense of purchasing or the comparative value of a thing, i. e. in denoting the thing received in exchange. (निमेय) As उदश्विनो द्वौ भागौ निमेयमस्य यवभागस्य = द्विमयाः, as द्विमया यवा उदश्वितः = " उदश्वितो द्वौ गुणा निमेयो येषामेकगुणानां यवानां " the exchange value of Udaśvita is twice as much as that of a Yava ". The word निमान means the thing *given* in exchange; and निमेय the thing *received* in exchange. Both words are reciprocal and are terms of barter or exchange, but they do not apply to sales or purchases for coins.

Why do we say गुणस्य 'of a portion'? Observe द्वौ त्रीह्यवौ निमानमस्योदश्वितः ॥ Here being no comparision of ratios, there is no affixing.

Why do we say निमाने " in denoting the thing given in exchange "? Observe, द्वौ गुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तैलस्य = द्विगुणं पच्यते तैलं क्षीरेण " one part of oil cooks or absorbs as much as two parts of milk ". Here the sense is that of 'cooking' and not of purchasing.

Note: —In short मयट् has the meaning of 'time or fold'. As द्विमय " two time ", the word qualifying sometime the निमान, sometime the निमेय; e. g. द्विमयमुदश्वित यवानां " Udasvit is two-times or two-fold or Yava in value '; or द्विमया यवा उदश्वितः " two-times Yava are equal to one Udasvit '.

१८४९ । तस्य पूरणे डट् । ५ । २ । ४८ ॥

एकादशानां पूरण एकादशः ॥

1849. The affix ḍaṭ (अ, causing the elision of the last vowel with the consonant following it) comes after a Numeral in the sixth case in construction, when the sense is " making full this number ".

That by which a thing is completed is called पूरण ॥ Thus एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः the "eleventh" (i. e. the one which, added to ten, completes the eleven).

Note:—By this affix, ordinals are formed. The rule therefore, does not apply to a case like this:—पंचानां मुष्टिकानां पूरणो घटः ॥

१८५० । नान्तादसंख्यादेर्मट् । ५ । २ । ४९ ॥

डटो मडागमः स्यात् । पञ्चानां पूरणः पञ्चमः । नान्तात्किम् । विंशः । असंख्यादेः किम् । एकादशः ॥

1850. The augment maṭ (म) comes before डट्, in the above sense, after a Numeral which ends in न् when no other Numeral precedes it.

Thus पंचमः 'fifth' (the completer of the five). Why do we say 'ending in न्' Observe विंशते पूरणः = विंशः 'twentieth'. Why do we say 'not preceded by a Numeral'? Observe एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः ॥

१८५१ । षट्कतिकतिपयचतुरां थुक् । ५ । २ । ५१ ॥

एषां थुगागमः स्याद्डटि । षण्णां पूरणः षष्ठः । कतिथः । कतिपयशब्दस्यासंख्यास्वेऽप्यत एव ज्ञापकाद्डट् । कतिपयथः । चतुर्थः ॥ चतुरश्छयतावाद्यक्षरलोपश्च * ॥ तुरीयः । तुर्यः ॥

1851. When ḍaṭ follows, थुक् is the augment of the words shaṭ, kati; katipaya and chatur.

The डट् is to be read into this sûtra, and it should be changed into locative, as डटि 'when ḍaṭ follows'. The word कतिपय is not a Numeral, it takes डट् by force of this sûtra. Thus षण्णां पूरणः = षष्ठः 'sixth'. कतिथः 'the which in order'? कतिपयथः 'the one in order after several', चतुर्थः 'the fourth'.

Vart:—The affixes छ (ईय) and यत् come after चतुर् and there is elision of the first letter. As तुरीयः or तुर्यः ॥

Note:—In this and the two following sûtras, the action of the ड् of डट् vanishes when an augment is added.

१८५२ । बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५२ ॥

डटीत्येव । पूगसङ्घयोरसंख्यास्वेऽप्यत एव डट् । बहुतिथः । इत्यादि ॥

1852. When ḍaṭ follows, तिथुक् is the augment of the words bahu, pûga, gaṇa, and saṅgha.

The word डटि is understood here also. The words पूग and संघ are not Numerals; they take the affix डट् by virtue of this sûtra. Thus बहूनां पूरणः = बहुतिथः, पूगतिथः, गणतिथः, and संघतिथः &c.

१८५३ । वतोरिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५३ ॥

डटीत्येव । यावतिथः ॥

1853. When ḍaṭ follows, इथुक् is the augment of a stem ending in vatu.

The word डति is understood here also. The words ending in वतु are Numerals (I. 1. 23 S. 258) : and they will take डट् by V. 2. 48 ; the present sûtra declares the augment. Thus यावतां पूरणो = यावतियः ॥

१८५४ । द्वेस्तीयः । ५ । २ । ५४ ॥

डतेऽपवादः । द्वयोः पूरणो द्वितीयः ॥

1854. The affix तीय comes in the sense of 'completer thereof', after the word dvi.

This debars डट् ॥ Thus द्वयाः पूरणो = द्वितीयः 'the second'—that which completes the two.

१८५५ । त्रेः संप्रसारणं च । ५ । २ । ५५ ॥

तृतीयः ॥

1855. The affix tîya comes in the sense of 'completer thereof,' after the word tri; and there is samprasâraṇa (vocalisation) of the stem.

The substitution of a vowel for a semi-vowel is samprasâraṇa (I. 1. 45). Thus त्रि + तीय = तृ + इ + तीय = तृतीयः (VI. 1. 108, the इ of त्रि assumes the form of the prior letter ऋ which is substituted for र्)

Note :— In तृतीयः the ऋ is not lengthened by VI. 4. 2. because that rule applies to the lengthening of the अण् letters only, this word being read into VI. 4. 2, by anuvṛitti from VI. 3. 111 S. 174. The pratyâhara अण् is formed by the first ण् and means the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

१८५६ । विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो डतस्तमडागमो वा स्यात् । विंशतितमः । विंशः । एकविंशतितमः एकविंशः ॥

1856. After the words viṅśati &c, tamaṭ (तम with fem. in ङीप्) is optionally the augment of ḍaṭ.

This rule falling under the jurisdiction of पूरण we must read the word डट् into this sûtra, as the affix to which the augment तमट् is added. Thus विंशतेः पूरणः = विंशतितमः or विंशः 'twentieth' एकविंशतितमः or एकविंशः, त्रिविंशतितमः or त्रिविंशः त्रिंशत्तमः or त्रिंशः एकत्रिंशत्तमः or एकत्रिंशः ॥

Note :—In the case of मट् and यट् there will be no difference whatever whether we take them as affixes or as augments. Thus पंचन् + मट् = पंच् + मट् (VI. 4. 144) = पंचम ॥

१८५७ । नित्यं शतादिमासार्धमाससंवत्सराच्च । ५ । २ । ५७ ॥

शतस्य पूरणः शततमः । एकशततमः । मासादेरत एव डट् । मासतमः ॥

1857. Always after the words śata &c, and after mâsa, ardha-mâsa and sam-vatsar, tamaṭ is the augment of ḍaṭ.

The words शतादय are numerals. The words मास &c. are not numerals; they would not have taken डट् but by the implication of this sûtra. Thus शतस्य पूरणः शततमः 'hundredth; सहस्रतमः। Similarly मासस्य पूरणः = मासतमोदिवसः the last day of the month; अर्द्धमासतमः। संवत्सरतमः॥

Note:—By the next sûtra the words शत &c, would have taken तमट्; but the scope of that sûtra is confined to numerals not preceded by another numeral. There is no such restriction here. Hence we have एकशततमः। द्विशततमः॥

१८५८। षष्ठ्यादेश्चासंख्यादेः। ५। २। ५८॥

षष्टितमः। संख्यादेस्तु विंशत्यादिभ्य इति विकल्प एव। एकषष्टः। एकषष्टितमः॥

1158. After the words shashṭhi &c. when no other Numeral precedes them; tamaṭ is always the augment of ḍaṭ.

By sûtra V. 2. 56, the augment was optional, this makes it compulsory. Thus षाष्टतमः

Why do we say "when not preceded by a Numeral"? Observe एकषष्टः एकषष्टितमः, एकसप्तमः or एकसप्ततितमः॥ Here V, 2. 56. S. 1856 applies also.

१८५९। मतौ छः सूक्तसाम्नोः। ५। २। ५९॥

मत्वर्थे छः स्यात्। अच्छावाकशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति अच्छावाकीयं सूक्तम्। वारवन्तीयं साम॥

1859. When a Sûkta or a Sâman is to be expressed, the affix Chha (ईय) comes after a prâtipadika (nominal-stem), in the sense of the affix matup (V. 2. 94).

The word मतौ means 'in the sense of मतुप् affix.' The sense of मतुप is "whose is it or in whom it is". Thus अच्छावाक् शब्दोऽस्मिन् = अच्छावाकीयम् सूक्तम्। मित्रावरुणीयम् साम, वारवन्तीयम् साम॥

Note:—The affix comes after a collocation of words, as अस्यवामीयं 'the Sûkta containing the words अस्य वाम' e. g. Rig Veda Mandala 1. sûkta 164. Here the words अस्य वामस्य are considered as a Nominal Stem. So also कयाशुभीयम्॥

१८६०। अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक्। ५। २। ६०॥

मत्वर्थस्य छस्य। अत एव ज्ञापकात्तस्य छः। विधानसामर्थ्याच्च विकल्पेन लुक्। गर्दभाण्डः। गर्दभाण्डीयः॥

1860. When an Adhyâya or an Anuvâka is to be expressed, there is (optionally) luk-elision of the affix Chha, having the above sense of matup.

This sûtra indicates by implication (ज्ञापकः), that the affix छ comes after a nominal stem, to denote an Adhyâya or an Anuvâka. According to Pâtanjali the elision is optional, by the very fact of the rule enunciating the elision of the affix. According to Kaiyyata, as this sûtra is not placed in the section of matup affixes, which was the proper place for it, from its enunciation here we can infer that the elision is optional. Thus गर्दभाण्ड शब्दोऽस्मिन्नास्ति = गर्दभाण्डोऽध्यायः, अनुवाकोवा ॥ In the alternative, गर्दभाण्डीयः ॥

१८६१ । विमुक्तादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽण् स्यादध्यायानुवाकयोः । विमुक्तः शब्दोऽस्मिन्नास्ति वैमुक्तः । दैवासुरः ॥

1861. The affix aṇ comes in the sense of matup, when an Adhyâya or an Anuvâka is to be expressed after the words vimukta &c.

Thus विमुक्तशब्दोऽस्मिन्नास्ति = वैमुक्तोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ So also दैवासुरः &c. 1 विमुक्त, 2 देवासुर, 3 रक्तोऽसुर, 4 उवसद्, 5 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण), 6 परिसारक (परिषादक) 7 सदसत्, 8 वसु 9 मरुत्, मरुत्वत्, 10 पक्षीवत् 11 वसुमत्, 12 महीयस्व, (महीयल), 13 सत्वन्, 14 बर्हवत्*, 15 दशार्ण, 16 दशार्ह, 17 वयस्, (दशार्हपयस्), 18 हविर्धान, 19 पतत्रिन् (पतात्रि), 20 महिची 21 अस्थहत्य, 22 सोमापूषन्, 23 इडा, 24 अग्राविष्णु, (विष्णु), 25 उर्वशी, 26 वृत्रहन् (वृत्रहात्ति), 27 मिथी, 28 सोम, 29 हेतु, ॥

१८६२ । गोषदादिभ्योवुन् । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽध्यायानुवाकयोः । गोषदकः । इषेत्वकः ॥

1862, After the nominal stems goṣhada &c, there is the affix vun (अक) in the sense of matup, when an Adhyâya or an Anuvâka is to be expressed.

Thus गोषदशब्दोऽस्मिन्नास्ति = गोषदकोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ इषेत्वकः, मातरिश्वकाः &c Another reading is गोषद the final consonant being mute.

1 गोषद्, (गोषद), 2 इषेत्वा (त्वा), 3 मातरिश्वन्, 4 देवस्यत्वा, 5 देवीरापः, 6 कृष्णोऽस्या, खरेष्ठः, 7 देवीं (दैवीं) धिय धिया (धियम्), 8 रक्तोहण, 9 युञ्जान, 10 अभ्यञ्जन, 11 ग्रभूत, 12 प्रतुर्त, 13 कृसानु, (दृशान), 14 सहस्रऋषिर्षा, 15 वातस्य ते, 16 कृशाश्व, 17 स्वाहाप्राण, 18 प्रसप्र, (!), ॥

१८६३ । तत्र कुशलः पथः । ५ । २ । ६३ ॥

वुन् स्यात् । पथि कुशलः पथकः ॥

1863. The affix vun comes, after the word pathin, being in the seventh case in costruction, when the sense is "versed therein or skilled therein".

Thus पथि कुशलः = पथकः (पथिन् + वुन् = पथ् + वुन् VI. 4. 144. = पथ + अक VII. 1. 1.).

१८६४। आकर्षादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

आकर्षे कुशल आकर्षकः । आकर्षादिभ्य इति रेफरहितो मुखथः पाठः । आकर्षो निकर्षोपलः ॥

1864. The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of 'versed therein, skilled therein', after the nominal stems âkarsha &c, being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus आकर्षेकुशलः = आकर्षकः, स्रुवकः । The best texts have आकर्षः (Bohtlingk)

1 आकर्ष (आकर्ष), 2 स्रुव, 3 पिशाच (पिपासा). 4 पिचण्ड, 5 अशनि, 6 अश्मन्, 7 निचय (विचय), 8 चय, 9 विजय, 10 जय, 11 आचय, 12 नय 13 पाद (निपाद), 14 क्षीप, 15 हर, 16 हार, 17 हलाद, 18 गन्द, 19 शकुनि, 20 अय, ॥

१८६५। धनहिरण्यात्कामे । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

काम इच्छा । धने कामो धनको देवदत्तस्य । हिरण्यकः ॥

1865. The affix kan comes, after the words dhana and hiraṇya, being in 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'a desire thereafter.'

The word काम means 'desire, wish'. Thus धने कामः = धनको देवदत्तस्य ॥ So also हिरण्यकोः ॥

१८६६। खाङ्गेभ्यः प्रसिते । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

केशेषु प्रसितः केशकः । तद्रचनायां तत्पर इत्यर्थः ॥

1866. The affix kan comes after a word denoting a part of one's body, in the sense of 'who takes care of it, who bestows care upon it.'

The words तच and कन् are understood in this sûtra. The word प्रसित means 'devoted to, intent upon, craving after'. Thus केशेषु प्रसितः = केशकः i. e. केशादिरचनायां प्रसक्त एवमुच्यते ॥

Note;—The स्वाङ्गेभ्यः is in the plural number, indicating that the affix comes even after a collective compound of Svânga terms. Thus दन्तौष्ठकः, केशनखकः ॥ See. II. 3. 44.

१८६७। उदराट्ठगाद्यूने । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

अविजिगीषौ ठक् स्यात् । कनोऽपवादः । बुभुक्षयात्यन्तपीडित उरे प्रसित औदरिकः । आद्यूने किम् । उदरकः । उदरपरिमार्जनादौ प्रसक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

1867. The affix ṭhan (इक) comes in the sense of 'voracious' after the word udara.

This debars the affix कन ॥

Adyûna = not desiring to conquer; उत्कर्षेच्छारहितः see VIII. 2. 49. S, 3028 for the formation of this word from the root div.

Note :—The translation given above is according to Dr. Bohtlingk. According to the Kâsikâ, the ânuvṛitti of प्रसित is also read into this sûtra. The meaning then would be 'ṭhak comes after the word udara in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'who is devoted therein, when the word so formed means 'voracious'.

A person who is very much distressed by hunger is so called ; उदरेऽवि-जिगीषुर्भव्यत । Thus उदरे प्रसितः = औदरिकः (i.e. आढ्यूनः)

Why do we say when it means 'voracious'? Observe उदरकः 'abdominal'.

१८६८ । सस्येन परिजातः । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

कन स्वर्यते नतु ठक् । सस्यशब्दो गुणवाची नतु धान्यवाची । शस्येनेति पाठान्तरम् । सस्येन गुणेन परिजातः संबद्धः सस्यकः साधुः ॥

1868. The affix kan (क) comes after the word sasya being in the third case in construction, when the sense is " to supply richly with it ".

The anuvṛitti of कन्, not of ठक्, is to be read here. The word सस्य means 'good quality' and not 'corn', Another reading is शस्य. The word परि means 'all, every where'. That which is full of (परिजात) good qualities (सस्य) in which there is no defect, that is the signification here. Thus सस्येन परिजातः = सस्यकः शालिः 'a rice, above all praise', सस्यकः साधुः 'a good man, not equalled by any'.

१८६९ । अंशं हारी । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

हारीत्यावश्यके णिनिः । अत एव तद्योगे षष्ठी न । अंशको दायादः ॥

1869. The affix kan comes after the word aṅśa 'a share' in the second-case in construction, the sense being " who must take that ".

The word अंश is used in the accusative in the aphorism, showing that the construction must be accusative. The word हारिन्, nom. हारी is formed by adding णिनि to the root हृ, the force of the affix being that of "must, or necessity". See III. 3. 170. S. 3311. The word हारिन् will govern accusative and not genitive (II. 3. 70. S. 628.)

Thus अंश हारी = अंशकः 'an heir', i. e. who is entitled to take a share at partition i. e. a दायादः । अंशकः पुत्रः ॥

१८७० । तन्त्रादचिरापहृते । ५ । २ । ७० ॥

तन्त्रकः पटः । प्रत्यग्र इत्यर्थः ॥

1870. The affix Kan comes after the word tantra 'a loom or a shuttle,' in the sense of " taken off therefrom not long ago or shortly before ".

The word तन्त्र must be in the fifth case in construction, by the very fact of its being so employed in the sûtra. The word अचिर means 'short time, not long' अपहृत means "taken off". Thus तन्त्रादचिरापहृतः = तन्त्रकः "a cloth just taken off the loom or from which the shuttle has just been taken off." i. e. an unbleached cloth. As तन्त्रकः पटः, तन्त्रकः प्रावारः 'a new mantle' = प्रत्यग्रः or नवः ॥

१८७१ । ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ७१ ॥

आयुधजीविनो ब्राह्मणा यस्मिन्देशे स ब्राह्मणकः । अल्पमन्नं यस्यां सा उष्णिका यवागूः । अन्नशब्दस्य उष्णोदेशो निपात्यते ॥

1871. The words Brâhmaṇaka and ushṇika are anomalous, when they are Names.

Thus ब्राह्मणको देशः, उष्णिका यवागूः ॥ The affix कन् is added to ब्राह्मण, with the force of 'a place where Brâhmaṇas who live by the profession of arms dwell'. Similarly उष्णिक means अल्पान्नः ॥ The word अन्न is replaced by उष्ण by virtue of this sûtra.

१८७२ । शीतोष्णाभ्यां कारिणि । ५ । २ । ७२ ॥

शीतं करोतीति शीतकोऽलसः । उष्णं करोतीति उष्णकः शीघ्रकारी ॥

1872. The affix kan comes after the words śîta and ushṇa, in the sense of 'who goes to work thus'.

The words शीत and उष्ण being used as adverbs will be in accusative construction. As शीतं करोति 'who goes to work coldly' i. e. a lazy man = शीतकः = अलसः, जडः ॥ Similarly उष्णकः = शीघ्रकारी, दक्षः 'who goes to work hotly'.

१८७३ । अधिकम् । ५ । २ । ७३ ॥

अध्यारूढशब्दात्कन् उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥

1873. The word adhika is anomalous.

The word अधिकः meaning 'more', is formed by adding कन् to the word अध्यारूढ; there being elision of the second term before the affix. Thus अधिको द्रोणः खार्याम् or अधिको द्रोणः खार्याः "a Droṇa is superior to Khârî" अधिका खारी द्रोणेन "a Khârî is inferior to Droṇa". The word अध्यारूढ governs nominative or accusative indifferently.

Note:—Thus अध्यारूढौ द्रोणः खारीं ॥ Similarly अधिक would have governed the accusative also. But Pâṇini uses the ablative and locative after adhika, as in II. 3. 9. S. 645 and V. 2. 45. S. 1846 and thus we learn that it governs the ablative and locative. This is the case when adhyâruḍha is an active participle. But when it is a passive participle, as it may also be by III. 4. 72. S. 3086, then as the participle denotes the object, it will take the first case in construction. In that case, there will not be the ablative or the locative.

१८७४। अनुकाभिकाभीकः कमिता । ५ । २ । ७४ ॥

अन्वभिभ्यां कन् । अभेः पाक्षिको दीर्घश्च । अनुकामयते अनुकः । आभिकामयते अभिकः । अभीकः ॥

1874. The words anuka, abhika and abhîka are anomalously formed by adding कन् to anu and abhi, the meaning 'being at liberty to do or being fond of'.

Thus अनुकामयते = अनुकः 'desirous, libidinous'. अभिकामयते = अभिकः or अभीकः 'a lover, voluptuous person'. These are formed by adding कन् to अनु and अभि ॥ In one case the short इ of abhi is lengthened.

१८७५। पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति । ५ । २ । ७५ ॥

अनृजुरुपायः पार्श्वं तेनान्विच्छति पार्श्वकः ॥

1875. The affix kan comes after the word pârśva, in the third-case in construction, signifying "who strives to gain something by that".

The word पार्श्वम् means 'a fraudulent or crooked expedient'. One who endeavours to obtain anything by fraud is called पार्श्वकः 'a cheat, a juggler, a partisan'. पार्श्व = a rib, a cooked thing; as पार्श्वकः = मायाविन्, कौसृतिक, ज्ञालिकः &c.

१८७६। अयः शूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्ठञौ । ५ । २ । ७६ ॥

तीक्ष्ण उपायोऽयःशूलं तेनान्विच्छति आयःशूलिकः । साहसिकः । दण्डाजिनं दम्भः, तेनान्विच्छति दाण्डाजिनिकः ॥

1876. The affixes ṭhak and ṭhañ come respectively after ayaḥśûla and daṇḍâjina, in the same sense of "who strives to gain something by that".

The word अन्विच्छति is understood here also. The word अयः शूलम् means 'a violent proceeding'. Who seeks to obtain anything by violent means is called आयः शूलिकः = साहसिकः ॥ The word दण्डाजिन् means 'staff (daṇḍa) and hide (ajina)' i. e. outer badges of devotion or hypocrisy. Who seeks to gain something by hypocrisy and deceit is called दाण्डाजिनिकः = दाम्भिकः ॥

१८७७। तावतिथं ग्रहणमिति लुग्वा । ५ । २ । ७७ ॥

कन् स्याप्पूरणप्रत्ययस्य च लुग्वा । द्वितयिकं द्विकं वा ग्रहणं देवदत्तस्य । द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रहणमित्यर्थः । तावतिथेन गृह्णातीति कन्वक्तव्यो नित्यं च लुक् * ॥ षष्ठेन रूपेण गृह्णाति षट्को देवदत्तः । पञ्चकः ॥

1877. The affix kan is added to an ordinal number, in the sense of "acquiring a subject after so many attempts";

and there is optionally the elision of the affix denoting the ordinal number.

The word तावतियं (V. 2. 53 S. 1853) stands here as a type of all words ending in affixes denoting पूरण i. e. ordinals. The word ग्रहण means 'acquired or learned hereby'. This qualifies the base. Thus द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = द्विकं ग्रहणम् or द्वितीयकं ग्रहणम् 'the acquisition of the knowledge or book by the second time' i. e. "successful mastery by the second time". So also त्रिकं or त्रितीयकम्, चतुष्कम् or चतुर्थकम् ॥

Vârt :—When the word, formed by the affix kan, means the *person* who acquires after so many times, then the elision of the पूरण affix is compulsory and not optional. Thus षष्ठेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = षट्को देवदत्तः 'Devadatta who learns the book for the sixth time' i. e. 'who succeeds in learning the book at the sixth attempt'. Similarly पंचकः, चतुष्कः ॥ The word ग्रहण here is confined to books only and to nothing else.

१८७८ । स एषां ग्रामणीः । ५ । २ । ७८ ॥

देवदत्तो मुख्यो येषां ते देवदत्तकाः । स्वस्कः । मस्कः ॥

1878. The affix kan comes after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive case, when the sense is "he is their leader".

The word ग्रामणी means 'head-man, leader, spokes-man'. Thus देवदत्तो मुख्योऽस्य = देवदत्तकः, ॥ So also स्वस्कः and मस्कः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when meaning a leader'? Witness देवदत्तः शत्रुरेषाम् ॥ Here there is no affixing.

१८७९ । शृङ्खलमस्य बन्धनं करभे । ५ । २ । ७९ ॥

शृङ्खलकः करभः ॥

1879. The affix kan comes after the word śriṅkhala 'a clog', in the sense of "clog is its fetter", when the whole word means a young camel.

Thus शृंखलं बन्धनमस्य करभस्य = शृंखलकः ॥

Note :—The young ones of a camel are called करभ ॥ The wooden clogs put on their feet to prevent them from straying are called शृंखल ॥ Though the ropes &c are also used along with the clog, yet śṛinkhala being the principal object that takes away the freedom is called बन्धन or bond or fetter.

१८८० । उत्क उन्मनाः । ५ । २ । ८० ॥

उन्मनस्कवृत्तेरुच्छब्दात्स्वार्थे कन् । उत्क उत्कण्ठितः ॥

1880. The word utka is anomalous, meaning 'longing after, yearning'.

He whose mind anxiously desires or yearns after a thing is called उन्मनः ॥ The word उत्कः is formed by adding कन् to the preposition उद् without changing the sense, in the sentence उद्गतमनस्कवृत्तिः ॥ Thus उत्को देवदत्तः उत्कः प्रवासो = उत्सुकः or उत्कण्ठितः ॥

१८८१। कालप्रयोजनाद्रोगे। ५। २। ८१ ॥

कालवचनात्प्रयोजनवचनाच्च कन् स्याद्रोगे। द्वितीयेऽहनि भवो द्वितीयको ज्वरः। प्रयोजनं कारणं रोगस्य फलं वा। विषपुष्पैर्जनितो विषपुष्पकः। उष्णं कार्यमस्य उष्णकः। रोगे किम्। द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य ॥

1881. The affix kan comes after a word expressing a time, or a cause or effect (of the diseased), when an illness is denoted.

The word काल means 'days' &c, and प्रयोजन means 'the cause (of disease) or its effect'. Thus द्वितीयेऽह्नि भवः = द्वितीयको ज्वरः 'the fever which comes on the second day'. Similarly after a word denoting प्रयोजनः as, विषपुष्पैर्जनितः = विषपुष्पको ज्वरः 'a fever caused by poisonous flowers'. So also काशपुष्पकः ॥ So also उष्णं कार्यमस्य = उष्णकः 'a fever producing heat'. Why do we say "when an illness is denoted"? When 'illness' is not meant, then there is no affixing, as, द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य ॥

Note—The word संज्ञा is to be read in to this sûtra from the next sûtra. Therefore words द्वितीयकः &c are Names.

१८८२। तदस्मिन्नन्नं प्राये संज्ञायाम्। ५। २। ८२ ॥

प्रथमान्तात्सप्तम्यर्थे कन् स्यात् यत्प्रथमान्तमन्नं चेत्प्रायविषयं तत्। गुडापूपाः प्रायेणान्नमस्यां गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी ॥ वटकेभ्य इनिर्वाच्यः * ॥ वटकिनी ॥

1882. The affix kan is added to a word denoting food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is the principal food on this particular occasion", when the whole word so formed is a Name.

Thus गुडापूपा प्रायेणान्नमस्या पौर्णमास्यां = गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी "The Gûḍâpûpikâ—Paurṇamâsî" i. e. that particular Full-Moon day in which cakes of sugar form the principal accompaniment of food.

Vârt:—The affix इनि comes after वटक in the same sense. As वटकिनी पौर्णमासी ॥

१८८३। कुल्माषादञ्। ५। २। ८३ ॥

कुल्माषाः प्रायेणान्नमस्यां कौल्माषी ॥

1883. The affix añ comes after kulmâsha, in the same sense "this is the principal food on this particular occasion"—and the whole word is a Name.

The ञ् of अञ् is for the sake of causing Vṛiddhi and accent. Thus कुल्माषाः प्रायेणान्नमस्यां=कौल्माषी पौर्णमासी ॥

१८८४ । श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते । ५ । २ । ८४ ॥

श्रोत्रियः । वेत्यनुवृत्तेश्छान्दसः ॥

1884. The word śrotriyan is irregularly formed meaning 'who has studied the Chhandas'.

Note:—The न् in श्रोत्रियन् is for the sake of accent. As श्रोत्रियो ब्राह्मणः "a Brâhmaṇa learned in the Vedas". The word श्रोत्रिय is either a condensed expression for the full sentence छन्दोऽधीते, referring to no particular base or affix. Or the word छन्दस् is replaced by श्रोत्र, and then is added the affix घन् ॥ But how do you form then छान्दसः, in the sense of छन्दोऽधीते, by adding the affix अण् by IV. 2. 59 S. 1269? The present sûtra is optional, the word वा of V. 2. 77 S. 1877 being understood here: so that we have the form छान्दसः also. Some say that श्रोत्रिय applies only to that person who has not only studied the Vedas, but who acts upon its purport also, while छान्दस applies to a student in general; so one sûtra does not debar the other, as they apply to different objects.

१८८५ । श्राद्धमनेन भुक्तमिनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ८५ ॥

श्राद्धी । श्राद्धिकः ॥

1885. The affixes ini (इन्) and ṭhan come after the word śrâddha, in the sense of "this is eaten by him".

Thus श्राद्धं भुक्तमनेन=श्राद्धी or श्राद्धिकः "a person who has eaten obsequial food".

Note:—This relates to a person who eats on the day the Śrâddha ceremony takes place; and not at any other time nor who eats stale food of śrâddha. अद्य भुक्ते श्राद्धे श्वः श्राद्धिक इति मा भूत् ॥ The word श्राद्ध originally means a certain ceremony, and is derived from the word श्रद्धा with the affix ण V. 2. 101. In a figurative sense, it here means the food taken at that ceremony.

१८८६ । पूर्वादिनिः । ५ । २ । ८६ ॥

पूर्वं कृतमनेन पूर्वी ॥

1886. The affix ini (इन्) comes after pûrva, in the sense of 'by whom something was done formerly'.

The word अनेन of the last sûtra is understood here. But what is the verb of which अनेन is the agent. The भुक्त of the last sûtra is not to be read

into this sûtra. Therefore we must supply some general verb such as 'doing' &c, to complete the sense. Thus पूर्वं गतमनेन = पूर्वी ॥ In fact पूर्वम् means " by whom some thing was done &c, formerly ".

१८८७ । सपूर्वाच्च । ५ । २ । ८७ ॥

कृतपूर्वी ॥

1887. The affix ini comes after the word pûrva, also when another word precedes it, the sense being 'by whom something is done'.

Thus कृतपूर्वी कटम् = पूर्वं कृतमनेन 'who formerly made'. भुक्तपूर्वी ओदनम् ॥

Note:—In these words, first कृत and पूर्व are compounded by II. 1. 4; and then the affix is added. These two sûtras V. 2. 86, 87, give rise to these two maxims अहनवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति " that which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika or Nominal-stem, does, (contrary to I. 1. 72 S. 26) not denote that which ends with it but it denotes only itself." व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन "The rule of vyapadesivad-bhâva does not apply to a prâtipadika". That rule is embodied in the following paribhâshâ—व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्—" an operation which affects some thing on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach ".

१८८८ । इष्टादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ८८ ॥

इष्टमनेन इष्टी । अधीती ॥

1888. The affix ini comes after ishṭa &c. in the sense of 'by him'.

Thus इष्टमनेन = इष्टी यज्ञे; पूर्ती श्राद्धे &c. " who sacrificed ", "who performed a charitable act". The words इष्टिन्, पूर्तिन &c. formed by इन् will govern locative instead of accusative. See vârtika under II. 3. 36. So also अधीती ॥

1 इष्ट, 2 पूर्त, 3 उपासादित (उपसादित), 4 निगदित, 5 परिगदित *, 6 परिवादित 7 निकायित, 8 निषादित *, 9 निपठित, 10 संकलित, 11 परिकलित, 12 संरक्षित, 13 परिरक्षित, 1 अर्चित, 15 गणित*, 16 अवकीर्ण, 17 आयुक्त, 18 गृहीत, 19 आम्नात, 20 श्रुत (आम्नातश्रुत,) 2 अधीत, 22 अवधान (!)*, 23 आसेवित, 24 अवधारित, 25 अवकल्पित, 26 निराकृत, 27 उपकृत, 2 उपाकृत, 29 अनुयुक्त, 30 अनुगणित, 31 अनुपठित, 32 व्याकुलित, 33 परिक्रयित, 34 संक्रीत, 3 विकलित, 36 निपतित, 37 पटित, 38 पूजित, 39 परिगणित, 40 उपगणित, 41 परित, (?), 4 अपवारित, 43 उपनत, 44 निगृहीत, 45 अपचित. ॥

१८८९ । छन्दसि परिपन्थिपरिपरिणौ पर्यवस्थातरि । ५ । २ । ८९ ॥

लोके तु परिपन्थिशब्दो न न्याय्यः ॥

1889. In the Chhandas, the words paripanthin and pariparin are anomalously formed by this affix, and have the sense of 'an antagonist'.

Note :—The word पर्यवस्थातृ means 'an adversary, an antagonist' Thus मा त्वा परिपरिणो विदन् मा त्वा परिपन्थिनो विदन् (Yaj. Ved. IV. 34.). These words are obsolete in the classical literature. See however Gita III. 34.

१८९० । अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा । ५ । २ । ९० ॥

अनुपदमन्वेष्टा अनुपदी गवाम् ॥

1890. The word anupadin, formed anomalously by ini, denotes 'who goes after, who searches'.

Thus अनुपदी गवाम् "going after or searching the cows'.

१८९१ । साक्षाद्द्रष्टरिसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ९१ ॥

साक्षाद्द्रष्टा साक्षी ॥

1891. The affix ini comes after the word sâkṣhât, in the sense of 'a spectator, looker on,' when the word so formed is a Name.

The word साक्षात् is an Indeclinable. The word संज्ञा is used in the aphorism to restrict the sense of the word. Thus साक्षाद् द्रष्टा = साक्षी, 'an eye witness'.

Note :—In any transaction like loan, &c. three persons directly see the fact and may be called द्रष्टा viz. who gives, who takes, and another who merely looks on. By using the word संज्ञा the word साक्षिन् is restricted to the mere looker on, and not to the lender or borrower.

१८९२ । क्षेत्रियच परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः । ५ । २ । ९२ ॥

क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः । शरीरान्तरे चिकित्स्यः । अप्रतिकार्य इत्यर्थः ॥

1892. The word kshetriyach (क्षेत्रीयँ) is anomalous, meaning "curable in another body" i. e. "not curable in this life".

The whole word is enunciated here in the sense of para-kshetre-chikitsya; or the word क्षेत्रीय, with acute on the last syllable, is formed by adding the affix घच् to the word परक्षेत्र, the force of the affix being 'curable therein' and the word पर is elided before this affix. Thus क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः 'incurable disease', i. e.—organic disease. The word परक्षेत्र means body assumed in the next reincarnation. The word क्षेत्रिय applies to an irremediable disease.

Note :—The word क्षेत्रियं means 'poison' also = यत् परक्षेत्रे परशरीरेसंक्रमय्य चिकित्स्यते ॥ That which is to be removed from another's body where it has entered'. Or क्षेत्रिय means 'rank growth or grass', i. e. यानि सस्यार्थे क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्स्यानि नाशयितव्यानि "that like grass &c. which grows in a para-kshetra or another's field i. e. a field set apart for grain &c. and not for grass, and which therefore must be weeded

out (chikitsya)" Or क्षेत्रिय is an 'adulterer', i. e. परदाराः परक्षेत्रं, तत्र चिकित्स्यः निगृहीतव्यः ॥ These are all secondary meanings.

१८९३। इन्द्रियमिन्द्रलिङ्गमिन्द्रदृष्टमिन्द्रसृष्टमिन्द्रजुष्टमिन्द्रदत्तमितिवा । ५। २। ९३ ॥

इन्द्र आत्मा तस्य लिङ्गं करणेन कर्तुरनुमानात् । इतिशब्दः प्रकारार्थः । इन्द्रेणदुर्जयमिन्द्रियम् ॥

1893. The word Indriyam, (having udâtta on the last), is anomalous, meaning an organ of sense; and so called, either because it is "the characteristic from which the existence of Indra is inferred", or 'it is seen by Indra', or 'it is created by Indra', or 'it is wished for by Indra', or 'it is given by Indra'.

The word इंद्रिय is a primitive word, meaning organs of sense, such as eyes &c. Its derivation is obscure, if it is a derivative word at all. In the latter alternative, it may be said to be formed by the affix घच् added after इन्द्र, in the sense of either 'a mark thereof'. As इन्द्रस्य लिङ्गम् = इन्द्रियम् ॥ The senses (indriyas) are so called because, Indra is Atma or soul, and it is inferred by the existence of the senses, eyes, ears &c. So that these organs are the 'marks' or signs or linga of Indra: because they being an instrument presuppose an agent, there being no instrument without an agent.

Note :—Or the senses (indriyas) are so-called because they are '*seen or known* by Indra or Âtmâ' (इन्द्रेण दृष्टं = ज्ञातं). The affix is here added to a word in the third case in construction. The knowing or perceiving of the senses by the Self is an allusion to the following Śruti of the Aitareya Upanishad Chapter III. verse. 13, where the Self having created the physical body took a survey of it. स एतमेव पुरुषं ब्रह्म ततममपश्यदिदमदर्शमिती, He beheld this Brahma, who dwells in the body, who pervades every where, and exclaimed—'I have seen this'. Or they are so called because they are *created* by Indra or Âtmâ (इन्द्रेण सृष्टं) i. e. the senses are formed, according to the good and bad deeds of the Self. Or they are so called because they are '*wished for*' by Indra or Self (इन्द्रेण जुष्टं सेवितं) as they are the gate-ways of knowledge. Or they are so called because they are '*given by*' Indra (इन्द्रेण दत्तं) i. e. they are allotted to their respective objects by Indra e. g. the eye is given to perceive forms, the ear to perceive sounds and so on. The word वा 'or' joins every one of the above.

The word इति shows, that there may be other appropriate significations also: As, इन्द्रेण दुर्जयम् = इन्द्रियम् 'senses'–difficult to be subdued by the Soul.

१८९४। तदस्यास्त्यस्मिन्निति मतुप् । ५। २। ९४ ॥

गावोऽस्यास्मिन्वा सन्ति गोमान् ॥ भूमनिन्दाप्रशंसासु नित्ययोगेऽतिशायने । संबन्धेऽस्तिविवक्षायां भवन्ति मतुबादयः ॥

1894. The affix matup (मत् मन्त् *f.* ई) comes after a word in first case in construction in the sense of 'whose it is', or 'in whom it is'.

Thus गावोऽस्य सन्ति = गोमत् nom गोमान् 'having cows', as गोमान् देवदत्तः ॥ वृक्षा अस्मिन् सन्ति = वृक्षवत् (व being substituted for म by VIII. 2. 9). as वृक्षवान् पर्वतः ॥ Similarly यवमान्, इक्षवान् ॥ The word इति shows that the use of मतुप् and cognate affixes are restricted in their application. For example, a person who has three barley grains only will not be called यववान् ॥ This affix comes when the significations are (1) A large quantity or number, as गोमान् 'having many cows'. (2) When censure (निन्दा) is implied, as ककुदावर्त्ती, संखावत्की, (3) when praise (प्रशंसा) is meant, as रूपवती कन्या, (4) when an inherent, or permanent quality of a thing is meant (नित्ययोग) as, क्षीरिणी वृक्षः ॥ When excellence (अतिशायन) is meant, as उदरिणी कन्या ॥ (6) When accompaniment (संसर्ग) is meant, as दण्डी, छत्री ॥ (7) When the sense of अस्ति 'to be' is denoted, as अस्तिमान् ॥

१८९५ । रसादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ९५ ॥

मतुप्, रसवान् । रूपवान् । अन्यमत्वर्थीयनिवृत्त्यर्थं वचनम् । रस, रूप, वर्ण, गन्ध, स्पर्श, शब्द, स्नेह, भाव, गुणात् । एकाचः ॥ स्ववान् । गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम् ॥

1895. The affix matup comes after the nominal stems rasa &c, in the sense of 'whose it is', or 'in whom it is'.

As रसवान्, रूपवान्, गन्धवान् ॥ (Why this special sûtra with regard to रसादि words, when they would have taken मतुप् by the last sûtra ?) This prevents the application to these words of other affixes having the sense of मतुप् ॥

Note :—How do you form then रूपिणी कन्या, रूपिको दारकः ॥ These are rare forms. According to Pâtanjali this sûtra is useless. Or the words रस &c, must denote qualities, perceivable by the organs of taste, touch &c, i. e. रस should mean taste, रूप, form. Therefore the forms रूपिणी and रूपिकः are valid, meaning शोभायोग्यता ॥ So also रसिको तटः = भावयोगः, here रूप and रस do not mean 'form' and 'taste'. And all words of quality having one syllable are governed by this sûtra, and form their derivative in मतुप् ॥ See V. 2. 115.

1 रस, 2 रूप, 3 वर्ण *, 4 गन्ध, 5 स्पर्श, 6 शब्द, 7 स्नेह, 8 भाव °, 9 गुणात् (गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम्), 10 एकाचः (स्ववत्) ॥

Gana Sûtra :—The affix मतुप् comes after रस &c, when they denote quality.

Gana Sûtra :—So also after words of one syllble. As स्ववान् ॥

१८९६ । तसौ मत्वर्थे । १ । ४ । १९ ॥

तान्तसान्तौ भसंज्ञौ स्तो मत्वर्थे प्रत्ययेपरे । वसोः संप्रसारणम् । विदुष्मान् ॥
गुणवचनेभ्यो मतुपो लुगिष्टः * ॥ शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ती शुक्लः पटः । कृष्णः ॥

1896. The word-form ending in त् or in स् is called Bha, when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sûtra. Thus is the word विदुष्मान् (VI. 4. 131 S. 435). By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is barred.

Vârt:—The affix मतुप् is elided after words of quality (गुणवचन), as शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्तिः=शुक्लः पटः ॥ कृष्णः, श्वेतः &c.

१८९७ । मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्यः । ८ । २ । ९ ॥

मवर्णावर्णान्तान्मवर्णावर्णोपधायाश्च यवादिवर्जितात्परस्य मतोर्मस्य वः स्यात् । किंवान् । ज्ञानवान् । विद्यावान् । लक्ष्मीवान् । यशस्वान् । भास्वान् । यवादेस्तु यवमान् । भूमिमान् ॥

1897. For the म् of the affix मत् is substituted व, if the stem ends in म् or अ (and आ) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in म् or having म् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted व् for the म् of मतुप् ॥ First after stems ending in म्, as किंवत् (किंवान्). Secondly म् penultimate: as लक्ष्मीवान् । Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as ज्ञानवान्, विद्यावान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate as यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of यव &c"? Observe यवमान्, भूमिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. यव, 2 दल्भि, 3. ऊर्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृमि, 6, कुङ्खा, 7. वद्या, 8. द्रात्वा, 9. धात्वा ॥ These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate. 10. धृजि, 11 ध्वजि, 12. सञ्जि, These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. S. 3600) 13. हरित्, 14. ककुत्, 15. गरुत्, ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इक्षु, 17. मधु 18. द्रुम, 19. मण्ड, 20. धुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an Âkṛitigaṇa. Wherever in a word, the म् of मतुप् is not changed to व् though the rules require it, that word should be classified under यवादि class. In the secondary word नार्मतं (=नृमत इदं), the व् change has not taken place, because the अ is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ऋ ॥

The word मात् in the sûtra is the Ablative of म, i. e. of म्+अ, it is a Samâhâra Dvandva of these two letters.

१८९८ । झयः । ८ । २ । १० ॥

झयन्तान्मतोर्मस्य वः स्यात् । अपदान्तस्यान्नअश्वम् । विद्युत्वान् ॥

1898. The व् is substituted for the म् of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As विद्युत्वान् ॥

१८९९ । संज्ञायाम् । ८ । २ । ११ ॥

मतोर्मस्य वः स्यात् । अहीवती । सुनीवती । शरदीनां चेति दीर्घः ॥

1899. The व् is substituted for म् of मत् when the word so formed is a Name.

As अहीवती, सुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120. S. 1042.

१९०० । आसन्दीवदष्ठीवच्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वच्चर्मण्वती । ८ । २ । १२ ॥

एते षट् संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते । आसनशब्दस्यासन्दीभावः । आसन्दीवान् ग्रामः । अन्यत्रासन्नीवान् । अस्थिशब्दस्याष्ठीभावः । अष्ठीवान् नाम ऋषिः । अस्थिमानन्यत्र । चक्रशब्दस्य चक्रीभावः । चक्रीवन्नाम राजा । चक्रवानन्यत्र । कक्ष्यायाः संप्रसारणम् । कक्षीवान्नाम ऋषिः । कक्ष्यावानन्यत्र । लवणशब्दस्य रुमण्भावः । रुमण्वान्नाम पर्वतः । लवणवानन्यत्र । चर्मणो नलोपाभावो णत्वं च । चर्मण्वती नाम नदी । चर्मवत्यन्यत्र ॥

1900. The following six Names are irregularly formed :—âsandîvat, ashṭhîvat, chakrîvat, kakshîvat, rumaṇvat charmaṇvatî.

The change of म् to व् in these was obtained from the last sûtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवत् , is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी ॥ As आसन्दीवान् ग्रामः, अहिस्थलम् ॥ When not a name we have आसन वान् ॥

2. अष्ठीवत् is from अस्थि which is changed to अष्ठी ॥ As अष्ठीवान् the name of a particular Ṛishi. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवत् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् । 4. कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या, there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 2. S. 2559. कक्षीवान् is the name of a Ṛishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5. रुमण्वत् is the name of a mountain ; it is formed from लवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन् , there is non-elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

१९०१ । उदन्वानुदधौ च । ८ । २ । १३ ॥

उदकस्य उदन्भावो मतौ उदधौ संज्ञायां च । उदन्वान् समुद्रः ऋषिश्च ॥

1901. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed, in the sense of " a sea " or a " name ".

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मत् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like, तटाक &c.

१९०२ । राजन्वान् सौराज्ये । ८ । २ । १४ ॥

राजन्वती भूः । राजवानन्यत्र ॥

1902. Also **राजन्वान्** when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती भूः ॥ The affix मतुप् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

१९०३ । प्राणिस्थादातो लजन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । ९९ ॥

चूडालः । चूडावान् । प्राणिस्थाल्किम् । शिखावान्दीपः । आतः किम् । हस्तवान् । प्राण्यङ्गादेव, मेह । मेधावान् । प्रत्ययस्वरेणैव सिद्धे अन्तोदात्तत्वे चूडालोऽसीत्यादौ स्वरितो वानुदात्ते पदादाविति स्वरितबाधनार्थश्चकारः ॥

1903. The affix lach (लँ) comes optionally, in the sense of matup, after a stem ending in long आ, the word expressing something which is found only in a living being.

Thus from चूडा 'a crest' we have चूडालः or चूडावान् ॥ Why do we say 'which is found in a living being'? Observe शिखावान् दीपः 'the crested flame of a lamp'. Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe हस्तवान्, पदवान्, ॥

It should be stated that the affix लच् comes only after what denotes member or limb of a living being, (and not anything like love, passion, intelligence &c. that are also found in a living being). Hence there is no affixing of लच् here in मेधावान् "possessed of intelligence".

Every affix is udâtta (III. 1. 3), unless contrary is indicated by some anubandha. The लच् would have been udâtta by III. 1. 3, even without the indicatory च् (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710). The employment of this aunbandha, however, indicates that this udâtta will never be changed into svarita, as other udâttas are by rule VII. 2. 6. S. 3659). As चूडालोऽसि ॥

१९०४ । सिध्मादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ९७ ॥

लज्वा स्यात् । सिध्मलः । सिध्मवान् । अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणं मतुप्समुच्चयार्थं नतु प्रत्ययविकल्पार्थम् । सेनाकारान्तेभ्य इनिठनौ न ॥ वातदन्तबललललाटानामूङ् च ॥ * वातूलः ॥

1904. The affix lach comes in the sense of matup, after the words sidhma &c, and optionally matup also.

Thus सिध्मलः or सिध्मवान् ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् understood in this sûtra, causes the employment of the affix मतुप् in the alternative. It does not mean

that the affix लच् is optional. For were लच् optional, then the affixes इनि and ठन् would come by V. 2. 115. S. 1922. after those words of सिध्मादि class which end in अ. But that is not the case.

Note:—The words पार्ष्णि and धमनि lengthen the vowel before ल, as पार्ष्णीलः धमनीलः ॥

Vârt:—The words वत, दन्त, बल, ललाट and गल take the augment ऊङ् before लच्, as वातूलः, दन्तुलः, बल्वूलः, ललाटूलः, गळूलः ॥

Note:—The words जटा, घटा, कटा, and कला take लच् when censure is meant, as जटालः, घटालः कलालः and कटालः but जटावांस्तापसः when no censure is meant.

Note:—The affix लच् comes after words denoting lower organisms and words denoting disease: as यूकालः, मक्षिकालः, विचर्चिकालः, विपादिकालः मूर्छालः ॥

1 सिध्म, 2 गडु, 3 मणि, 4 नाभि, 5 बीज (जीव), 6 वीणा*, 7 कृष्ण*, 8 निष्पाव, 9 पांसु, 10 पार्श्व, 11 पर्शु (परशु) 12 हनु, 13 सक्तु, 14 मांस, 15 पार्ष्णिधमन्योर्दीर्घश्च 16 वातदन्तबललललाटानामूङ् च 17 जटाघटाकटाकलाः (कटा) क्षेपे, 18 पर्ण, 19 उदक, 20 प्रज्ञा, 21 सक्थि, (सक्थि) 22 कर्ण, 23 स्नेह, 24 शीत, 25 श्याम, 26 पिङ्ग, 27 पित्त, 28 पुष्क, (शुष्क), 29 पृथु, 30 मृदु, 31 ऋजु 32 मण्ड, 33 पत्र, 34 चटु, 35 कपि, 36 गण्डु, (कण्डु), 37 ग्रन्थि, 38 श्री*, 39 कुश, 40 धारा*, 41 वर्मन्*, 42 पक्ष्मन्*, 43 श्लेष्मन्, 44 पेश, 45 निष्पाद, 46 कुण्ड, 47 क्षुद्रजन्तूपतापयोश्च 48 गण्ड, 49 संज्ञा, ॥

१९०५। वत्सांसाभ्यां कामबले। ५। २। ९८ ॥

आभ्यां लच्वा स्याद्यथासंख्यं कामवति बलवति चार्थे। वत्सलः। अंसलः ॥

1905. The affix lach comes after the word vatsa and aṅsa, in the sense of "love" and "strength" respectively.

Thus वत्सलः 'loving the calf, loving, tender'. अंसलः 'strong, lusty'.

Note:—The word वत्स means 'calf'. In वत्सलः there is no trace of its origin, for it is applied to father, master &c, as वत्सलः स्वामी, वत्सलः पिता &c. The word अंस means 'shoulder' but अंसल means 'strong'. The affix लच् in these cases is not optional but necessary and debars मतुप् ॥ In other senses, the matup only is added as अंसवती गौः, अंसवान् दुर्बलः ॥

१९०६। फेनादिलच्च। ५। २। ९९ ॥

चाल्लच्। अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणं मतुप्समुच्चयार्थमनुवर्तते। फेनिलः। फेनलः। फेनवान् ॥

1906. The affix ilach (इलच्) as well as lach, comes after the word phena, in the sense of matup: and optionally the affix matup also.

The word च् draws in लच्; and the word अन्यतरस्याम् understood in the sûtra adds मतुप् in the alternative. As फेनिलः, फेनलः and फेनवान् ॥

१९०७। लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः। ५। २। १०० ॥

लोमादिभ्यः शः। लोमशः। लोमवान्। रोमशः। रोमवान्। पामादिभ्यो नः। पामनः॥ अङ्गात्कल्याणे * ॥ अङ्गना ॥ लक्ष्म्या अच * ॥ लक्ष्मणः ॥ विष्वगित्युत्तरपदलोपश्चाकृतसन्धेः * ॥ विषुणः। पिच्छादिभ्यः इलच्। पिच्छिलः। पिच्छवान्। उरसिलः। उरस्वान् ॥

1907. The three affixes śa (श), na (न), and इलच् (इल्) come in the sense of matup, respectively after the words of these three classes i. e. lomádi, pâmâdi, and pichchhâdi : and the affix matup also comes in the alternative.

The affix श comes after लोमादि words as लोमशः or लोमवान् 'hairy'. So also रोमशः or रोमवान् ॥ The affix न comes after पामादि words, as पामनः or पामवान् 'scabby'.

Vârt :—The affix न comes after the word अङ्ग in the sense of beautiful, as अङ्गना 'the fair one' i. e. a woman.

Vârt :—The affix न comes after लक्ष्मी before which ई is changed to अ, as लक्ष्मीरस्यास्ति = लक्ष्मणः ॥

Note :—The words शाकी, पलाली and दहू shorten their final vowel before न as शाकिनम् field, पलालिनम्, दहुणम् ॥

Vârt :—The word विष्वक् (विषु + अंच्) loses its second member, before न, and the change caused by sandhi (ङ into क्) is undone.* Otherwise the form would be विष्णः (वक् being elided), as विष्वञ्जितानि सन्ति अस्य = विषुणम् 'moving variously'.

The affix इलच् comes after पिच्छादि words, as, पिच्छिलः or पिच्छिवान् 'broth'; उरसिलः or उरस्वान् ॥

1 लोमन्, 2 रोमन् 3 वधु, 4 हरि, 5 गिरि*, 6 कर्क*, 7 कपि, 8 मुनि, 9 तरु ॥

1 पामन्, 2 वामन्, 3 वेमन्, 4 हेमन् 5 श्लेष्मन्, कद्रु (कद्रु), 7 वाल, 8 सामन्, 9 ऊष्मन्, 10 कृमि*, 11 अङ्गात् कल्याणे, 12 शाकीपलालीदहूनां (शाकीपलालीदहूवां), ह्रस्वत्वं च, 13 विष्वगीस्थुत्तरपदलोपश्चाकृतसंधेः (विषुण), 14 लक्ष्म्या अच (लक्ष्मणः), 15 श्रेष्ठ, 16 पलल ॥

1 पिच्छा (पिच्छ), 2 उरस, 3 ध्रुवक (ध्रुवक), 4 ध्रुवक (ध्रुवका), 5 जटाघटाकलाः (जटाघटा कलात्), क्षेपे, 6 वर्ण, 7 उत्कं, 8 पङ्क, 9 प्रज्ञा ॥

Note :—The affix ilach comes after jaṭâ, ghaṭâ, and kalâ, when censure is meant, as जटिलः, घटिलः, कलिलः but जटावान्, when no censure is meant.

१९०८ प्रज्ञाश्रद्धार्चाभ्योणः । ५ । २ । १०१ ॥

प्राज्ञो व्याकरणे । प्राज्ञा । श्राद्धः । आर्चेः ॥ वृत्तेश्च * ॥ वार्त्तः ॥

1908. The affix ṇa (अ) comes in the sense of matup, after the words prajñâ, śraddhâ, and archâ : as well as the affix matup.

As प्राज्ञः or प्रज्ञावान्, श्राद्धः or श्रद्धावान्, आर्चः or अर्चावान् ॥

Vârt :—So also after वृत्ति, as वार्त्तः or वृत्तिमान् ॥

१९०९ । तपःसहस्राभ्यां विनीनी । ५ । २ । १०२ ॥

विनीन्योरिकारो नकारपरिज्ञानार्थः । तपस्वी । सहस्री । असन्तत्वादद्न्तत्वाच्च सिद्धे पुनर्वचनमणा, बाधा माभूदिति । सहस्रात्तु इनोऽपि बाधनार्थम् ॥

1909. The affixes vini (विन्) and ini (इन्) come, with the force of matup, after the words tapas and sahasra respectively.

The final इ in विनि and इनि is for the sake of saving the न from becoming इत् and thus get elided.

The word तपस् ends in अस्, and therefore by V. 2. 121. S. 1928 it would have taken विनि ; similarly सहस्र ends in अ, and by V. 2, 115. S. 1922 it would have taken इनि ; it may, therefore, be said, where is the necessity for the present sûtra ? To this it is replied, that by the next sûtra, these words take the affix अण् also ; so that, had there not been this present sûtra, the अण् would have debarred the application of इनि and विनि of V. 2. 115. S. 1922. and V. 2. 121. S. 1928. The affix ठन् (V. 1. 115) is also debarred after the word सहस्र though it ends in अ ॥

Thus तपोऽस्यास्मिन् वा विद्यते = तपस्विन्, nom तपस्वी ॥ Similarly सहस्रिन् nom सहस्री ॥

१६१० । अण् च । ५ । २ । १०३ ॥

योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः । तापसः । साहस्रः ॥

ज्योत्स्नादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ज्यौत्स्नः । तामिस्रः ॥

1910. And also aṇ (अ) comes after tapas and sahasra.

Thus तापसः, साहस्रः ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last is for two purposes; 1st, the anuvṛitti of अण् runs in the subsequent sûtras, which could not have been done had it been included in the last sûtra, 2ndly, the rule of yathasaṅkhya (I. 3. 10 S. 62) would not have applied to the last sûtra, had अण् been read along with विनि and इनि ॥

Vârt :—The word ज्योत्स्ना &c. are governed by this rule and take अण् As ज्योत्स्ना विद्यतेऽस्मिन् पक्षे = ज्यौत्स्नः पक्षः ॥ Similarly तामिस्रः (a kind of hell).

१६११ । सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च । ५ । २ । १०४ ॥

सैकतो घटः । शार्करः ॥

1911. The affix aṇ comes in the sense of matup, after sikatâ and śarkarâ.

Thus सैकतो घटः, शर्करं मधु ॥

Note :—These are the examples, when they do not denote a place. In denoting a place they will take इल् and लुप् of the next sûtra.

१६१२ । देशे लुबिलचौ च । ५ । १०५ ॥

चादण् मतुप् च । सिकताः सन्त्यस्मिन्देशे सिकताः । सिकतिलः । सैकतः । सिकतावान् । एवं शार्करा इत्यादि ॥

1912. When the sense is that of 'a locality', there may take place the lup-elision of the affixes denoting matup.

(with the preservation of the gender and number of the word), or there may be the affix ilach (इलँच्), as well as aṇ and matup, after the word sikatâ and śarkarâ.

By च in the sûtra, अण् and मतुप् are introduced. The लुप् refers to मतुप् and every affix in general. Thus सिकता अस्मिन् विद्यन्ते = सिकता देशः or सिकतिलः, सैकतः or सिकतावान् 'a sandy country'. So also शर्करा देशः or शर्करिलः or शार्करः or शर्करावान् 'a stony locality'.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning a 'locality'? Observe सैकतः 'a vessel of sand', शार्करं "honey or sugar". In the case of the elision of the affix, the gender and number are preserved by I. 2. 51. S. 1294).

१९१३ । दन्त उन्नत उरच् । ५ । २ । १०६ ॥

उन्नता दन्ताः सन्त्यस्य दन्तुरः ॥

1913. The affix urach (उरच्) comes after danta, denoting 'having projecting teeth'.

Thus दन्ता उन्नता अस्य सन्ति = दन्तुरः ॥

Note —The words in the sûtra are either in the nominative or the locative case, but have the force of ablative.

Why do we say when the meaning is that of 'projecting'? Observe दन्तवान् 'having teeth'.

१९१४ । ऊषसुषिमुष्कमधोरः । ५ । २ । १०७ ॥

ऊषरः । सुषिरः । मुष्कोऽण्डः, मुष्करः । मधु माधुर्यम् , मधुरः ॥ रप्रकरणे खमुखकुञ्जेभ्यः उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ खरः । मुखरः । कुञ्जो हस्तिहनुः, कुञ्जरः । नगपांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्च * ॥ नगरम् । पांसुरः । पाण्डुरः । पाण्डरशब्दस्तु अव्युत्पन्न एव ॥ कच्छ्वा ह्रस्वत्वं च ॥ कच्छुरः ॥

1914. The affix र comes, after the word ûsha, sushi, mushka and madhu, with the force of matup.

Thus ऊषरं क्षेत्रम् 'a barren soil, impregnated with ûsha or salt' सुषिरं काष्ठं 'a perforated wood i. e. containing सुषि or hole' मुष्करः पशुः 'a beast having testicles, or mushka' मधुरो गुडः 'sweet sugar'.

Note :—The word इति shows that the words formed with र are names of certain things. Therefore it will not apply here ऊषोऽस्मिन् घटे विद्यते 'there is salt in this pot' we cannot say ऊषरो घटः, nor मधुरो घटः for मध्वस्मिन् घटे विद्यते ॥

Vârt :—The affix र comes after ख, मुख and कुञ्ज, as खमस्यास्ति कण्ठविवरं महत् = खरः 'an ass, lit. having a wide throat'. मुखमस्यास्ति इति सर्वस्मिन् वक्तव्ये = मुखरः 'talkative', कुञ्जावस्य स्तः = कुञ्जरः 'an elephant having tusks'. The word कुञ्ज means the tusk of an elephant or the lower jaw of an elephant. The word कुञ्जरः is a common name for all elephants.

Vârt :—The affix र comes after नग, पांसु and पाण्डु as नगरम् 'a city' lit. having trees (naga = tree), पांसुरं पाण्डुरं ॥ The word पाण्डरः has no derivative.

Vârt :—So also after कच्छू the vowel being shortened as कच्छुरं ॥

१९१५ । द्युद्रुभ्यां मः । ५ । २ । १०८ ॥

द्युमः । द्रुमः ॥

1915. The affix म comes after dyu and dru, in the sense of matup.

Thus द्युमः । द्रुमः ॥ These are primitive words, and therefore do not take मतुप् in the alternative.

१९१६ । केशाद्वोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १०९ ॥

प्रकृतेनान्यतरस्यांग्रहणेन मतुपि सिद्धे पुनर्ग्रहणमिनिठनोः समावेशार्थम् । केशवः । केशी । केशिकः । केशवान् ॥ अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते * मणिवो नागविशेषः । हिरण्यवो निधिविशेषः ॥ अर्णसो लोपश्च * ॥ अर्णवः ॥

1916. The affix व comes optionally, with the force of matup, after kesa.

Though the word अन्यतरस्याम् was understood here from V. 2. 96. S. 1903 (see V. 2. 97); its repetition shows that in the alternative we have not only मतुप् but the affixes इनि and ठन् (V. 2. 115. S. 1922) also. Thus we have four forms केशवः, केशी, केशिकः and केशवान् ॥

Vârt :—The affix व is seen after other words also. As मणिवः 'a kind of serpent हिरण्यवः 'a kind of gem', कुरावः

Vârt :—The final of अर्णस् is elided before व, as अर्णवः

१९१७ । गाण्डीवाजगात्संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११० ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घयोर्यथा तन्त्रेण निर्देशः । गाण्डिवम् । गाण्डीवम् । अर्जुनस्य धनुः । अजगवं पिनाकः ॥

1917. The affix व comes after gâṇḍî and ajaga, in the sense of matup, when the word is a Name.

As गाण्डीवं 'the bow Gaṇḍîva of Arjuna' ; अजगवं 'the bow Ajagava of Śiva'. There is shortening also, as गाण्डिवं ॥ The sûtra is so framed, that the word गाण्डी and गाण्डि are both included.

१९१८ । काण्डाण्डादीरन्नीरचौ । ५ । २ । १११ ॥

काण्डीरः । आण्डीरः ॥

1918. The affixes îran and îrach come in the sense of matup, after the words kâṇḍa and aṇḍa respectively.

Thus काण्डीरः and आण्डीरः ॥ Another reading has आण्ड and आण्डीरः ॥

१९१९ । रजःकृष्यासुतिपरिषदो वलच् । ५ । २ । ११२ ॥

रजस्वला स्त्री । कृषीवलः । वलइति दीर्घः । आसुतीवलः शौण्डिकः । परिषद्वलः । पर्षदिति पाठान्तरम् । पर्षद्वलम् ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते * ॥ भ्रातृवलः । पुत्रवलः । शत्रुवलः । वल इत्यत्र संज्ञायामित्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह दीर्घः ॥

1919. The affix valach (वलच्) comes, in the sense of matup, after rajas, kṛishi, âsuti, and parishad.

As रजस्वला स्त्री, कृषीवलः कुटुम्बी, आसुतीवलः शौण्डिकः, परिषद्वलो राजा ॥ The lengthening of vowel in कृषि and आसुति takes place by VI 3. 118. S. 1040.

Note:—The affix वलच् comes only under certain senses and conditions, as shown in the above examples. Thus in रजोऽस्मिन् ग्रामे विद्यते, there is no affixing.

Vârt:—The affix valach is seen after other words also. As भ्रातृवलः, पुत्रवलः शत्रुवलः, ॥ The sûtra VI. 3. 118 S. 1040 does not apply here, and so there is no lengthening, as the words "when it is a name" is understood there. The examples here are not names.

१९२० । दन्तशिखात्संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११३ ॥

दन्तावलो हस्ती । शिखावलः केकी ॥

1920. The affix valach comes in the sense of matup after danta and śikhâ when a Name is formed.

Thus दन्तावलो हस्ती, शिखावलः केकी ॥ The final vowel of दन्त is lengthened before वल by VI. 3. 118. S. 1040.

१९२१ । ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसाः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

मत्वर्थे निपात्यन्ते । ज्योतिष उपधालोपो नश्च प्रत्ययः । ज्योत्स्ना । तमस उपधाया इत्वं रश्च । तमिस्रा । स्त्रीत्वमतन्त्रम् । तमिस्रम् । शृङ्गादिनच् । शृङ्गिणः । ऊर्जसो वलच् । तेन बाधा मा भूदिति विनिरपि, ऊर्जस्वी । ऊर्जस्वलः । ऊर्जोऽसुगागम इति वृत्तिस्तु चिन्त्या । ऊर्जस्वतीतिवदसुन्नन्तनवोपपत्तेः । गोशब्दान्मिनिः । गोमी । मलशब्दादिनच् । मलिनः । ईमसश्च । मलीमसः ॥

1921. The words jyotsnâ, tamisrâ, śriṅgiṇa, ûrjasvin, ûrjasvala, gomin, malina, and malîmasa are irregularly formed, in the sense of matup and are Names.

They are thus formed. ज्योतिष् + न = ज्योत्स्ना 'moon-light, (the इ being elided). तमस् + र = तमिस्रा 'night'. (इ being added): it has other genders than feminine as तामसं नभः 'dark sky'. शृङ्ग + इनच् शृङ्गिणः ॥ To ऊर्जस् are added the affixes विनि and वलच्; as ऊर्जस् + विन = ऊर्जस्विन्; ऊर्जस्वलः ॥ The Kâśikâ derives this by adding the augment असुक् to ऊर्ज् and then affixing वल and इन् ॥ This is a rather doubtful derivative: for there is a form like ऊर्जस् ending in असुन् from which is derived the word ऊर्जस्वती ॥ It is easy therefore to derive ûrjasvin and ûrjasval, from this ûrjas. गो + मिनि = गोमिन् N. S. गोमी; मल + इनच् = मलीनः; मल + इमसच् = मलीमसः ॥

१६२२ । अत इनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ११५ ॥

दण्डी । दण्डिकः ॥

1922. The affixes ini and ṭhan come in the sense of matup, after nominal stems ending in short अ; and in the alternative matup also comes.

Thus दण्डिन् N. S. दण्डी or दण्डिकः ॥

Note:—The word अन्यतरस्याम् (V. 2. 96 S. 1903) is understood here also, so we have मतुप्, as दण्डवान्, छत्रवान् ॥ Why do say 'short अ'? Observe खट्वावान् ॥ Here there is neither इन् nor ठन् ॥

These two affixes इनि and ठन् do not come after words of one syllable, after words ending in kṛit-affixes, after words denoting genus (jâti), and when the construction is that of locative. As स्व and ख form only स्वावान्, खवान्, ॥ Kṛit: as, कारकवान् ॥ Genus, as, व्याघ्रवान्, सिंहवान् ॥ Locative; as दण्डा अस्यां सन्ति = दण्डवती शाला ॥ There are, however, some exceptions to this, as kṛit:—कार्यिन्, कार्यिकः हार्यिन्, हार्यिकः ॥ Genus (jâti):—तण्डुलिन्, तण्डुलिकः ॥

१६२३ । व्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ११६ ॥

व्रीही । व्रीहिकः । न च सर्वेभ्यो व्रीह्यादिभ्य इनिठनाविष्येते । किं तर्हि शिखामालासंज्ञादिभ्य इनिः * । यवखदादिभ्य इकः * । अन्येभ्य उभयम् * ॥

1923. The affixes ini and ṭhan come in the sense of matup, after the words vrîhi &c; as well as the affix matup.

Thus व्रीहिन् (nom. व्रीही), व्रीहिकः, व्रीहिमान्, मायी, मायिकः, मायावान् ॥

These two affixes, however, do not come after all व्रीह्यादि words.

Vârtika:—The affix इनि comes after शिखादि sub-division.

Vârtika:—The affix इकन् after यवखदादि subdivision.

Vârt:—After the remaining words, both इनि and ठन् (=इकन्) come.

Note:—The शिखादि after which इनि only comes are:—1 शिखा, 2 मेखला, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बलाका, 5 माला 6 वीणा, 7 वडवा, 8 अष्टका, 9 पताका, 10 कर्मन्, 11 चर्मन्, 12 हंसा, ॥ The यवखद &c. are the following 1 यवखद, 2 कुमारी, 3 नौ; they take इकन् only. The rest take both. The word व्रीहि will get these affixes by the next sûtra also, why is it then read in this class? The word व्रीहि in the Tundâdi class V. 2 117, S. 1924 does not mean the word-form व्रीहि, but words synonym with it. Thus शालयोऽस्य सन्ति = शालिः, शाली, शालिकः, शालिमान् ॥ The word शीर्ष preceded by the negative particle, takes these affixes, as अशीर्षी and अशीर्षिकः ॥ The remaining words are व्रीहि, माया, शाला, केका, वर्मन्, दंष्ट्रा, संज्ञा ॥

१६२४ । तुन्दादिभ्य इलच्च । ५ । २ । ११७ ॥

चादिनिठनौ मतुप् च । तुन्दिलः । तुन्दी । तुन्दिकः । तुन्दवान् । उदर, पिचण्ड, यव, व्रीहि । स्वाङ्गवृद्धौ * ॥ "विवृद्धयुपाधिकास्त्वाङ्गवाचिन इलजादयः स्युः" । विवृद्धौ कर्णौ यस्य स कर्णिलः । कर्णी । कार्णिकः । कर्णवान् ॥

1924. The affix ilach (इल) also comes in the sense of matup, after the nominal-stems tunda &c.

The force of च is that इनि, ठन् and मतुप् also come. As तुन्दिलः, तुन्दी, तुन्दिकः, तुन्दवान् ॥ Similarly उदरिलः, उदरी, उदरिकः, उदरवान् ॥

The following is the list of तुन्दादि words 1 तुन्द, 2 उदर, 4 पिचण्ड, 4 घट, 5 यव, 6 व्रीहि, 7 स्वाङ्गादिवृद्धौ च ॥

Gaṇa sûtra :—The affix इलच comes after words denoting parts of one's body, when the largeness (विवृद्धि) of those organs is implied: as विवृद्धौ कर्णौ यस्य स = कर्णिलः, कर्णी, कर्णिकः, कर्णवान् ॥

१९२५ । एकगोपूर्वाट्ठञ् नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ११८ ॥

एकशतमस्यास्तीति ऐकशतिकः । ऐकसहस्रिकः । गौशतिकः । गौसहस्रिकः ॥

1925. The affix ṭhañ comes always in the sense of matup, after a stem, which in composition is preceded by एक or गो ॥

Thus एकशतमस्यास्ति = ऐकशतिकः, ; गौशतिकः, गौसहस्रिकः ॥

Note :—The word नित्यम् 'always', is used in the sûtra to indicate that मतुप् does not come in the alternative. In all the previous sûtras मतुप् came in the alternative.

१९२६ । शतसहस्रान्ताच्च निष्कात् । ५ । २ । ११९ ॥

निष्कात्परा यौ शतसहस्रशब्दौ तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाट्ठञ् स्यान्मत्वर्थे । नैष्कशतिकः । नैष्कसहस्रिकः ॥

1926. The affix ṭhañ comes in the sense of matup, after the words śata and sahasra, when they follow after nishka.

Thus निष्कशतमस्यास्ति = नैष्कशतिकः, नैष्कसहस्रिकः ॥

Note :—But not so after सुवर्णनिष्कशतं, it being never so found in usage.

१९२७ । रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप् । ५ । २ । १२० ॥

आहतं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यः कार्षापणः । प्रशस्तं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यो गौः । आहतेति किम् । रूपवान् ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते * ॥ हिम्याः पर्वताः । गुण्या ब्राह्मणाः ॥

1927. The affix yap (य) comes in the sense of matup, after the word rûpa, when stamping (coining) or praise is denoted.

Thus आहतं रूपमस्य = रूप्यः कार्षापणः "a coin having stamped on it the form of some king &c". Similarly प्रशस्तं रूपमस्यास्ति = रूप्यो गौः 'a handsome bull.' The form impressed on a coin &c by hammering &c, is called आहत or stamping.

Why do we say 'when stamping or praise is denoted? Observe रूपवान् 'having form'.

Vârt:—The affix यप् is seen after other words also, as हिम्या पर्वताः, गुण्या ब्राह्मणाः ॥

✓ १९२८। अस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः । ५ । २ । १२१ ॥

यशस्वी । यशस्वान् । मायावी । मायावान् । व्रीह्यादिपाठादिनिठनौ । मायी । मायिकः । क्विन्नन्तत्वात्कुः । स्रग्वी ॥ आमयस्योपसंख्यानं दीर्घश्च * ॥ आमयावी ॥ शृङ्गवृन्दाभ्यामारकन् * ॥ शृङ्गारकः । वृन्दारकः ॥ फलबर्हाभ्यामिनच् * ॥ फालिनः । बार्हिणः ॥ हृदयाच्चालुरन्यतरस्याम् * ॥ इनठनौ मतुप् च । हृदयालुः । हृदयी । हृदयिकः । हृदयवान् ॥ शीतोष्णतृप्तेभ्यस्तदसहने * ॥ शीतं न सहते शीतालुः । उष्णालुः । स्फायितञ्चीति रक् । तृप्रः पुरोडाशः तं न सहते तृप्रालुः । तृप्रं दुःखमिति माधवः ॥ हिमाच्चालुः * ॥ हिमं न सहते हिमेलुः ॥ बलादूलः * ॥ बलं न सहते बलूलः ॥ वाताल्लूहे च * ॥ वातं न सहते वातस्य समूहो वा वातूलः ॥ तप् पर्वमरुद्भ्याम् * ॥ पर्वतः । मरुत्तः ॥

1928. After a stem ending in अस्, and after mâyâ, medhâ and sraj, comes the affix vini (विन्) in the sense of matup.

Thus पयस् पयस्विन्, यशस्—यशस्विन् N. S. यशस्वी or यशस्वान्; मायावी, मायावान् मेधाविन्, स्रग्विन् ॥ The word माया being included in व्रीह्यादि class, will take इनि, and ठन् also V. 2. 116. As मायी मायिकः ॥ The word स्रज् is क्विन् formed and so ज् is changed to ग् (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377) and we get स्रग्विन्, N. S. स्रग्वी ॥

Vârt:—The word आमय also should be enumerated; and there is lengthening of the final, both in the sacred and classical literature. As आमायावी ॥

Vârt:—The affix आरकन् comes after शृङ्ग and वृन्द as शृङ्गारकः, वृन्दारकः, ॥

Vârt:—The affix इनच् comes after फल and बर्ह; as फलिनैः and बार्हिणैः ॥

Vârt:—So also after हृदयः the affix चालु comes optionally: along with इन्, ठन् and मतुप् as, हृदयालु, हृदयी, हृदयिकः हृदयवान् ॥ The च् is इत् by I. 3. 7.

Vârt:—The affix चालु of the last vârtika comes after शीत, उष्ण and तृप्र in the sense of 'not being able to bear that.' As शीतं न सहते = शीतालुः 'shivering from cold' उष्णालूः तृप्रालुः ॥ the word तृप्र is formed from ✓ तृप् with the affix रक् (unâdi II. 13). It is the name of Puroḍâśa rice cake. According to Mâdhava it means 'pain'.

Vârt:—So also after हिम comes the affix एलु in the above sense: as हिमं न सहते = हिमेलुः ॥ The affix begins with ए and not ई as the construction of the vârtika may lead one to think (Mâdhava).

Vârt:—The affix ऊलुच् in the same sense after बल; as बलं न सहते = बलूलः (See Sidhmâdi Gaṇa).

Vârt:—So also after वातः in the sense of 'collection thereof' and 'not being able to bear that' as वातानां समूहः or वातं न सहते = वातूलः ॥ (See sidhmâdi. gaṇa also).

Vârt:—the affix तम् comes after पर्व and मरुत् As पर्वतः and मरुतः ॥

Note:—The affix इनि comes after अर्थ in the sense of 'not having that' as अर्थी

'a beggar who has not artha or wealth.' Otherwise अर्थवान् 'rich'. All these are obtained by बहुलः

१९२९ । ऊर्णाया युस् । ५ । २ । १२३ ॥

सित्त्वात्पदत्वम् । ऊर्णायुः । अत्र छन्दसीति केचिदनुवर्तयन्ति । युक्तं चैतत् । अन्यथा हि अहंशुभमोरित्यत्रैवोर्णाग्रहणं कुर्यात् ॥

1929. The affix युस् is added to ऊर्णा in the sense of matup, (in the Chhandas).

The स् of युस् makes the word ऊर्ण a पद (I. 4. 16 S. 1252); the result of which is that rules applicable to भ Bha do not apply; e. g. VI. 1. 148, S. 1063 by which the final इ or ई अ or आ is elided. Thus ऊर्णायुः ॥ According to some, छन्दसि is to be read in this sûtra. This is reasonable, for if yus is added to ûrṇâ in the classical literature also, then there was no necessity of this sûtra. The word ûrṇâ could have been read along with aham and śubham in V. 2. 140. S. 1946,

१९३० । वाचो ग्मिनिः । ५ । २ । १२४ ॥

वाग्मी ॥

1930. The affix gmini (ग्मिन्) comes after the word vâch, in the sense of matup.

Thus वाग्मी

Note:—The affix is not ग्मिन् for had it been so, the form would have been वाङ्मिन् by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116 Vârt.

१९३१ । आलजाटचौ बहुभाषिणि । ५ । २ । १२५ ॥

कुत्सितं इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ कुत्सितं बहु भाषते वाचालः । वाचाटः । यस्तु सम्यग्बहु भाषते । स वाग्मीत्येव ॥

1931. The affixes âlach (आलच्) and âṭach (आटच्) come, in the sense of matup, after vâch, the word denoting 'a talkative',

This debars ग्मिन् ॥ Thus वाचालः 'garrulous', वाचाटः ॥

Vârt:—These affixes come when contempt is expressed. An orator (वाग्मी) also talks much, but to the purpose. He will not be called वाचालः or वाचाटः ॥

१९३२ । स्वामिन्नैश्वर्ये । ५ । २ । १२६ ॥

ऐश्वर्यवाचकात्स्वशब्दान्मत्वर्थे आमिनच् । स्वामी ॥

1932. The irregularly formed word svâmin denotes 'Sir or Lord'.

The affix आमिन् comes in the sense of lordship after the word स्व meaning 'lord'. Thus स्वमस्यास्ति = ऐश्वर्यमस्यास्ति = स्वामिन ॥

Note:—Why do we say when meaning 'Sir'. Observe, स्ववान् ॥

१९३३ अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् । ५ । २ । १२७ ॥

अर्शांस्यस्य विद्यन्ते अर्शसः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1933. The affix ach (अ) comes in the sense of matup, after the word arśa &c.

Thus अर्शांसि अस्य विद्यन्ते = अर्शसः ॥ The Arśâdi is an Âkritigaṇa.

Note:—After a word denoting a member of the body comes the affix अच् when defect is meant. As खञ्जः पादोस्यास्ति = खञ्जः । काणः ॥ So also after words denoting color, as शुक्लोऽस्यास्ति = शुक्लः पटः ॥

1 अर्शस्, 2 उरस्, 3 तुन्द, 4 चतुर, 5 पलित, 6 जटा, 7 घटा, 8 घाटा, 9 अघ (अभ्र), 10 कर्दम, 11 अम्ल, (भाम). 12 लवण, 13 स्वाङ्गाङ्गीनात्, 14 वर्णात् । आकृतिगणः ॥

१९३४ । द्वन्द्वोपतापगर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनिः । ५ । २ । १२८ ॥

द्वन्द्वः । कटकवलयिनी । शङ्खनूपुरिणी । उपतापो रोगः । कुष्ठी । किलासी । गर्ह्ये निन्द्यम् । ककुदावर्ती । काकतालुकी । प्राणिस्थाल्किम् । पुष्पफलवान्वृक्षः । प्राण्यङ्गात्र ॥ पाणिपादवती । अत इत्येव । चित्रकललाटिकावती । सिद्धे प्रत्यय पुनर्वचनं इनादिबाधनार्थम् ॥

1934. The affix ini (इन्) comes, in the sense of matup, after a dvandva compound, after the name of a disease, and after anything denoting fault, when the thing is found in a living being.

Thus Dvandva:—कटकवलयिनी 'a woman having a bracelet and a zone', शङ्खनूपुरिणी 'a woman having sankha and nûpura ornaments'. So after diseases, :—कुष्ठी 'a leper', किलासी 'a white leper'. So after names of faults:—ककुदावर्ती, काकतालुकी ॥

Why do we say 'when found in 'a living being?' Observe पुष्पफलवान् वृक्षः ॥

Vârtika:—The affix does not come after words denoting members of a living body: as, पाणिपादवती ॥ The words अतः V. 2 115, S. 1922 is understood in this sûtra also, so that the affix does not come after words not ending in अ; as चित्रकललाटिकावती ॥ Though the Dvandva compound&c. ending in अ, would have taken इनि by V. 2 115, the repetition of this affix in the present sûtra shows that the Dvandva compounds &c, take only इनि, and not इन् &c.

१९३५ । वातातीसाराभ्यां कुक् च । ५ । २ । १२९ ॥

वादिनिः । वातकी । अतीसारकी ॥ रोगे चायमिष्यते * । नेह । वातवती गुहा ॥ पिशाचाच्च * ॥ पिशाचकी ॥

1935. The augment kuk (क्) comes before इनि, after the words vâta and atisâra.

The words वात and अतिसार being names of diseases, will take इनि by the fore-going sûtra; the present aphorism only teaches the affixing of the augment. Thus वातक्की, अतिसारक्की ॥ Another reading is अतीसारक्की ॥ *Ishti.* This is when the words वात and अतिसार denote diseases. Otherwise, वातवती गुहा ॥

Vârt:—So also after पिशाच्चा, as पिशाचक्की वैश्रवणः 'the Kubera'.

१९३६ । वयसि पूरणात् । ५ । २ । १३० ॥

पूरणप्रत्ययान्तान्मत्वर्थे इनिः स्याद्वयसि द्योत्ये । मासः संवत्सरो वा पञ्चमोऽस्यास्तीति पञ्चमी दृष्टः । ठन्बाधनार्थमिदम् । वयसि किम् । पञ्चमवान् ग्रामः ॥

1936. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after an ordinal numeral, when age is denoted.

Thus पञ्चमोऽस्यास्ति मासः संवत्सरो वा = पंचमिन् 'five months or years old', as पंचमी दृष्टः ॥ By V. 2. 115 S. 1922 the affix इनि would have come after these words; the present sûtra is a restrictive rule teaching that ठन् does not come in this sense.

Why do we say वयसि 'when age is denoted'? Observe, पंचमवान् ग्रामरागः ॥

१९३७ । सुखादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । १३१ ॥

इनिर्मत्वर्थे । सुखी । दुःखी । मालाक्षेपे ॥ माली ॥

1937. The affix ini comes (to the exclusion of other affixes) in the sense of matup, after the words sukha &c.

Thus सुखिन् nom सुखी; दुःखी &c. When censure is implied, then इन् comes after माला, to the exclusion of मतुप्, as माली ।

The following is the list of सुखादि words :—

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 तृप्त, 4 कृच्छ, 5 आम्र (आम्र), 6 अस्त*, 7 अलीक, 8 करुण (करुणा) 9 सोढ, 10 प्रतीपं (प्रतीप), 11 शील, 12 हल, 13 माला क्षेपे, 14 कृपण, 15 प्रणय (प्रणाय), 16 शल*, 17 कक्ष* ॥ *Ganasûtra*, After माला the affix is added in the sense of 'censure', Thus मालिन्, N. S. माली ॥

१९३८ । धर्मशीलवर्णान्ताच्च । ५ । २ । १३२ ॥

धर्मान्तात्शीलान्तात्वर्णान्ताच्च इनिर्मत्वर्थे । ब्राह्मणधर्मी । ब्राह्मणशीली । ब्राह्मणवर्णी ॥

1938. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, (to the exclusion of others), after nominal steps ending in dharma, śîla, and varṇa.

Thus ब्राह्मणानां धर्मः = ब्राह्मणधर्मः, सोऽस्यास्ति = ब्राह्मणधर्मी ॥ ब्राह्मणशीलिन्, ब्राह्मणवर्णिन् ॥

१९३९ । हस्ताज्जातौ । ५ । २ । १३३ ॥

हस्ती । जातौ किम् । हस्तवान्पुरुषः ॥

1939. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the word hasta, when a genus is denoted by the word so formed.

Thus हस्तोऽस्यास्ति = हस्तिन् N. S. हस्ती 'an elephant'. Why do we say when meaning a जाति 'a genus'? Observe हस्तवान् पुरुषः ॥

१९४० । वर्णाद्ब्रह्मचारिणि । ५ । २ । १३४ ॥

वर्णी ॥

1940. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the word varṇa, when the word so formed means a Brahmachârin.

Thus वर्णिन् 'a Brahmachârî'. Nom. Sing वर्णी ॥

Note :—The first three वर्ण or castes, who are entitled to the investiture with the sacred thread, and lead the life of a Brahma student, are so called. When the meaning is not of Brahmachârî we have वर्णवान् ॥

१९४१ । पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे । ५ । २ । १३५ ॥

पुष्करिणी । पद्मिनी । देशे किम् । पुष्करवान्करी ॥ बाहुरुपूर्वपदाद्बलात् * ॥ बाहुबली । ऊरुबली ॥ सर्वादेश * ॥ सर्वधनी । सर्वबीजी ॥ अर्थाच्चासन्निहिते * ॥ अर्थी । संनिहिते तु अर्थवान् ॥ तदन्ताच्च * ॥ धान्यार्थी । हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1941. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the words pushkara &c, when the word so formed denotes a locality.

Thus पुष्करिणी 'a tank', पद्मिनि &c. Why do we say when "locality" is expressed? Observe पुष्करवान् करी ॥

Vârt :—The affix इन् comes after बल preceded by बाहु or ऊरु, as बाहुबलिन् ऊरुबलिन् ॥

Vârt :—So also after words preceded by सर्व; as, सर्वधनिन्, सर्वबीजिन्, सर्वकेशी नटः ॥

Vârt :—So also after अर्थ when meaning 'not near'; as अर्थिन् meaning अर्थोऽसंनिहितोऽस्य 'wanting wealth'. Otherwise अर्थवान् 'having wealth'.

Vârt :—So also after a compound ending in अर्थ, as धान्यार्थी, हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1 पुष्कर, 2 पद्म, 3 उत्पल, 4 तमाल, 5 कुमुद, 6 नड, 7 कपित्थ, 8 बिस, 9 मृणाल, 10 कर्दम, 11 शालूक, 12 विगर्ह, 13 करीष, 14 शिरीष, 15 वयस, 16 प्रवाह (प्रवास), 17 हिरण्य, 18 केरव, 19 कल्लोल, 20 तट*, 21 तरंग, 22 पङ्कज*, 23 सरोज*, 24 राजीव*, 25 नालीक*, 26 सरोरुह*, 27 पुटक, 28 अरविन्द*, 29 अम्भोज*, 30 अब्ज*, 31 कमल*, 32 पयस्*, 33 वयस, ॥

१९४२ । बलादिभ्योमतुबन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १३९ ॥

बलवान् । बली । उत्साहवान् । उत्साही ॥

1942. After the nominal-stems bala &c, comes the affix matup optionally, as well as ini.

The affix इनि will come in the alternative. Thus बलवान् or बली (Nom. of बलिन्) ; उत्साहवान् or उत्साही (Nom. of उत्साहिन्) ॥

1 बल, 2 उत्साह, 3 उद्भास (उद्भाव), 4 उद्भास*, 5 उद्भास, 6 शिखा*, 7 कुल, 8 चूडा*, 9 मुल*, 10 कूल*, 11 व्यायाम, 12 व्यायाम, 13 उपयाम, 14 आरोह, 15 अवरोह, 16 परिणाह, 17 युद्ध, 18 उद्दाम, 19 शिखाबल, 20 वृक्षमूल, 21 वंश ॥

१९४३ । संज्ञायां मन्माभ्याम् । ५ । २ । १३७ ॥

मन्नन्तान्माख्येनिर्मस्वर्थे । प्रथिमिनी । हामिनी । होमिनी । सोमिनी । संज्ञायां किम् । सोमवान् ॥

1943. After a nominal-stem ending in मन् or म comes the affix ini, in the sense of matup, when the whole word so formed means a name.

Thus प्रथिमन् + इनि = प्रथिम + इन् (VI. 4. 144, S. 679) = प्रथिमिन् fem. प्रथिमिनी ॥ So also हामिनि ॥ Similarly होम, होमिनी, सोम, सोमिनी ॥ Why do we say, 'when meaning a name'? Observe, सोमवान् ॥

१९४४ । कंशंभ्यांवभयुस्तितुतयसः । ५ । २ । १३८ ॥

कंशमिति मान्तौ । कमिस्युदकसुखयोः । शमिति सुखे । आभ्यां सप्त प्रत्ययाः स्युः । युसयसोः[0] सकारः पदत्वार्थः । कंवः । कंभः । कंयुः । कंतिः । कंतुः । कंतः । कंयः । शंवः । शंभः । शंयुः । शंतिः । शंतुः । शंतः । शंयः । अनुस्वारस्य वैकल्पिकः परसवर्णः । वकारवकारपरस्यानुनासिको वयौ ॥

1944. The seven affixes va, bha, yus, ti, tu, ta and yas, come in the sense of matup, after कम् 'water and happiness', and शम् 'happiness'.

Thus कंवः, कंभः, कंयुः, कन्तिः, कन्तुः, कन्तः, कंयः, शंवः, शम्भः, शंयुः, शान्तिः, शन्तुः, शन्तः, शंयः ॥

The स् in युस् and यस् , make the stem, a Pada (I. 4. 16 S. 1252), the result of which is that म of कम् and शम् is changed into Anusvâra before these two affixes by VIII. 3 23. S. 122. When denoting a Name, the forms will be कम्यः and शम्यः ॥ The anusvâra is optionally changed to a nasal homogenou[s] to the class that follows. The va and ya become nasalised when preceded b[y] an anusvâra. (Thus the first affix is व va and not ब ba as given in th[e] Kâsikâ].

१९४५ । तुन्दिवलिवटेर्भः । ५ । २ । १३९ ॥

वृद्धा नाभिस्तुन्दिः । मूर्धन्योपधोऽयमिति माधवः । तुन्दिभः वलिभः । वटिभः । पामादित्वाद्वलि[र] नोऽपि ॥

1945. The affix bha (भ) comes in the sense of 'pride' matup, after tundi, vali and vaṭi.

Thus तुन्दिभः 'having a protuberent belly'. वलिभः and वटिभः॥ Another form is वलिनः, because वलि is included in the Pâmâdi class V. 2. 100. S. 1907. The forms तुन्दिलः &c, are valid by V. 2. 117 S. 1924.

१९४९। अहंशुभमोर्युस्। ५। २। १४०॥

अहमिति मान्तमव्ययमहङ्कारे। शुभमिति शुभे। अहंयुः अहङ्कारवान्॥ शुभंयुः शुभान्वितः॥

1946. The affix yus (यु) comes in the sense of matup, after the words aham 'pride', and the indeclinable ubham 'good'.

Thus अहंयुः = अहंकारवान्. 'selfish, haughty', शुभंयुः = कल्याणवान्॥ 'auspicious'. The स् of युस् makes the words अहम् and शुभम्, Padas; and म् is changed into Anusvâra (I. 4. 16; VIII. 3. 23). See V. 2. 123.

Here ends the chapter on Matup-affixes.

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अथ तद्धित प्राग्दिशीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE VIBHAKTI AFFIXES.

१९४७ । प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः । ५ । ३ । १ ॥

दिक्शब्देभ्य इतः प्राग्वक्ष्यमाणाः प्रत्यया विभक्तिसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥ अथ स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्ययाः ॥ समर्थानामिति प्रथमादिति च निवृत्तम् । वेति स्वतुवर्तत एव ॥

1947. The affixes taught from this aphorism forward as far as V. 3. 27. S. 1974. (exclusive) are called Vibhakti.

The affixes herein taught do not change the sense of the word, i. e. they are स्वार्थ affixes which leave to the word their own denotation. The rule IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 extends no further than this, hence the words formed by these affixes do not produce epithets connoting the sense of the primitive and denoting something else.

The affixes now to be taught being स्वार्थिकः, the anuvṛitti of समर्थानाम् and प्रथमाद् of IV. 1. 82, S. 1072 does not apply to them. The word वा of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 however applies here, so that these affixes are optional, thus we may have कुतः or कस्मात्, कुष or कस्मिन् ॥

Note:—Thus V. 3. 7. S. 1953 declares, that after the words किम् in the ablative there is the affix तसिल्, as कुतः ततः यतः ॥

Note:—The purpose served by designating these affixes as Vibhakti is (a) to debar the elision of final स् and म् of the affixes as इत् (I. 3. 4. S. 190). Thus in the affix दानीम् V. 3. 18, S. 1967 म् is not इत्, had it been so, rule I. 1. 47 would have applied: (b) to regulate the accent of इदम्, thus इदम् + तसिल् = इतः: here by VI. 1. 171. S. 3717 the affix तसिल् becomes udâtta by virtue of its being Vibhakti, otherwise, the accent would have been regulated by the indicatory ल (VI. 1. 193. S. 3676) (c) to make applicable to these words the rules of त्यदादि, that is, the rules given in the Sûtras VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and those that follow. Thus त्यद् + तसिल् = त्यतः, the द् being replaced by अ by VII. 2. 102. S. 265.

१९४८ । किंसर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्व्यादिभ्यः । ५ । ३ । २ ॥

किमः सर्वनाम्नो बहुशब्दाच्चेति प्राग्दिशोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1948. These Prâgdiśîya affixes come after the word kim, and after a stem called sarvanâma, and after bahu; but not after dvi &c.

The words द्वि &c. though सर्वनाम are exempted. Thus कुत्र, कुतः, यतः, यत्र, बहुतः, बहुत्रः ॥

Note :—Why do we say अद्व्यादि 'not dvi &c. Observe द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयोः ॥ Why do we say किम् &c.? Observe वृक्षात्, वृक्षे &c. The word किम् is a सर्वनाम, but it being included in the dvyâdi class, would have been exempted from the operation of this rule had it not been separately mentioned.

Note :—The word बहु here is 'a Sankhyâ.' Therefore, the affix does not apply here, बहोः सुपात्, बहौ सुपि ॥

१९४९ । इदम इश् । ५ । ३ । ३ ।

प्राग्दिशीये परे ॥

1949. For idam, there is the substitute इश् (इ), when a Prâgdisîya affix follows.

The word प्राग्दिशः is understood here also. The श् of इश् is indicatory of the substitution of the whole (I. 1. 55). Thus इदम्+इ V. 3. 11, =इद ॥

१९५० । एतेतौ रथोः । ५ । ३ । ४ ॥

इदम् शब्दस्य एत इत इत्यादेशौ स्तो रेफादौ थकारादौ च प्राग्दिशीये परे । इशोऽपवादः ॥

1950. The substitutes एत and इत come in the place of idam, when 'a Prâgdisîya affix beginning with र and थ respectively follows.

This debars इश् ॥ The अ in र is for the sake of euphony. Thus इदम्+हिल्=एतर्हि (V. 3. 16). इदम्+थमु=इत्थम् (V. 3. 24).

१९५१ । एतदोऽन् । ५ । ३ । ५ ॥

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः ॥ एतदः ॥ एतेतौ स्तो रथोः ॥ अन् ॥ एतद इत्येव । अनेकाल्त्वात्सर्वादेशः । नञोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥

1951. The substitute अन् comes in the place एतद् when a Prâgdisîya affix follows.

Note :—According to Kâsika the substitute is अश् । The श of अश् causes the replacement of the whole (I. 1. 55. S.45). According to Patanjali the substitute is अन् and not अश् ॥ Thus एतद्+तसिल्=अतः V. 3. 7. S. 1953 ; अत्र V, 3. 10.

This sûtra must be divided into two, (1) एतदः, and (2) अन्, the meaning being. (I) The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of एतद् when affixes beginning with र् and थ respectively follow, as एतद्+हिल=एतर्हि (V. 3. 2 S. 1969) एतद्+थमु=इत्थम् ॥ The थ must be the थ of थमु which comes after idam (V. 3. 24. S. 1972) for the application of this rule (1), and not the थ of थाल् (V. 3. 23. S. 1971) before which the substitute will be अश् ॥ The word एतद् will take थमु by the implication of this rule. The substitute अन् replaces एतद् before other Prâgdisîya affixes As the substitute consists of more than

one letter, it replaces the whole of etad. Thus एतद् + तसिल् = अन् + तस् = अतः (the न is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

१९५२। सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि। ५। ३। ६॥

प्राग्दिशीयो दकारादौ प्रत्यये परे सर्वस्य सो वा स्यात्॥

1952. The स is substituted optionally for सर्व before a prâgdiśîya vibhakti beginning with द॥

Thus सर्वदा or सदा॥ When the affix is not Prâgdiśîya, there is no substitution: as, सर्वं ददाति = सर्वदा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brâhmaṇî who gives all'.

१९५३। पञ्चम्यास्तसिल्। ५। ३। ७॥

पञ्चम्यन्तेभ्यः किमादिभ्यस्तसिल् स्याद्वा॥

1953. The affix tasil (तस्) comes after the word, किम् a sarvanâma, and bahu, when ending in the ablative case: but not after dvi &c.

As किम् + तसिल् = कु + तस्॥ The following sûtra changes किम् into कु:॥

१९५४। कु तिहोः। ७। २। १०४॥

किमः कुः स्यात्तादौ हादौ च विभक्तौ परतः। कुतः। कस्मात्। यतः। ततः। अतः। इतः। अमुतः। बहुतः। द्व्यादेस्तु। द्वाभ्याम्॥

1954. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह॥

Thus कुतः = कस्मात्॥ कुत्र, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7. S. 1961 and 1953). The ति in ति means beginning with a त॥ So also यतः, ततः, अतः, इतः, अमुतः, बहुतः॥ But not after द्वि &c. As द्वाभ्याम्॥

१९५५। तसेश्च। ५। ३। ८॥

किंसर्वनामबहुभ्यः परस्य तसेस्तसिलादेशः स्यात्। स्वरार्थं विभक्त्यर्थं च वचनम्॥

1955. The affix tasil (तस्) is substituted for तस् (V. 4. 44, 45 S. 2111 and 1221) when kim, a sarvanâma, and bahu follow.

This substitution is for the sake of accent; and for giving it the designation of vibhakti. Otherwise तस् (V. 4. 44) being taught subsequently and it not being a Prâgdiśîya affix, it does not get the name of vibhakti, and so यत् &c cannot be changed to य when तसि will be added (VII. 2. 102 S. 265). So we can never get the form यतः as in the sentence यतोऽवगच्छति॥

१९५६। पर्यभिभ्यां च। ५। ३। ९॥

आभ्यां तसिल् स्यात्॥ सर्वोभयार्थाभ्यामेव * ॥ परितः। सर्वत इत्यर्थः। अभितः। उभयत इत्यर्थः॥

1956. The affix tasil comes after pari and abhi also.

Vârt :—This affix comes when परि means 'all' ; and अभि means 'both. Thus परितः = सर्वतः ; 'all round' ; अभितः, उभयतः 'on both sides'.

१९५७ । सप्तम्यास्त्रल् । ५ । ३ । १० ॥

कुत्र । यत्र । तत्र । बहुत्र ॥

1957. The affix tral (त्र) comes after kim, a sarvanâma, and bahu, when ending in a locative.

Thus कुत्र (VII. 2. 104 S, 1954) 'where', तत्र (VII. 2. 102. S. 265) 'there', बहुत्र 'in many places'.

१९५८ । इदमो हः । ५ । ३ । ११ ॥

त्रलोऽपवादः । इशादेशः । इह ॥

1958. The affix ह comes after इदम् ending in the locative.

This debars त्रल ॥ Thus इह (V. 3. 3. S. 1949) 'here'.

१९५९ । किमो ऽत् । ५ । ३ । १२ ॥

वाग्रहणमपकृष्यते । सप्तम्यन्तात्किमोऽद्वा स्यात्पक्षे त्रल् ॥

1959. The affix अत् (अ) comes optionally after kim ending in the locative, as also the affix tral.

We must draw forward the word वा 'optionally' from the sûtra after the next. So that this sûtra is an optional one. Thus किम् + अत् ॥ Now applies the next sûtra by which किम् is replaced by क ॥ In the other alternative त्रल् also comes, as कुत्र ॥

१९६० । क्वाति । ७ । २ । १०५ ॥

किमः क्वादेशः स्यादाति । क्व । कुत्र ॥

1960. क्व is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V. 3. 13).

As क्व । So also कुत्र ॥

Note :—The substitute कु of VII. 2. 104. S. 1954, before the affix अ would have become क, but it would have caused guna, hence this separate substitute. Had the sûtra been किमोऽद्वत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

१९६१ । वा ह च च्छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । १३ ॥

कुह स्थः । कुह जग्मथुः ॥

1961. Optionally the affix ह also comes in the Chhandas, after the word kim in the locative : as well as the other affixes.

As in the Rig Veda VIII. 62. 4 : कुहंस्थ कुहजग्मथु कुह श्येनेव पेतथुः ॥ 'Where are ye two? Where are you going? Where do you fall like eagles"?,

१९६२ । एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ । २ । ४ । ३३ ॥

अन्वादेशविषये एतदोऽश् स्थात्सचानुदात्तस्त्रतसोः परतः तौ चानुदात्तौ स्तः । एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः । अथोऽधीमहे । अतो न गन्तारः स्म ॥

1962. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes त्र (V. 3. 10. S. 1957) and तस् (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) follow, and the affixes त्र and तस् are anudâtta also (gravely accented).

Thus अत्र 'here', and अतस् 'hence', in the following:—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः; अथो अत्र अधीमहे । 'We live in this (etasmin) village happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar'. By rule V. 3. 5. S. 1951 अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्; its repetition here is to indicate that the अश् of anvâdeśa is anudâtta.

१९६३ । इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते । ५ । ३ । १४ ॥

पञ्चमीसप्तमीतरविभक्त्यन्तादपि तसिलादयो दृश्यन्ते । दृशिग्रहणाद्भवदादियोग एव । स भवान् । ततो भवान् । तत्र भवान् । तं भवन्तम् । ततो भवन्तम् । तत्र भवन्तम् । एवं दीर्घायुः । देवानांप्रियः । आयुष्मान् ॥

1963. The above affixes are seen coming after kim, a sarvanama and bahu, ending with other case-affixes also, besides the locative and ablative.

That is to say, the affixes तसिल्, त्रल्, इ &c come after kim &c which are not in the ablative or the locative case. By the employment of the expression 'are seen', it is hinted that this may take place not on every occasion, but only when in juxtaposition with such words as भवत् 'Your Honor', दीर्घायुः 'long-lived', आयुष्मान् 'having long-life', and देवानांप्रियः 'the beloved of the Gods'. Thus:

Nom. ततो भवान् or तत्र भवान् = स भवान् ॥
Acc. तत्र भवन्तम् or ततो भवन्तम् = तं भवन्तम् ॥
Ins. तत्र भवता or ततो भवता = तेन भवता ॥
Dat. ततो भवते or तत्र भवते = तस्मै भवते ॥
Abt. ततो भवतः or तत्र भवतः = तस्माद् भवतः ॥
Gen. ततो भवतः or तत्र भवतः = तस्य भवतः ॥
Loc. ततो भवति or तत्र भवति = तस्मिन् भवति ॥

Similarly with the words दीर्घायुः, आयुष्मान् and देवानां प्रियः ॥

१९६४ । सर्वैकान्यकिंयत्तदः काले दा । ५ । ३ । १५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यः कालार्थेभ्यः स्वार्थे दा स्यात्। सर्वस्मिन्काले सदा। सर्वदा। एकदा। अन्यदा। कदा। यदा। तदा। काले किम्। सर्वत्र देशे॥

1964. After sarva 'all', eka 'one', anya 'other', kim 'what', yad 'which', and tad 'that', when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, the words being in the locative case.

The word सप्तम्याः V. 2. 10 S. 1957 is understood here and not the word इतरार्थाः of the last. This debars त्रल्॥ Thus सर्वदा or सदा (V. 3. 6 S. 1952) 'at every time' or 'always', एकदा 'once', अन्यदा 'at another time', कदा (VII. 2. 103 S. 342) 'when', यदा 'when', तदा 'then'.

Why do we say काले 'when time is denoted'? Observe सर्वत्रदेशे where although the case is the 7th, the affix is not दा, because the sense is 'in every *place*' or 'every where'.

१९६५। इदमोर्हिल्। ५। ३। १६॥

सप्तम्यन्ताभ्यां काले इत्येव। हस्यापवादः। अस्मिन्काले एतर्हि। काले किम्। इह देशे॥

1965. After idam 'this', ending in the locative case, comes the affix rhil र्हि when time is denoted.

The words सप्तम्याः and काले are understood. This rhil debars ha. The ल् of र्हिल् is for accent. Thus अस्मिन् काले = एतर्हि (V. 3. 4 S. 1950) 'at this time'. Why 'when time is denoted'? Observe, इह 'in this *place*', as इह देशे॥ See V. 3. 4 S. 1950

१९६६। अधुना। ५। ३। १७॥

इदमः सप्तम्यन्ताभ्यां कालवाचिनः स्वार्थेऽधुनाप्रत्ययः स्यात्। इश्। यस्येति लोपः। अधुना॥

1966. After idam ending in the locative case, comes the affix अधुना, when time is denoted.

Thus इदम्+अधुना = इ+अधुना (V. 3. 3 S. 1949) = ०+अधुना (S. 311) = अधुना॥ According to Kâśikâ अस्मिन् काले = अधुना 'at this time', अश् is substituted for इदम् and, धुन affix is added.

१९६७। दानीं च। ५। ३। १८॥

इदानीम्॥

1967. The affix dânîm also comes after idam, ending in the locative, and denoting time.

Thus अस्मिन् काले = इदानीम् (V. 3. 3 S. 1949) 'at this time'.

१९६८। तदो दा च। ५। ३। १९॥

तदा । तदानीम् । तदोदाचनमनर्थकं विहितत्वात् ॥

1968. After tad, ending in the seventh case, when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, and also dânîm.

The दानीम् is read into the sûtra by force of the word च 'also'. Thus तस्मिन् काले = तदा or तदानीम् 'at that time'. *Vârt*:—This sûtra, so far as it ordains दा after तद् is useless, because the word तद् already takes दा by V. 3. 15.

१९६९। अनद्यतनेर्हिलन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । २१ ॥

कर्हि । कदा । यर्हि । यदा । तर्हि । तदा । एतस्मिन्काले एतर्हि ॥

1969. The affix rhil comes optionally, in denoting time not of the current day, after the words 'kim' the sarvanâma, and bahu &c.' in the 7th case.

The anuvṛitti of छन्दसि is not read into this sûtra. This is a general rule. Thus कर्हि or कदा, (VII. 2. 103 S. 342), यर्हि or यदा, तर्हि or तदा, एतर्हि ॥

१९७० । सद्यःपरुत्परार्यैषमः परेद्यव्यद्य पूर्वेद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युरुभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्युः । ५ । ३ । २२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । समानस्य सभावो द्यस् चाहनि* । समानेऽहनि सद्यः । पूर्वपूर्वतरयोः परः उदात्तश्च प्रत्ययौ वत्सरे* । पूर्वस्मिन्वत्सरे परुत् । पूर्वतरे वत्सरे परारि ॥ इदम इश् समसण् प्रत्ययश्च संवत्सरे* । अस्मिन्संवत्सरे ऐषमः । परस्मादेद्यव्यहनि * । परस्मिन्नहनि परेद्यवि । इदमोऽश् द्यश्च* । अस्मिन्नहनि अद्य । पूर्वादिभ्योऽष्टभ्योऽन्येद्युस् * । पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि पूर्वेद्युः । अन्यस्मिन्नहनि अन्येद्युः । उभयोरह्नोरुभयेद्युः ॥ द्युभ्योभयाह्नोक्तव्यः * ॥ उभयद्युः ॥

1970. The following words are anomalous; sadyaḥ, parut, parâri, aishamas, paredyavi, adya, pûrvedyus, anyedyus, anyataredyus, itaredyus, aparedyus, adharedyus, ubhayedyus, and uttaredyus.

The words सप्तम्याः and काल are understood here. The base, the substitute, the affix, the particular time &c, must all be deduced from these forms. *Vârt*:—सद्यः is formed from समान, by substituting स for समान, and adding द्यस्; in the sense of 'a day'. समानेऽहनि = सद्यः 'the same day'. *Vârt*:—The पूर्व and पूर्वतर are replaced by पर, and then उत् and आरि are added, in the sense of 'a year'. Thus पूर्वस्मिन् संवत्सरे = परुत् 'last year'. पूर्वतरे संवत्सरे = परारि 'the year before last'. *Vârt*:—The इश replaces इदम्, and समसण् is added, in the sense of 'year'. अस्मिन् संवत्सरे = ऐषमः 'during this year'. *Vârt*:—To पर is added द्यवि in the sense of 'a day': as, परस्मिन्नहनि = परेद्यवि 'the other day'. *Vart*:—The अश replaces इदम् and द्यस् is added in the sense of 'a day'. Thus अस्मिन्नहनि = अद्य 'to day'. *Vârt*:—To पूर्व, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, अपर, अधर,

उभय and उत्तर is added the affix एद्युस्, in the sense of 'a day': as पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि = पूर्वेद्युस् 'on the day before', अन्यस्मिन्नहनि = अन्येद्युस् 'on the following day'. अन्यतरस्मिन्नहनि = अन्यतरेद्युः 'on either of two days'. इतरस्मिन्नहनि = इतरेद्युः 'on another day', अपरस्मिन्नहनि = अपरेद्युः on the following day' अधरस्मिन्नहनि = अधरेद्युः 'on a previous day' उभयोरह्नोः = उभयेद्युः 'on both days'. *Vârt*:—So also उभयद्युस् is formed by dyus added to ubhaya.

१९७१। प्रकारवचने थाल्। ५। ३। २३॥

प्रकारवृत्तिभ्यः किमादिभ्यस्थाल्स्यात्स्वार्थे। तेन प्रकारेण तथा। यथा॥

1971. The affix thâl (**था**) comes, after the words kim &c V. 3. 2, when we speak of a kind or manner of being.

The sûtra V. 3. 2, S. 1948 is to be read into this. The anuvṛitti of सप्तम्याः and काले ceases. The word प्रकार means the differentiating quality distinguishing a species among the genus: it means 'sort', 'kind', 'mode', 'manner,' &c. Thus तेन प्रकारेण = तथा 'so, in that manner'. Similarly यथा॥

Note:—The affix जातीयर् taught in V. 3. 69 S. 2024 has also the same force, with this difference that jâtîyar applies to words which denote things possessing such a quality (प्रकारवान्) while thâl denotes mode itself. Therefore, one does not debar the other, so that we have forms like तथाजातीयः, and यथाजातीयः॥

१९७२। इदमस्थमुः। ५। ३। २४॥

थालोऽपवादः॥ एतशेषि वाच्यः *॥ अनेन एतेन वा प्रकारेण इत्थम्॥

1972. After idam comes the affix thamu (**थमु**) in the same sense i. e. in denoting manner.

Vârt:—It comes after etad also. This debars थाल्; thus:—अनेन or एतेन प्रकारेण = इत्थम् V. 3. 4, S. 1950 'in this manner.' The उ in थमु protects the म from becoming इत् (See I. 3. 4. S. 190).

१९७३। किमश्च। ५। ३। २५॥

केन प्रकारेण कथम्॥

1973. Also after kim, comes the affix thamu in the sense of manner.

Thus केन प्रकारेण = कथम् 'how?'.

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdiśîya affixes.

अथ तद्धितप्रागिवीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE SVÂRTHIKA AFFIXES.

१९७४ । दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः । ५ । ३ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यो दिशिरूढेभ्यो दिग्देशकालवृत्तिभ्यः स्वार्थेऽस्तातिप्रत्ययः स्यात् ॥

1974. After words which primarily denote 'direction' ending in the locative, ablative and nominative, and referring to 'direction', 'locality' or 'time', comes the affix astâti (**अस्तात्**) without change of sense.

Note :—The word **दिक् शब्दाः** means 'words denoting directions'. Thus **पुरस्तात्**, has all these three significations in the following sentences, **पुरस्ताद्वसति** 'he lives eastward', **पुरस्तादागतः** 'he came from east' **पुरस्ताद् रमणीयम्** 'It was delightful previously'. Similarly with **अधस्तात्** ॥ For further explanation see S. 1977 below.

१९७५ । पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवश्चैषाम् । ५ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एभ्योऽस्तात्यर्थेऽसिप्रत्ययः स्यात्तद्योगे चैषां क्रमात्पुर, अध्, अव्, इत्यादेशाः स्युः ॥

1975. After pûrva, adhara and avara comes the affix asi (**अस्**) in the sense of astâti; and pura, adh, and av are their respective substitutes before this affix.

Note :—The word **अपञ्चम्याः** does not govern this sûtra. Thus **पुरो वसति, पुर आगतः, पुरो रमणीयम्** ॥ Similarly **अधस्** and **अवस्** with **वसति, आगतः** and **रमणीयम्** ॥ As **अधोवसति, अध-आगतः, अधोरमणीयम्, अवोवसति, अवआगतः** and **अवोरमणीयम्** ॥ See S. 1984.

१९७६ । अस्तातौ च । ५ । ३ । ४० ॥

अस्तातौ परे पूर्वादीनां पुरादयः स्युः । पूर्वस्यां पूर्वस्याः पूर्वा वा दिक् । पुरः पुरस्तात् । अधः अधस्तात् । अवः । अवस्तात् ॥

1976. The same substitution takes place when the affix astâti (**अस्तात्**) follows.

That is **पुर** for **पूर्व**, **अध्** for **अधर** and **अव्** for **अवर** ॥ Thus **पुरस्तात्** or **अधस्तात्** or **अवस्तात्** **वसति** or **आगतः** or **रमणीयम्** ॥

१९७७ । विभाषावरस्य । ५ । ३ । ४१ ॥

अवरस्यास्तातौ परेऽत् स्याद्वा । अवस्तात् । अवरस्तात् । एवं देशे काले च । दिशि रूढेभ्यः किम् । ऐन्द्र्यां वसति । सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यः किम् । पूर्वं ग्रामं गतः । दिगादिवृत्तिभ्यः किम् । पूर्वस्मिन् गुरौ वसति । अस्तातीति ज्ञापकादसिरस्तातिं न बाधते ॥

1977. The substitution of **अत्** for **अवर** is optional when astâti follows.

This declares an option when by the last it was compulsory. As **अवरस्तात्** or **अवस्तात् वसति, आगतः**, or **रमणीयम्॥**

Why do we say 'after words which primarily denote direction'? Observe **ऐन्द्र्यां दिशि वसति**, 'He lives in the Aindrâ direction". Here **ऐन्द्री** is a secondary word denoting eastern direction. Why do we say 'ending in the locative, ablative and nominative'? Observe **पूर्वं ग्रामं गतः** ॥ Why do we say when the sense is 'a direction', 'a locality' or a 'time'? Observe **पूर्वस्मिन् गुरौ वसति** 'he lives in the presence of the Guru'.

Note:—This affix is a **स्वार्थिक** affix, like the affixes taught previously. The words denoting direction must be primitive words of direction; and not derivative words like **ऐन्द्री** &c. which also denote direction.

The sûtra 1976 indicates by implication that the affix **अस्ताति** V. 3. 27 S, 1974 is not debarred by **अस्** after these words.

१९७८ । दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच् । ५ । ३ । २८ ॥

अस्तातेरपवादः । दक्षिणतः । उत्तरतः ॥

1978. After dakshiṇâ and uttara (referring to a direction or a locality or a time, and ending with the locative, ablative or nominative), comes the affix atasuch. (**अतस्**) ॥

This debars **अस्ताति** ॥ Thus **दक्षिणतः, उत्तरतः** ॥

Note:—The word **दक्षिणा** can never refer to time, so with regard to it direction and locality are only taken. The **अ** of **अतसुच्** is for the sake of differentiating this affix from **तस्** in sûtras like II. 3. 30.

१९७९ । विभाषापरावराभ्याम् । ५ । ३ । २९ ॥

परतः । अवरतः । परस्तात् । अवरस्तात् ।

1979. Optionally after para and avara, comes the affix atasuch, in the sense of astâti.

Thus **परतः** or **परस्तात्** ॥ So also **अवरस्तात्** or **अवरतः** ॥

१९८० । अञ्चेर्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ३० ॥

अञ्चत्यन्तादिक्शब्दादस्तातेर्लुक् स्यात् । लुक् तद्धितलुकि ॥ प्राच्यां प्राच्याः प्राची वा दिक् प्राक् । उदक् । एवं देशे काले च ॥

1980. After words of direction ending in अञ्च्, there is luk-elision of the affix astâti.

Thus प्राक् or प्रत्यक्: as प्राच्यां दिशि वसति = प्राग् वसति, प्रागागतः, प्राग्रमणीयम् ॥ The feminine affix of प्राची is also elided, when the taddhita affix is elided by लुक् ॥ See I. 2. 49. S. 1408. So also उदक् 'in the north'. Similarly when locality or time is denoted.

१९८१ । उपर्युपरिष्टात् । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अस्तातेर्विषये ऊर्ध्वशब्दस्योपादेशः स्याद्रिल्रिष्टातिलौ च प्रत्ययौ । उपरि उपरिष्टाद्वा वसति । आगतो रमणीयं वा ॥

1981. The words upari and uparishṭât are anomalous in the sense of astâti.

These words are derived irregularly from the word ऊर्ध्व, by changing it into उप, and adding the affixes रिल् and रिष्टातिल् ॥ Thus ऊर्ध्वायां दिशि वसति = उपरि वसति । So also उपर्यागतः उपरि रमणीयम् ॥ उपरिष्टाद्वसति, उपरिष्टादागतः, उपरिष्टाद्रमणीयम् ॥

१९८२ । पश्चात् । ५ । ३ । ३२ ॥

अपरस्य पश्चभाव आतिश्च प्रत्ययोऽस्तातेर्विषये ॥

1982. The word paśchât is anomalous, in the sense of astâti.

The word is formed by changing अपर into पश्च and adding the affix आति ॥ As अपरस्यां दिशि वसति = पश्चाद्वसति, आगतः, रमणीयम् &c.

Note :—So also when अपर is preceded by another word denoting direction, it is changed into paścha and âti is added. As दक्षिणपश्चात्, उत्तरपश्चात् ॥

Note :—So also when अर्ध follows such a compound, apara is changed into paścha; as, दक्षिणपश्चार्धः, उत्तरपश्चार्धः ॥

Note :—Apara is changed into paścha, when followed by ardha, and not preceded by any other word. As, पश्चार्धः ॥

१९८३ । उत्तराधरदक्षिणादातिः । ५ । ३ । ३४ ॥

उत्तरात् । अधरात् । दक्षिणात् ॥

1983. To the words uttara, adhara and dakshiṇa is added the affix âti, in the sense of astâti.

Thus उत्तरस्यां दिशि वसति = उत्तराद्वसति ॥ Similarly अधरात् and दक्षिणात् ॥

१९८४ । एनबन्यतरस्यामदूरेऽपञ्चम्याः । ५ । ३ । ३५ ॥

उत्तरादिभ्य एनब्वा स्यादवध्यवधिमतोः सामीप्ये पञ्चम्यन्तं विना । उत्तरेण । अधरेण । दक्षिणेन । पक्षे यथास्वं प्रत्ययाः । इह केचिदुत्तरादीननुवर्त्य दिक्शब्दमात्रादेनपमाहुः । पूर्वेण ग्रामम् ॥ अपरेण ग्रामम् ॥

1984. The affix enap (एनप्) comes optionally, (after the words uttara, adhara and dakshiṇa in the sense of astâti), when the limit indicated is not remote, and when it is not a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

Note:—The affix अस्ताति and the other affixes taught above come with the force of locative, ablative and nominative. The एनप् comes with the force of locative and nominative and not that of ablative. The adverbs so formed refer to objects not at a distance.

Thus उत्तरेण or उत्तरात् or उत्तरतो वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधरेण, अधरात् अधस्ताद् वसति &c, so also दक्षिणेन, दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणतो, वसति &c. 'He lives near by in the north-ward or southward'. Why do we say when not denoting distance? In the other alternative the ordinary affixes will come as दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः, अधस्तात्, उत्तरात्। Observe उत्तराद्वसति 'he lives far away in the north'. Why do we say 'when not having the force of ablative'? Observe उत्तरादागतः 'come from the north'.

Note:—The word अपञ्चम्याः governs all the succeeding sûtras upto V. 3. 39, exclusive.

Some do not read उत्तर &c. into this sûtra: according to them this is a general rule applicable to all words denoting direction. As पूर्वेण ग्रामम्, अपरेण ग्रामम् (II. 3. 31)' The प् in enap is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4. S. 3709).

१९८५। दक्षिणादाच्। ५। ३। ३९॥

अस्तातेर्विषये। दक्षिणा वसति। अपञ्चम्या इत्येव। दक्षिणादागतः॥

1985. The affix ach (आँ) comes after the word dakshiṇa, in the sense of astâti, but not as a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

The word अदूरे of the last sûtra is not read into this: though the word अपञ्चम्याः governs it. Thus दक्षिणा वसति or रमणीयम्, but दक्षिणत आगतः in the ablative.

Note:—The च् in आच् is not for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 163. S. 3710) for the simple affix आ would be udâtta by the general rule III. 1. 3. S. 3708. The च् serves the purpose of differentiating this आ from other affixes in Sûtra II. 3.-29 S. 595.

१९८६। आहि च दूरे। ५। ३। ३७॥

दक्षिणाद् दूरे आहि स्यात् चादाच्। दक्षिणाहि। दक्षिणा॥

1986. The affix âhi (आहि) comes after the word dakshiṇa, in the sense of astâti, as well as ach, when the reference is to a distant limit.

We draw in the affix आच् by force of the word च 'and'.

Thus दक्षिणाहि वसति or दक्षिणा वसति 'he lives far away in the south'.

Note :—Why do we say दूरे 'when the adverb denotes a distant limit'? Observe दक्षिणतो वसति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्याः governs this also: as, दक्षिणत आगतः ॥

१९८७ । उत्तराच्च । ५ । ३ । ३८ ॥

उत्तराहि । उत्तरा ॥

1987. The affixes आच् and आहि come after uttara in the sense of astâti; when the reference is to a distant limit.

Thus उत्तरा or उत्तराहि वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ "He lives far away in the north: or the northward far away is pleasant".

Note :—But when 'distance' is not meant we have उत्तरेण प्रयाति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्याः governs this also: as उत्तरादागतः ॥

१९८८ । संख्याया विधार्थे धा । ५ । ३ । ४२ ॥

क्रियाप्रकारार्थे वर्तमानात्संख्याशब्दात्स्वार्थे धा स्यात् । चतुर्धा । पञ्चधा ॥

1988. The affix dhâ (धा) comes after a nominal-stem denoting a Numeral, when it means the mode or manner of an action.

Note :—The word विधा and प्रकार have the same meaning. Thus adverbs so formed apply to every kind of action.

Thus एकधा भुङ्क्ते 'he eats once'. द्विधा गच्छति 'he goes twice'. Similarly त्रिधा. चतुर्धा. पञ्चधा ॥

१९८९ । अधिकरणविचाले च । ५ । ३ । ४३ ॥

द्रव्यस्य संख्यान्तरापादने संख्याया धा स्यात् । एकं राशिं पञ्चधा कुरु ॥

1989. The affix dhâ comes after a numeral, when the sense is a change in the apportionment or distribution of substances.

Note :—The word संख्यायाः is understood here. The word अधिकरण means 'matter, stuff, substance'. विचालः 'change in numbers'. Thus to make one into many, or to make many into one.

Thus एकं राशिं पञ्चधा कुरु 'divide one heap into five'. Similarly अनेकम् एकधा कुरु "make these many heaps into one".

१९९० । एकाद्धो ध्यमुञन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ४४ ॥

ऐकध्यम् । एकधा ॥

1990. After the word eka, the substitute dhyamuñ (ध्यम्) comes optionally instead of dhâ.

Thus एकधा राशिं कुरु or ऐकध्यं कुरु; एकधा भुङ्क्ते or ऐकध्यं भुङ्क्ते ॥

Note:—The repetition of धा in the sûtra shows that the substitution takes place when the sense is that of विधा, as well as when it is that of अधिकरण विचाल ॥ Had धा not been repeated, the substitution would have come in the sense of अधिकरण विचाल only, as immediately preceding this sûtra.

१९९१ । द्वित्र्योश्च धमुञ् । ५ । ३ । ४५ ॥

आभ्यां धा इत्यस्य धमुञ् स्याद्वा । द्वैधम् । द्विधा । त्रैधम् । त्रिधा । धमुञन्तास्स्वार्थे डवर्शनम् * ॥ पथि द्वैधानि

1991. The substitute dhamuñ धम् comes optionally, in the place of धा after the words dvi and tri.

Note:—Here also it comes in both the विधार्थ and अधिकरण विचाल senses. By च, the word 'optionally' is drawn into the sûtra.

Thus द्विधा or द्वैधम्, त्रिधा, or त्रैधम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix ड (ḍa, with the elision of the final vowel) comes without changing the sense, after words ending in dhamuñ. As पथि, द्वैधानि संश्रयन्ते ॥

१९९२ । एधाच्च । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

द्वेधा । त्रेधा ॥

1992. The substitute edhâch (एधाँ) comes optionally in the place of dha, after dvi and tri.

Thus द्वेधा (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) or द्वैधम् or द्विधा, त्रेधा त्रैधम् or त्रिधा ॥

✓ १९९३ । याप्ये पाशप् । ५ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कुत्सितो भिषक् भिषक्पाशः ॥

1993. The affix pâśap (पाश) denotes something as insignificant.

The word याप्य means 'contempt, trifling' &c. Thus कुत्सितः याप्यो भिषक् भिषक् पाशः 'a very bad physician.' So also यष्टिकपाशः ॥

Note:—Of course this will not come in denoting a person who is a good physician, but bears a bad character, or who is a good performer of sacrifices but immoral.

१९९४ । पूरणाद्भागे तीयादन् । ५ । ३ । ४८ ॥

द्वितीयो भागो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः । स्वरे विशेषः ॥ तीयादीकक् स्वार्थे वाच्यः * ॥ द्वितीयांकः । द्वितीयः । तार्तीयीकः तृतीयः ॥ न विद्यावाः * ॥ द्वितीया । तृतीया । विशेषेण ॥

1994. After (a nominal stem being) an ordinal number ending in tîya, comes the affix अन् (अ) (the word retaining its denotation), when a 'part' is meant.

This sûtra is made only to teach accent, for the word to which अन is added undergoes no other change of form except in accent. Thus द्वितीयः (V. 2. 54. S. 1854) has udâtta on ती (III. 1. 3. S. 3708) but when अन् is added, the accent falls on द्वि (VI. 1. 197. S. 3686). Thus द्वितीयो भागः=द्वितीयः 'the moiety'. Similarly तृतीयः 'the one-third'.

Note:—Why do we say when 'part' is meant? Otherwise, there is no change in accent. The affix तीय always comes in forming ordinal numbers and for no other purpose, for the तीय in words like मुखतीय is not significant as it is not an affix. The employment of the word पूरण in the aphorism is useless for the purposes of this sûtra. Its anuvṛitti, however, runs in the other sûtras, and that is the only purpose that it serves here.

Vârt:—The affix ईकक् is added to words ending in तीय, without changing the sense. As द्वैतीयीकः, तार्तीयीकः, in the same sense as द्वितीयः and तृतीयः॥

Vârt:—But not so, when the word ending in तीय refers to विद्या॥ As द्वितीया विद्या, तृतीया विद्या॥

१९९५। प्रागेकादशभ्योऽछन्दसि। ५। ३। ४९॥

पूरणप्रत्ययान्ताद्भागेऽन्। चतुर्थः। पञ्चमः॥

1995. After an ordinal numeral upto eleven exclusive, comes the affix अन्, the word retaining its denotation, when a 'part' is meant: but not so in the Chhandas.

This is for accent also. Thus चतुर्थः, पञ्चमः, सप्तमः, नवमः, दशमः॥

Note:—Why do we say प्रागेकादशः 'before eleven'? Observe एकादशः, द्वादशः no change of accent (VI. 1. 223. S. 3734). Why do we say 'not in the Chhandas'? Observe, पञ्चममिन्द्रियस्यापाक्रामत (पञ्चम has acute on the final being formed by डट् preceded by मट् V. 2. 48, 49 S. 1849, 1850).

१९९६। षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां ञ च। ५। ३। ५०॥

षाडन्। षष्ठो भागः षाड्ढः। षष्ठः। आष्टमः। अष्टमः॥

1996. The affix ña (ञ) also comes as well as अन् after shashṭha and ashṭama, when a 'part' is meant, but not in the Chhandas.

The words भागे and अछन्दसि are understood here. By च, the affix अन् is included. Thus षष्ठः or षाड्ढः, अष्टमः or आष्टमः॥

१९९७। मानपश्वङ्गयोः कन्लुकौ च। ५। ३। ५१॥

षष्ठाष्टमशब्दाभ्यां क्रमेण कन्लुकौ स्तो माने पश्वङ्गे च वाच्ये। षष्ठको भागः मानं चेत्। अष्टमो भागः पश्वङ्गं चेत्। अस्य अनो वा लुक्। चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तम्। षष्ठः। षाष्ठः। अष्टमः। आष्टमः। महाविभाषया सिद्धे लुग्वचनं पूर्वत्र आनां नित्याविति ज्ञापयति॥

1997. After the words shashṭha and ashṭama there may come respectively कन् (क) and लुक् elision of the affix, when the meaning is a division of a measure called mâna or grain, or the part of the body of a beast respectively.

The word मान means a grain weight (व्रीहि यावमितं सुवर्णं)॥ That is to say, कन् comes after षष्ठः when a division of मान 'measure' is expressed; and लुक् comes after अष्ट when a part of पश्वङ्ग is denoted. Thus षष्ठको भागः 'a sixth of a grain measure'. अष्टमो[3] भागः 'an-eighth part of the body of a beast'. The लुक् here takes the place of the affix अ as well as अन्॥ By च, the affixes above mentioned are also employed: as षाष्ठः or षष्ठः, आष्टमः or अष्टमः॥ When a measure or the body of an animal is not denoted, this rule (though optional) will not apply.

Though under the Great Option (IV. 1. 82. S. 1092) all these affixes may be elided, yet the separate luk-elision herein taught indicates by implication, that the अ and अन् of the preceding aphorism are compulsory and cannot be elided by the Great Option. See also V. 3. 1. S. 1947.

१९९८। एकादाकिनिच्चासहाये। ५। ३। ५२॥

चात्कन्लुकौ। एकः। एकाकी। एककः॥

1998. After the word eka, comes also the affix âkinich (आकिनिच्), (the word retaining its denotation), when the sense is 'without a companion'.

By the word च, the affix कन् and the elision लुक् also take effect: the elision being of कन् or आकिनिच्॥ Thus एकाकिन् (nom एकाकी), एककः or एकः॥

Note:—By using असहाय, it is indicated that the word एक here is not a numeral meaning 'one', but a noun meaning 'alone'. एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च, प्रथमे, केवले, तथा॥ साधारणे, समाने ऽल्पे, संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते॥ So that this word will have dual एकाकिनौ, and the plural एकाकिनः॥

१९९९। भूतपूर्वे चरट्। ५। ३। ५३॥

आढ्यो भूतपूर्वः आढ्यचरः॥

1999. The affix चर (with the feminine in ङीप्) comes after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation, when the meaning is 'this had been before'.

The word भूतपूर्व is a compound of पूर्व and भूत: the compounding being by सुप्सुपा, and denotes something done in a past time. Thus आढ्यो भूतपूर्व:= आढ्यचर 'once opulent'.

Note:—The ट् indicates that the feminine will be in ङीप्, as, आढ्यचरी ॥ The च् is not इत् in चरट् though required by I. 3. 7. S. 189. This proves that चुटु rule is anitya. The sûtra V. 2. 18. S. 1819 might have been read after this, with the saving of the word भूतपूर्व:, but then खञ् would have debarred चरट् which is, however, not intended.

२००० । षष्ठ्या रूप्य च । ५ । ३ । ५४ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताद्भूतपूर्वेऽर्थे रूप्यः स्याच्चरट् च । कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौः कृष्णरूप्यः । कृष्णचरः । तसिलादिषु रूप्यस्यापरिगणितत्वान्न पुंवत् । शुभ्राया भूतपूर्वः शुभ्रारूप्यः ॥

2000. After a nominal-stem ending in the sixth-case, comes the affix रूप्य, and also चरट्, in the sense of 'having belonged formerly to somebody'.

The word भूतपूर्व here qualifies the sense of the affix, and not the sense of the base, as it was in the last sûtra. Thus कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौः=कृष्णरूप्यः 'the cow that formerly belonged to Krishṇa'. Similarly देवदत्तचरः ॥ The affix रूप्य not being included in tasilâdi class of sûtra VI. 3. 35. S. 836 does not cause the masculisation. Thus शुभ्राया भूतपूर्वः=शुभ्रारूप्यः and not शुभ्ररूप्यः ॥

२००१ । अतिशायने तमबिष्ठनौ । ५ । ३ । ५५ ॥

अतिशयविशिष्टार्थवृत्तेः स्वार्थे एतौ स्तः । अयमेषामतिशयेनाढ्यः आढ्यतमः । लघुतमो लघिष्ठः ॥

2001. When the sense is that of surpassing, there come the affixes तमप् (तम्) and इष्ठन् (इष्ठ), after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation.

Note:—These affixes form the superlative degree. The word अतिशायन is an irregular form of अतिशयनं, and it qualifies the sense of the primitive. The स्वार्थिक affixes semetimes qualify the sense of the primitive.

Thus आढ्यतमः=सर्व इमे आढ्याः, अयमेषामतिशयेनाढ्यः 'the richest' i. e. 'these are all rich, but he surpasses them all in riches'. Similarly पटु—पटिष्ठः, गुरुः—गरिष्ठः, लघु—लघिष्ठः (VI. 4. 155. S. 1786).

Note:—When among superlatives, further excellence is indicated, then these words may take additional affixes also: as श्रेष्ठ, though a superlative, forms श्रेष्ठतमः ॥ As देवो वः सविता प्रापयतु श्रेष्ठतमाय कर्मणे । युधिष्ठिरः श्रेष्ठतमः कुरुणामिति: ॥

२००२ । तिङश्च । ५ । ३ । ५६ ॥

तिङन्तादतिशये द्योत्ये तमप् स्यात् ॥

2002. So also after a finite verb, comes the affix tamap, when 'surpassing' is meant.

By the next sûtra, the affix तमप् gets the designation *gha* घ ॥

Note:—By ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् IV. 1. 1. S. 182 whose force runs throughout, the taddhita affixes are ordained only after nominal stem; they would not have come after verbs; hence this sûtra. Thus पचतितमाम् (the आम् is added by V. 4. 11, S. 2004) = सर्व इमे पचन्तीति, अयमेषामतिशयेन पचति, 'he cooks surprisingly'. अल्पतितमाम् &c, The affix इष्ठन् never comes after a verb, as by V. 3. 58. S. 2006 it is restricted to adjectives.

२००३। तरप्तमपौ घः। १। १। २२॥

एतौ घसंज्ञौ स्तः ॥

2003. The affixes tarap and tamap are called घ ॥

As this affix is gha, the next sûtra applies.

२००४। किमेत्तिङव्ययघादाम्वद्रव्यप्रकर्षे। ५। ४। ११॥

किम् एदन्तात्तिङोऽव्ययाच्च यो घस्तदन्ताद्दाप्तुः स्याद्न तु द्रव्यप्रकर्षे। किंतमाम्। प्राह्णेतमाम्। पचतितमाम्। उच्चैस्तमाम्। द्रव्यप्रकर्षे तु उच्चैस्तमस्तरुः ॥

2004. To the affix तर and तम (घ I. 1. 22. S. 2003) ordained to come after the word किम् (V. 3. 55. S. 2001) or after a word ending in ए (VI. 3. 17. S. 975) or after a finite verb (V. 3. 56. 57. S. 2002) or after an indeclinable, is added the affix âm (आम्), but not if the excess belongs to a substance (and not to an action or quality).

Note:—The घ or तरप् and तमप् affixes are employed for comparison (प्रकर्षे 'excess') of adjectives and adverbs. This rule applies to adverbs and not to adjectives: i. e. when an adverb qualifies a verb or another adjective, but not when an adjective qualifies a noun. The द्रव्य denoting word by itself has no 'excess' &c, it is the adjective which qualifies such substance that is capable of excess or comparison. The prohibition in अद्रव्यप्रकर्षे therefore really relates to the *quality* of a substance; i. e. to adjectives. द्रव्यस्याव्यपदेशस्य नं विना भेद हेतुना। प्रकर्षोविद्यते नापि शब्दस्योपेति वाच्यताम् ॥

Thus किंतराम् or किन्तमाम् "how excessively", प्राह्णेतराम् or प्राह्णेतमाम्, पचतितराम् or पचतितमाम् "he cooks surprisingly", उच्चैस्तराम्, उच्चैस्तमाम् "more or most loftily or loudly".

But when the excess belongs not to an action or attribute, but to a substance, the âm आम् is not added. As उच्चैस्तमः तरुः "a most lofty tree".

२००५। द्विवचनविभज्योपपदे तरबीयसुनौ। ५। ३। ५७॥

द्वयोरेकस्यातिशये विभक्तव्ये चोपपदे सुप्तिङन्तादेतौ स्तः। पूर्वयोरपवादः। अवमनयोरतिशयेन लघुर्लघुतरः लघीयान्। इहेच्छाः प्राच्येभ्यः पटुतराः। पटीयांसः ॥

2005. The affixes tarap (तरप्) and îyasun (ईयसुन्) come in the sense of 'surpassing', after a nominal stem or a finite-verb, when it expresses (comparison between) two things, or when that which is added to it (upapada), is to be distinguished from another.

Note :—The word द्विवचन does not mean 'dual', but means an expression for two. विभज्य is irregularly formed by यत्, and means 'that which is to be distinguished or differentiated'.

This debars तमप् and इष्ठन् ॥

The rule of यथासंख्य (I. 3. 10. S 128) does not apply here. First to take an exmple of द्विवचन or when comparison is between two things: thus: द्वाविमावाढ्यौ, अयमनयोरतिशयेन = आढ्यतरः 'both are rich, but he is *richer* amongst the two'. So also लघुतरः and लघीयान् ॥

Similarly सुकुमारतरः, पचतितराम् अल्पतितराम् (V. 4. 11. S. 2004): or with इयसुन् as द्वाविमौ पटू अयमनयोरतिशयेन पटुः = पटीयान् 'more skilful of the two', लघीयान् ॥ Secondly to take an example of विभज्ये चोपपदे i. e. when a word in construction is to be differentiated: thus माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आढ्यतराः 'The men of Mathurâ are richer than those of Pâṭaliputra.' Here there are more than two things but as the words are expressed in the sentence, the comparative degree in plural number is used.

Similarly so also उदीच्याः प्राच्येभ्यः पटुतराः "The northerns are more skilful than the easterns" पटीयांसः लघीयांसः ॥ Of course all these words must be plural, as they refer to more than two persons.

२००६। अजादी गुणवचनादेव। ५। ३। ५८ ॥

इष्ठन्नीयसुनौ गुणवचनादेव स्तः। प्रथिष्ठः। प्रथीयान्। नेह। पाचकतरः। पाचकतमः ॥

2006. The two affixes beginning with a vowel (i. e. ईयसुन् and इष्ठ) are added only after words denoting attributes.

Thus प्रथिष्ठः प्रथीयान्; but not after words like पाचक &c. there we have पाचकतरः, पाचकतमः ॥

Note :—The word एव 'only' restricts the scope of the *affixes*, and not of the *primitives*. Thus पटुतरः, पटुतमः are also valid forms.

२००७। तुश्छन्दसि। ५। ३। ५९ ॥

तृवृतृजन्तादिष्ठन्नीयसुनौ स्तः ॥

2007. These affixes ishṭhan and îyasun come in the Chhandas after a nominal stem ending in तृ ॥

The तुः is ablative of तृ which includes both तृन् and तृच् ॥ This extends the application of these affixes to words other than attributes.

२००८ । तुरिष्ठेमेयःसु । ६ । ४ । १५४ ॥

तृशब्दस्य लोपः स्यादिष्ठेमेयःसु परेषु । अतिशयेन कर्ता करिष्ठः । दोहीयसी धेनुः ॥

2008. The affix **तृ** is elided before the affixes **इष्ठन्**, **इमनिच्** and **ईयसुन्** ॥

Thus **करिष्ठः**, **विजयिष्ठः**, **बहिष्ठः**, **दोहीयसी धेनुः** ॥ The whole affix **तृ** is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (**टि**) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules.

Thus **अतिशयेन कर्ता = करिष्ठः** (**कर्तृ + इष्ठन् = कर् = इष्ठ** by VI. 4. 154, S. 2008 **तृ** is elided). As **बासुतिं करिष्ठः दोहीयसी धेनुः** ॥ By the Vârtika under VI, 3. 35 S. 836 **दोहेनी** is changed into masculine **दोहितृ** and then **ईयस्** is added by VI. 4. 145. S. 2008).

२००९ । प्रशस्यस्य श्रः । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

अस्य श्रादेशः स्याज्जाद्योः ॥

2009. For **प्रशस्य** is substituted **श्र**, when these affixes ishṭhan and îyasun follow.

Then applies the following.

२०१० । प्रकृत्यैकाच् । ६ । ४ । १६३ ॥

इष्ठादिष्वेकाच् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । श्रेष्ठः । श्रेयान् ॥

2010. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes **इष्ठ**, **इमन्** and **ईयस्** ॥

Thus **श्रेष्ठः** and **श्रेयान्** ॥

२०११ । ज्य च । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

प्रशस्यस्य ज्यादेशः स्यादिष्ठेयसोः । ज्येष्ठः ॥

2011. For prasasya, **ज्य** is also substituted before these two affixes.

As **ज्येष्ठः** ॥

२०१२ । ज्यादादीयसः । ४ । ६ । १६० ॥

आदेः परस्य । ज्यायान् ॥

2012. **आ** is substituted for the first letter of **ईयस्** after **ज्य** ॥

As **ज्यायान्** ॥

Note :—**ज्य** is substituted for **प्रशस्य** by V. 3. 61. S. 2011.

२०१३ । वृद्धस्य च । ५ । ३ । ६२ ॥

ज्यादेशः स्यादजाद्योः । ज्येष्ठः । ज्यायान् ॥

2013. ज्य is also substituted for वृद्ध, when ishṭhan and iyas follow.

Thus ज्येष्ठः 'the oldest', ज्यायान् 'the older'.

Note :—By VI. 4. 157, S. 2016 वर्षि is also substituted for वृद्ध and we have वर्षीष्ठः and वर्षीयान् also. The word वृद्ध though not a guṇavachana, takes these affixes by the implication of this sûtra.

२०१४ । अन्तिकबाढयोर्नेदसाधौ । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

अजाद्योः । नेदिष्ठः । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठः । साधीयान् ॥

2014. For अन्तिकः is substituted नेद, and for बाढ is साध, when these affixes follow.

Thus नेदिष्ठः । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठः and साधीयान् ॥

२०१५ । स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः । ६ । ४ । १५६ ॥

एषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते पूर्वस्य च गुण इष्ठादिषु । स्थविष्ठः । दविष्ठः । यविष्ठः । ह्रसिष्ठः । क्षेपिष्ठः क्षोदिष्ठः । एवमीयस् । ह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां पृथ्वादित्वात् ह्रसिमा । क्षेपिमा । क्षोपिमा ॥

2015. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युवन्, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र and क्षुद्र ॥

That is ल, र, वन् and व and र are elided. Thus स्थविष्ठः, स्थवीयान्; दविष्ठः दवीयान्; यविष्ठः, यवीयान्; ह्रसिष्ठः, ह्रसीयान्, ह्रसिमा; क्षेपिष्ठः, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Pṛithvâdi class and take 'iman' affix (V. 1 122 S. 1784). क्षोदिष्ठः, क्षोदीयान्, क्षोदिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in यणादिपरं 'the *last* semivowel'? The *first* semivowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व i. e. य of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

२०१६ । प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बंहिगर्बंर्षिन्नबद्राघिवृन्दाः । ६ । ४ । १५७ ॥

प्रियादीनां क्रमात्प्रादयः स्युरिष्ठादिषु । प्रेष्ठः । स्थेष्ठः । स्फेष्ठः । वरिष्ठः । बर्हिष्ठः । गरिष्ठः । वर्षिष्ठः । नपिष्ठः । द्राघिष्ठः । वृन्दिष्ठः । एवमीयसुन् । प्रेयान् । प्रियोरुबहुलगुरुदीर्घाणां पृथ्वादित्वात्प्रेमेत्यादि ॥

2016. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place :—प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर्ह् for उरु, बर्ह् for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ष् for वृद्ध, न्रप् for तृप्, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्ठः, प्रेमा, प्रेयान् ; स्थिर, स्थेष्ठः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा ; स्फिर, स्फेष्ठः, स्फेयान् ; उरु, वरिष्ठः वरिमा वरीयान् ; बहुल, बंहिष्ठः, बंहीयान् बंहिमा ; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान् गरिमा ; वृद्ध, वर्षिष्ठः वर्षीयान् ; बृप, बर्षिष्ठः, बर्षीयान् ; दीर्घ, द्राघिष्ठः, द्राघीयान्, द्राघिमा ; वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्ठः, वृन्दीयान् ; ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in the Prithvâdi class and take इमन् (V. I. 122. S. 1784.) while others do not.

२०१७ । बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः । ६ । ४ । १५८ ॥

बहोः परयोरिमेयसोर्लोपः स्याद्बहोश्च भुरादेशः । भूमा । भूयान् ॥

2017. The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु ; and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥

Note :—In the case of इष्ठ, the following sûtra 2018 will apply. Under I. 1. 54. and 67. बहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई ; in this case बहु belongs to the Prithvâdi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. I. 122. S. 1784. The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthânî, for which the word भू is to be substituted : otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

२०१८ । इष्ठस्य यिट् च । ६ । ४ । १५९ ॥

बहोः परस्य इष्ठस्य लोपः स्यात् यिडागमश्च । भूयिष्ठः ॥

2018. After बहु the augment यिट् is added to इष्ठ, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥

Note :—This augment यिट् debars the lopa substitution of the last sûtra in the case of इष्ठ ॥ The इ in यिट् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment being य् ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sûtra, and to the ष्ठ the augment यि may be added.

२०१९ । युवाल्पयोः कनन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

एतयोः कनादेशो वा स्याद्विष्ठेयसोः । कनिष्ठः । कनीयान् । पक्षे यविष्ठः । अल्पिष्ठ इत्यादि ॥

2019. Before these affixes, कन् is optionally substituted or युवन् and अल्प ॥

Thus कनिष्ठः, कनीयान् or यविष्ठः, यवीयान् । similarly अल्पिष्ठः, अल्पीयान् or कनिष्ठः, कनीयान् ॥ सर्वेषु युवान् ; अयमेषामतिशयेन कनिष्ठः । द्वाविमौ युवानौ अयमनयोरतिशयेन कनीयान् । यविष्ठः । यवीयान् । सर्वेषमेऽल्पाः । अयमेषामतिशयेन कनिष्ठः । उभाविमावल्पावयमनयोरतिशयेनकनीयान् अयमस्मत्कनीयान् । अल्पिष्ठः अल्पीयानिति वा ॥

२०२० । विन्मतोर्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

विनो मतुपश्च लुक् स्याद्विष्ठेयसोः । अतिशयेन स्रग्वी । स्रजिष्ठः । स्रजीयान् । अतिशयेन त्वग्वत् त्वग्विष्ठः । त्वग्वीयान् ॥

2020. The affixes विन् and मत् are luk-elided, when iṣṭhan and îyasun follow.

Thus स्रग्विन्—स्रजिष्ठः, स्रजीयान् ; स्वग्वत्—स्वचिष्ठः, स्वचीयान् ॥ सर्वेइमे स्रग्विणः, अयमेषामतिशयेन, स्रजिष्ठः । उभाविमौ स्रग्विणौ, अयमनयोरतिशयेन, स्रजीयान् । अयमस्मात् स्रजीयान्। सर्वेइमे स्वग्वन्तः अयमेषामतिशयेन, स्वचिष्ठः । उभाविमौ स्वग्वन्तौ, अयमनयोरतिशयेन, स्वचीयान् । अयमस्मात्स्वचीयान् ॥

Note:—This sûtra is a jñâpaka or indicator that words ending in विन् and मत् or वत् form their comparative and superlative degrees by adding ईयस् and इष्ठन् ॥

२०२१ । प्रशंसायां रूपप् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुबन्तात्तिङन्ताच्च । प्रशस्तः पटुः पटुरूपः । प्रशस्तं पचति पचतिरूपम् ॥

2021. The affix रूपप् (रूप) comes, without change of connotation, after a stem (nominal or verbal) denoting praise.

Note :—The word प्रशंसा means 'praise', and it qualifies the sense of the primitive; i. e. when the sense of the primitive is that of 'praise', then रूपप् is added. As a general rule the स्वार्थिक affixes, which do not change the denotation of the word, serve the purpose of prominently bringing forward one particular meaning out of the several meanings possessed by a primitive.

Thus प्रशस्तः पटुः=पटुरूपः 'a celebrated artist'. So also याज्ञिकरूपः ॥

The affix comes after a verbal word ending in तिङ्, for the word तिङन्त V. 3. 56. S. 2002 is understood here also. Thus पचतिरूपम्, पचतारूपम् or पचन्तिरूपम् 'who is celebrated, who two are celebrated or who all are celebrated in cooking'. These words पचतिरूपम् &c cannot take dual or plural; because the action denoted by the verb is only one, not many. These words are always in the neuter gender, by the general usage of the people.

२०२२ । ईषदसमाप्तौ कल्पब्देश्यदेशीयरः । ५ । ३ । ६७ ॥

ईषदूनो विद्वान् विद्वत्कल्पः । यशस्कल्पम् । यजुःकल्पम् । विद्वद्देश्यः । विद्वद्देशीयः । पचतिकल्पम् ॥

2022. The affixes कल्पप् (कल्प), देश्य, and देशीयर् (देशीय) come after a nominal or a verbal stem which connotes a slight incompleteness.

The word समाप्ति means 'fulness of objects'. A little non-fulness is called ईषदसमाप्ति ॥ Thus विद्वत्कल्पः, यशस्कल्पम, यजुःकल्पम्, विद्वद्देश्यः or विद्वद्देशीय 'a clever but slightly incomplete' i. e. 'tolerably clever'. So also after verbs, as पचतिकल्पम, &c.

२०२३ । विभाषा सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात्तु । ५ । ३ । ६८ ॥

ईषदसमाप्तिविशिष्टेऽर्थे सुबन्ताद्बहुच्वा स्यात्सच प्रागेव नतु परतः । ईषदूनः पटुर्बहुपटुः । पटुकल्पः । सुपः किम् । यजतिकल्पम् ।

2023. Optionally to a declined noun may be added the affix बहुच् (बहु), but it stands before: when the sense is slight incompleteness.

This is the only exception to the general rule that an affix is added *after* a word. The affix बहुच् however is added *before* the word. The च् of बहुच् indicates that the udâtta will fall on the final vowel of the word. See VI. 1. 163, S. 3710. Thus बहुपटुः 'a tolerably skilful person'. By the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the affixes कल्प &c also come as पटुकल्पः ॥ Why do we say सुपः 'to a noun ending in a case-affix i. e. a declined noun'. For it indicates that the affix is not added to finite verbs (तिङन्त) ॥ As यजतिकल्पम् ॥

२०२४ । प्रकारवचने जातीयर् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

प्रकारवति चायम् । थाल् तु प्रकारमात्रे । पटुप्रकारः पटुजातीयः ॥

2024. The affix जातीयर् comes after a case-inflected word which expresses 'a speciality'.

That which distinguishes one thing from another is called प्रकार or 'speciality'. When a word expresses speciality, it is called प्रकारवचनः ॥ This word qualifies the sense of the primitive. The affix जातीयर् and the affix थाल् V. 3. 23. S. 1971 both denote प्रकार, but while जातीयर् denotes प्रकारवान्, the other denotes प्रकारमात्र i. e. merely प्रकार ॥

Thus पटुजातीयः 'he may be reckoned among the clever persons'.

Note:—The above Sûtra may, therefore be translated in these words also, "the affix जातीयर् has the sense of "*belonging to the class of*" "*being of the nature of*".

२०२५ । प्रागिवात्कः । ५ । ३ । ७० ॥

इवे प्रतिकृतावित्यतः प्राक् काधिकारः ॥

2025. The affix ka (क) governs all the sûtras, as far as "ive pratikritau" (V. 3. 96. S. 2051).

Note:—Properly speaking क extends only upto V. 3. 86. S. 2041. Thus in the sûtra अज्ञाते V. 3. 73. S. 2028 the word क must be supplied to complete the sense. As अभकः, गर्दभकः ॥ This affix क does not come after finite verbs (तिङन्त), but the affix अकच् V. 3, 71 S. 2026 comes after such verbs. In other words, the phrase तिङश्च V. 3. 56, S. 2002 should be connected, by way of anuvritti, with the next sûtra, and not with this.

२०२६ । अव्ययसर्वनाम्नामकच् प्राक् टेः । ५ । ३ । ७१ ॥

तिङश्चेत्यनुवर्तते ॥

026. The affix akach (अक) is added to an Indeclinable and to a Pronominal, before the last vowel of those words; in the sense of Prâgivîya affixes.

Note:—The क् shows that the acute accent falls on the final (VI. 1. 163. S. 3710), though the affix is inserted in the middle of the word. The phrase तिङश्च V. 3. 56. S. 2012 is understood here also. This अकच् debars क ॥ Thus उच्चैः + अक् = उच्च् + अक् + ऐः = उच्चकै : ॥ Similarly नीचकैः, शनकैः from नीचैः and शनैः ॥ So also, after Pronominals, as सर्वकै, विश्वकै, and उभयकै from सर्वै, विश्वै and उभयै ॥

२०२७ । कस्य च दः । ५ । ३ । ७२ ॥

कान्ताव्ययस्य ककारोऽन्तादेशः स्यादकच ॥

2027. The letter द is the substitute of the final क् of an Indeclinable, when the affix akach is added.

Note:—The word अव्यय is to be read into this sûtra and not सर्वनाम, because no Pronominal ends in क् ॥ Thus धिक्, हिरुक् and पृथक् from धिक्, हिरुक् and पृथक् ॥ Thus हिरुक् + अक् = हिर् + अक् + उक् = हिरुकुक्, now comes the present rule and the final क् is changed into द्, as हिरुकुद् or °त् ॥

२०२८ । अज्ञाते । ५ । ३ । ७३ ॥

कस्यायमश्वोऽश्वकः । उच्चकैः । नीचकैः । सर्वके । विश्वके ॥ ओकारसकारभकारादौ सुपि सर्वनाम्नष्टेः प्राक्गच् * ॥ अन्यत्र तु सुबन्तस्य टेः प्राक्गच् * ॥ युवकयोः । आवकयोः । युष्मकासु । अस्मकासु । युष्मकाभिः । ओकारेत्यादिकिम् । त्वयका । मयका ॥ अकच्प्रकरणे तूष्णीमः काम्बच्क्व्यः * ॥ मित्त्वादन्त्यादचः परः । तूष्णीकामास्ते ॥ शीले कोमलोपश्च * ॥ तूष्णींशीलस्तूष्णीकः । पचतकि । अल्पतकि । धकित् । हिरुकुत् ॥

2028. The affix क (V. 3. 70. S. 2025) and अक् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) come after a word, noun or verb, when something or somebody not known, is spoken of.

This अज्ञात or want of knowledge refers not to the object itself, but to its relation with some other object. As अश्वकः 'whose horse?' Similarly in उच्चकैः 'high' (is it so?) नीचकै 'Is it low'? सर्वके 'was this agreed to by all'? So also विश्वके ॥ Similarly पचतकि "He cooks, is it"? अल्पतकि, 'He speaks, does he'?

The affix is added to सुबन्त words i. e. to declined nouns, and not to प्रातिपदिक or crude-nouns: as was required by IV. 1. 1. S. 182. Sometimes, however, the affix is added after a Prâtipadika also. The usage will determine when the affix should be added to a Nominal stem (Prâtipadika) and when to a Subanta word. Thus in युष्मकाभिः, अस्मकाभिः, युष्मकासु, अस्मकासु, युवकयोः, आवकयोः, the affix is added to the Prâtipadika viz. to युष्मद्, अस्मद्, giving युष्मकद्,

अस्मद् which are then declined as Pronominals. But in the examples त्वयका, मयका, त्वयकि, मयकि, the affix अक् is added to त्वया, मया (the Instrumental case of युष्मद् and अस्मद्), and त्वयि and मयि the Locative singular of the same.

Vârt:—The ffix अकच् is added before the final syllable (ti) of a Sarvanama or a Pronominal a Prâtipadika when a case-affix beginning with ओ, स or भ follow.

Vârt:—The affix is added to the *declined* pronoun, in the remaining cases.

Vârt:—The affix काम् is added to the Indeclinable तूष्णीम् ॥ The म् is indicatory, therefore, का comes before the final vowel (I, 1. 47 S. 37). As तूष्णीम् + का = तूष्णीकाम्, as तूष्णीकामास्ते, तूष्णीकां तिष्ठति 'he remained silent'.

Vârt:—When, however, the meaning is 'that whose habit is so', then the affix क is added, and the म् of तूष्णीम् is elided. As तूष्णीकः 'a taciturn'.

The phrase तिङश्च (V. 3. 56. S. 2002) being understood here, the affix अक् comes after finite verbs also. As पचति—पचतकि। जल्पति—जल्पतकि ॥

२०२९। कुत्सिते। ५। ३। ७४ ॥

कुत्सितोऽश्वोऽश्वकः ॥

2029. The above affixes come when the thing is spoken of as contemptible.

Thus अश्वकः 'a sorry horse'.

२०३०। संज्ञायां कन्। ५। ३। ७५ ॥

कुत्सिते कन् स्यात्तदन्तेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते। शूद्रकः। राधकः। स्वरार्थं वचनम् ॥

2030. The affix kan (क) comes in the above sense of contemptible, when the whole word is a Name.

The word कुत्सिते of the last sûtra is understood here also. This कन् debars क ॥ शूद्रकः। राधकः ॥ The difference between कन् and क is in the accent. (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686).

२०३१। अनुकम्पायाम्। ५। ३। ७६ ॥

पुत्रकः। अनुकम्पितः पुत्र इत्यर्थः ॥

2031. The above affixes come when compassion is denoted.

The word अनुकम्पा means 'compassion, pity, endearment'. Thus पुत्रकः 'the little child', 'poor child'.

२०३२। नीतौ च तद्युक्तात्। ५। ३। ७७ ॥

सामकानादिरुपाथो नीतिस्तस्यां गम्यमानायामनुकम्पायुक्तात्कप्रत्ययः स्यात् । हन्त ते धानकाः । गुडकाः । एहकि । अद्धकि । पूर्वेणानुकम्प्यमानात्प्रत्ययः । अनेन तु परम्परासंबन्धेऽपीति विशेषः ॥

2032. Also as an expression of courteousness, the above mentioned affix is added to that by which compassion is shown.

The word नीति means 'policy' or 'expedient', such as 'conciliation', 'dissension' and 'punishment'. तद्युक्तात् means 'joined with that', i. e. with gift compassion &c. In other words, the things signified by the bases, are connected as means of relief with the persons or things that have been objects of compassion. Thus, हन्त ते धानकाः 'alas! here are barley for you'. एहकि, अद्धकि 'O-dear! come and eat'. (These words are supposed to be addressed to a person who is starving, by one who wants to relieve him. Being moved with compassion, he entreats courteously the object of sympathy, with gifts to relieve his want). In the last Sûtra, the affix was added, in the sense of compassion, to the name of the person or action that evoked pity. In the present sûtra, the affix is added to the object or action by which pity is shown. The word एहकि is from एहि the Imperative second person singular of इ 'to go' with the upasarga आ ॥

२०३३ । बह्वचो मनुष्यनाम्नष्ठज्वा । ५ । ३ । ७८ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रद्वयविषये ॥

2033. The affix ṭhach (इक) is optionally added to a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, as an expression of compassion or of courtesy joined with compassion.

In the alternative we have कन् also. As अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तः = दैविकः (देवदत्त + इक = देव + इक V. 3. 83. S. 2035). When कन् is added there is no shortening of the base, as देवदत्तकः ॥ Similarly याज्ञिकः or यज्ञदत्तकः ॥

Why do we say बह्वचः 'after a polysyllable?'. Observe दत्तकः । गुप्तकः ॥ Why do we say 'being a Man-name'? Observe भद्रबाहुकः भद्रबाहुकः, which are epithets and not Proper Nouns (भद्रौ बाहु यस्य); or these are names of quadrupeds.

२०३४ । घनिलचौ च । ५ । ३ । ७९ ॥

तत्रैव ॥

2034. Also the affixes ghan (इय) and ilach (इल) come after a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, when compassion or courtesy joined with compassion is expressed.

Note :—The force of च is that the other affix कन् also comes, as well as ठन्॥ Thus from देवदत्त we haye: दैवियः, दैविलः, दैविकः, दैवदत्तकः (V. 3. 83. S. 2035).

२०३५। ठाजादावूर्ध्वद्वितीयादचः। ५। ३। ८३॥

अस्मिन्प्रकरणे यष्ठोऽजादिप्रत्ययश्च तस्मिन्प्रत्ययेपरे प्रकृतेर्द्वितीयादच ऊर्ध्वं सर्वं लुप्यते। अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तो दैविकः। दैवियः। दैविलः, दैवदत्तकः। अनुकम्पितो वायुदत्तो वायुदत्तकः। ठग्रहणमुको द्वितीयस्थे कविधानार्थम्। वायुकः। पितृकः॥

चतुर्थादच ऊर्ध्वस्य लोपः वाच्यः * ॥ अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पति दत्तो, बृहस्पतिकिः॥
अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ देवदत्तकः॥ देवकः॥
लोपः पूर्वपदस्य च *॥ दत्तिकः। दत्तियः। दत्तिलः। दत्तकः॥
विनापि प्रत्ययं पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वा लोपो वाच्यः * ॥ देवदत्तः। दत्तः। देवः॥ सत्यभामा। भामा। सत्य॥

उवर्णाल्ल इलस्य च * ॥ भानुदत्तः भानुलः॥
ऋवर्णादपि * ॥ सवित्रियः। सवितृलः॥ ल इति लोप संज्ञा प्राचाम्।
चतुर्थादनजादौ च लोपः पूर्वपदस्य च॥
अप्रत्यये तथैवेष्ट उवर्णाल्ल इलस्य च॥ १॥

2035. When ṭha (V. 3. 78 S. 2033) or one of the affixes beginning with a vowel (V. 3. 79, 80 S. 2034, 2036) taught above, follows, there is elision of all that portion which comes after the second vowel of the name of a human being.

The word लोप is understood here from V. 3. 82. S. 2039. The word ऊर्ध्वम् indicates that the *whole* of that portion of the term which follows the second vowel should be elided, otherwise, only the first letter of the third syllable would have been elided (by I. 1. 54. S. 44). The illustrations have been given above. Thus देवदत्त+इक; here all the letters after the अ of देव should be elided : as दैविकः, so also दैवियः, दैविलः॥

The affix ठ is replaced by इक् or क (VII. 3. 50; 51). hence its special mention in this sûtra. For had it not been used, the sûtra would have run thus. 'When an affix beginning with a vowel follows &c' This rule would have applied to इक substitute of ठ, but not to क substitute of ठ which comes after words ending in उ, ऋ, तृ, इस् and उस्॥ But it is intended that क (and not इक) substitute of ठ should be added to words whose second syllables end in उक् (उ or ऋ) vowels. If it be said that इक substitute of ठ would be sufficient for words like वायुदत्तः &c. also as it will cause the elision of the third and subsequent syllables; and when such syllables are elided, क would be the proper substitute to add to वायु and not इक, which we can do by the rule of sthânivat; we say, it is not so. For if it were the case, we should add the क substitute and not इक in the following, मथित+ठक् (VI. 4. 51 S. 2313) =मथित्+ठक् (VI. 4. 148. S. 311). because, after elision, मथित् ends with त्

But we know that क is not added but इक, and we have माथिकः ॥ Hence the employment of ड in the sûtra is proper as वायुदत्तः—वायुकः, पितृदत्तः—पितृकः ॥

Vârt:—It should be stated that the portion after the fourth vowel is elided in certain cases. As अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पतिदत्तः—बृहस्पतिकः, बृहस्पतियः, बृहस्पतिलः ॥

Vârt:—When an affix not beginning with a vowel follows, the elision is optional. Thus देवदत्त + कन्=देवदत्तकः or देवकः; यज्ञदत्तकः or ज्ञयकः ॥

Vârt:—There is elision of the first term, when these affixes इच् &c. defioting compassion, whether beginning with vowel or not, follow. Thus दत्तिकः, दत्तिलः, दत्तियः, दत्तकः from देवदत्त or यज्ञदत्त or वायुदत्त &c.

Vârt:—The dimunitive of compassion or endearment may be formed without adding any affix, by simply dropping either the first or the second term of the name. Thus दत्तः or देवः from देवदत्तः, सत्यभामा—भामा or सत्या ॥

Vârt:—The affix इल is replaced by ल after a word ending in उ as, भानुलः from भानुदत्तः, वसुलः—वसुदत्तः ॥ The ल is a designation for lopa in the terminology of the ancients.

Vârtika:—So also after a word ending in ऋ as सवितृलः or सावित्रियः ॥

२०३६ । प्राचामुपादेरडज्वुचौ च । ५ । ३ । ८० ॥

उपशब्दपूर्वात्मातिपदिकात्पूर्वविषये अडच् वुच् एतौ स्तः । चाद्यथाप्राप्तम् । प्राचां ग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । अनुकम्पित उपेन्द्रदत्तः उपडः । उपकः । उपिकः । उपिथः । उपिलः । उपेन्द्रदत्तकः । षड् रूपाणि॥

2036. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, the affixes aḍach (**अड**) and vuch (**अक**) also come after a human-name beginning with the word **उप** ॥

The च shows that the former affixes also come. The sense of the affixes are the same as above viz. compassion or courtesy. Thus from the word उपेन्द्रदत्त, we have, 1. उपेन्द्रदत्तकः (kan), 2. उपिकः (ṭhach), 3, उपिलः (ilach), 4. उपियः (ghan), 5. उपकः (vuch), 6. उपडः (aḍach). The shortened forms are by V. 3. 83 S. 2035. In diminutives, the forms are generally shortened. The word प्राचां is used as a sign of respect (pujârtha), for the word वा was understood in the aphorism by anuvṛitti from V. 3. 78.

२०३७ । जातिनाम्नः कन् । ५ । ३ । ८१ ॥

मनुष्यनाम्नि इत्येव । जातिशब्दो यो मनुष्यनामधेयस्तस्मात्कन्स्यादनुकम्पार्थां नीतौ च । सिंहकः । शरभकः । ऋषभकः ॥ द्वितीयं संध्यक्षरं चेत्तदादेर्लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ अनुकंपितः कहोडः कहिकः ॥ एकाक्षरपूर्वपदानामुत्तरपदलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वागाशीदत्तः वाचिकः । कथं षडङ्गुलिदत्तः षडिक इति ॥ ऋषभजातिवचनान्सिद्धम् ॥

2037. The affix kan क is added to the Name of a human being, which expresses a special idea: when compassion, or courtesy is meant.

The word manushya nâmnah of S. 2033 is understood here.

The जातिनामन् are words like व्याघ्र &c. which are well-known names of particular species of animals &c, but which come to be applied to men by way of metaphor. The anuvṛitti of बहुचः does not extend to it. This is a general rule. Thus सिंहकः, शरभकः, रासभकः ॥ The word वा being understood in this sûtra, the previous affixes also come, as सिंहिलः ॥ The word नामन् is used along with जाति, to prevent the affix being added to the word-form जाति (I. 1. 68).

Vârt:—When the second vowel is ओ, औ, ए, or ऐ, then this is also elided. As लहिकः from लहोड, कहिकः from कहोडः ॥

Vârt:—When the first member consists of a single syllable, there is elision of the second member: as वाचिकः from वागाशीदत्तः (the ग् changed back to च् because the stem is now भ and not पद and rule VIII. 2. 39 S. 84 does not apply). So also स्रुचिकः स्वचिकः ॥ The form षडिकः (and not षषिकः from षट्) is an exception. It is diminutive of षडङ्गुलिदत्तः ॥

२०३८। शेवलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्यमादीनां तृतीयात्। ५। ३। ८४ ॥

एषां मनुष्यनाम्नां ठाजादौ परे तृतीयादच ऊर्ध्वं लोपः स्यात्। पूर्वस्यापवादः। अनुकम्पितः शेवलदत्तः शेवलिकः। शेवलियः। शेवलिकः। सुपरिकः। विशालिकः। वरुणिकः। अर्यमिकः ॥

2038. There is elision of that portion of the word, which follows the third vowel, in the case of a man-name beginning with Śevala, Supari, Viśâla, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, when the above affixes ṭha or those having an initial vowel follow.

This debars the previous sûtra. Thus अनुकम्पितः शेवलदत्तः = शेवलिकः, शेवलियः, शेवलिलः, सुपरिकः, सुपरियः, सुपरिलः from सुपरिदत्तः, so also विशालिकः, विशालियः, विशालीलः, वरुणिकः, वरुणियः, वरुनिलः, अर्जामिकः, अर्जामियः and अर्जामिलः ॥

२०३९। अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च। ५। ३। ८२ ॥

अजिनान्तान्मनुष्यनाम्नोऽनुकम्पायां कन् तस्य चोत्तरपदलोपः। अनुकम्पितो व्याघ्राजिनो व्याघ्रकः। सिंहकः।

2039. The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of compassion, after a man-name ending in अजिन, and this second member is elided before the affix.

The words कन् and मनुष्यनाम्नः are understood in this sûtra. Thus व्याघ्रकः from व्याघ्राजिनः and सिंहकः from सिंहाजिनः ॥ Vyâghrâjina and Sinhâjina are names of men.

२०४० । अल्पे । ५ । ३ । ८५ ॥

अल्पं तैलं तैलिकम् ॥

2040. The above-mentioned affixes क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and the rest come in expressing the small quantity or small number of anything.

Thus अल्पं तैलं = तैलिकं 'a little oil.'

२०४१ । ह्रस्वे । ५ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ह्रस्वो वृक्षो वृक्षकः ॥

2041. The above mentioned-affixes (V. 3. 70. S. 2025) come in expressing shortness of length or diminutive.

The ह्रस्व here is opposed to दीर्घ or 'long'. Thus ह्रस्वोवृक्षः = वृक्षकः 'a small tree'.

२०४२ । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ८७ ॥

ह्रस्वहेतुका या संज्ञा तस्यां गम्यमानायां कन् । पूर्वस्यापवादः । वंशकः । वेणुकः ॥

2042. The affix kan (क) comes when the short thing is a Name.

Thus वंशकः, वेणुकः ॥ This debars क ॥

२०४३ । कुटीशमीशुण्डाऽभ्यो रः । ५ । ३ । ८८ ॥

ह्रस्व कुटी कुटीरः । शमीरः । शुण्डारः ॥

2043. The affix र comes after the words kuṭî, śamî and śuṇḍâ, when shortness of length is meant.

The word ह्रस्वा is understood here, but not संज्ञा ॥ This debars क V. 3. 70. S. 2025. Thus ह्रस्वा कुटी = कुटीरः, शमीरः and शुण्डारः ॥

Note:—The derivatives are masculine names; though the primitives are feminine.

२०४४ । कुत्वाडुपच् । ५ । ३ । ८९ ॥

ह्रस्वा कुतूः कुतुपः । कुतूः कुत्तेः स्नेहपात्रं ह्रस्वा सा कुतुपः पुमान् ॥

2044. The affix ḍupach (उपँ) comes, in expressing diminution, after the word kutû 'a jar'.

This debars क ॥ Thus कुतुपः, from कुतू the long ऊ being elided owing to ङ ॥ It means a small leathern vessel for oil. This word is neuter also. as, कुतुपम् ॥ See Amarakosha II. 9. 33.

२०४५। कासूगोणीभ्यां ष्टरच्। ५। ३। ९०॥

आयुधविशेषः कासूः। ह्रस्वा सा कासूतरी। गोणीतरी॥

2045. The affix shṭarach (तरँ with feminine ङीँ IV. 1. 40. S. 497) comes in expressing diminutive, after the words kâsû and goṇî.

Thus ह्रस्वा कासूः = कासूतरी 'a small lance'; गोणीतरी 'a small sack'.

२०४६। वत्सोक्षाश्वर्षभेभ्यश्च तनुत्वे। ५। ३। ९१॥

वत्सतरः। द्वितीयं वयः प्राप्तः। उक्षतरः। अश्वतरः। ऋषभतरः। प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ततनुत्व एवायम्॥

2056. The affix shṭarach expresses slenderness, after the words vatsa, ukshan, aśva, and ṛishava.

The anuvṛitti of ह्रस्व ceases. Thus वत्सतरः 'a weaned calf' becoming slender in reaching the second period of its age. उक्षतरः 'a slender bull': being the third age of a वत्स॥ अश्वतरः 'a mule': (तस्य तनुत्वमन्यपितृकता); वृषभतरः 'a slender bull or that cannot draw the load'.

२०४७। किंयत्तदोर्निर्धारणे द्वयोरेकस्य डतरच्। ५। ३। ९२॥

अनयोः कतरो वैष्णवः। यतरः। ततरः। महाविभाषया कः। यः। सः॥

2047. After the words किम, यद् and तद्, in determining of the one out of two, comes the affix ḍatarach (अतरँ with the elision of the final इम and अद्)॥

Note:—This affix comes in the svârtha sense. The differentiation of a portion from the whole by means of its peculiar caste, action, attribute or name is called निर्द्धारण or specification.

Thus अनयो कतरो वैष्णवः 'amongst these two, who is a Vaishnava'.

Similarly यतरः 'of the two the one who', ततरः 'of that two—the one'.

The taddhita affixes being optional by the Great option of sûtra IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 this idea may be expressed by the word कः, यः or सः also. As, को भवतो देवदत्तः स आगच्छतु 'who amongst you two is Devadatta, let him come'.

२०४८। वा बहूनां जातिपरिप्रश्ने डतमच्। ५। ३। ९३॥

बहूनां मध्ये एकस्य निर्धारणे डतमच् वा स्यात्। जातिपरिप्रश्न इति प्रत्याख्यातमाकरे। कतमो भवतां कठः। यतमः। ततमः वाग्रहणमकजर्थम्। यकः। सकः। महाविभाषया यः सः॥ किमोऽस्त्रियाम्विषये डतरजपि *॥ कनरः॥

2048. The affix ḍatamach (अतमँ with the elision of the last syllable) comes after kim, yat and tat, optionally, when the object is the determining of the one out of many, the question being that of jâti.

The phrase 'the question being that of caste' is redundant.

The words कियत्तदः and निरर्धारणे एकस्य are to be read into the sûtra. Thus कतमो भवतां कठः 'which of you, Sirs, is a Kaṭha Brâhmaṇa?' यतमो भवतां कठः ततम आगच्छतु 'that one of you, Sirs, who is a Kaṭha, let him come'. The word वा 'optionally' indicates that the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) also comes, as यको भवतांकठः, सकः, आगच्छतु ॥ This idea may be expressed by कः यः and सः also, owing to the महाविभाषा (IV. 1. 82. S. 1072): as, को भवतां कठः योः, भवतां कठः, स आगच्छतु ॥

Vârt:—The affix इतर has also this force, after the word किम्, as, कतरो भवतां कठः 'which of you, Sirs, is a Kaṭha Brâhmaṇa?' As may be inferred from the sûtra. कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने (II. 1. 63. S. 742).

२०४९ एकाच्च प्राचाम् । ५ । ३ । ९४ ॥

डतरच् डतमच स्यात् । अनयोरेकतरो मैत्रः । एषामेकतमः ॥

2049. After the word एक, according to the opinion of Eastern grammarians, may be added the affixes ḍatarach and ḍatamach in the above senses.

The च draws in डतरच् ॥ That is डतरच् comes when one out of two is to be specified; and डतमच् when one out of many is to be specified. The word जातिपरिप्रश्न does not govern this sûtra: it being a general rule. Thus अनयोरेकतरो मैत्रः । एषामेकतमः ॥

The word प्राचाम् is for pujârtha; because the word वा is already understood in the sûtra.

२०५० । अवक्षेपणे कन् । ५ । ३ । ९५ ॥

व्याकरणकेन गर्वितः । येनेतरः कुत्स्यते तद्विशेषाहरणम् । स्वतः कुत्सिते तु कुत्सित इत्यस्य ॥

2050. The affix kan (क) comes after a nominal stem, in expressing scoffing.

Thus व्याकरणकः 'Grammar' used in a derisive sense, when its study produces pride. As व्याकरणकेन नाम त्वं गर्वितः 'thou art proud, because thou hast read *grammar* only'. Here the word व्याकरण is used in a mocking sense. When, however, the derision applies to the person itself, then कन् is added by V. 3. 14. S. 2029: as देवदत्तकः &c.

So far the governing power of क V, 3. 70 S. 2025.

:o:

अथ तद्धित तद्राज प्रकरणम् ॥ ०

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TADRÂJA AFFIXES.

२०५१ । इवे प्रतिकृतौ । ५ । ३ । ९६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । अश्व इव प्रतिकृतिः अश्वकः । प्रतिकृतौ किम् । गौरिव गवयः ॥

2051. The affix* **कन्** means also 'like this'; when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed.

The word **कन्** is understood here. Thus अश्व इवायमश्व प्रतिकृति = अश्वकः 'an imitation of a horse' in wood or clay &c. Why do we say 'imitation?' Observe **गौरिव गवयः** "The gayal cow".

२०५२ । संज्ञायां च । ५ । ३ । ९७ ॥

इवार्थे कन् स्यात्समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते । अप्रतिकृत्यर्थमारम्भः । अश्वसदृशस्य संज्ञा अश्वकः । उष्ट्रकः ॥

2052. The affix kan comes in the sense of 'like this', when the whole word so formed is a Name.

This applies when imitation is not meant. Thus अश्वसदृशस्य संज्ञा = अश्वकः 'a thing reminding a horse'. उष्ट्रकः ॥

२०५३ । लुम्मनुष्ये । ५ । ३ । ९८ ॥

संज्ञायां विहितस्य कनो लुप्स्यान्मनुष्ये वाच्ये । चञ्चा तृणमयः पुमान् । चञ्चेव मनुष्यश्चञ्चा । वर्ष्मिका ॥

2053. When in the same way a Man is denoted, the affix is elided by lup; the word retaining its number and gender.

Thus **चञ्चा** (**चञ्चेवमनुष्यः**) 'straw-man' i. e. an effigy in straw. So also **वर्ष्मिका** &c. For accent see VI. 1. 204. S. 3692.

Note:—Why do we say 'a man'? Observe **अश्वकः, उष्ट्रकः** &c. This sûtra may be considered to be an enlargement of V. 3. 100, S. 2055.

२०५४ । जीविकार्थे चापण्ये । ५ । ३ । ९९ ॥

जीविकार्थे यद्विक्रीयमाणं तस्मिन्वाच्ये कनो लुप्स्यात् । वासुदेवः । शिवः । स्कन्दः । देवलकानां जीविकार्थास्तु देवप्रतिकृतिष्विदम् । अपण्ये किम् हस्तिकान्विक्रीणीते ॥

2054. A similar elision of the affix कन् takes place then also, when the figure is made a means of livelihood, it being presumed, that no traffic is driven thereby.

That which is bought and sold is called पण्य; that which is not so dealt with is अपण्यः ॥ The rule applies to the *images* of gods which are made means of subsistence by a low order of Brâhmaṇas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door. Thus वासुदेवः 'the idol of Vâsudeva': शिवः 'the idol of Śiva'. स्कन्दः &c.

Why do we say अपण्ये? Observe, हस्तिकान् विक्रीणीते 'he sells the images of elephants'. अश्वकान्, रथकान् ॥

Note:—This rule is also an amplification of V. 3. 100. S. 2055.

२०५५। देवपथादिभ्यश्च। ५। ३। १०० ॥

कनो लुप्स्यात्। देवपथः। हंसपथः। आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

Note:—अर्चासु पूजनार्थासु चित्रकर्म्मध्वजेषु च।
इवे प्रतिकृतौ लोपः कनो देवपथादिषु ॥

2055. After the words devapatha &c, there is similar elision of the affix kan, (V. 3. 96 S. 2051 and 97. S. 2052) expressing an image or a Name.

The देवपथ class is आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देवपथः, हंसपथः ॥

1 देवपथ, 2 हंसपथ, 3 वारिपथ, 4 रथपथ, 5 स्थलपथ*, 6 करिपथ*, 7 अजपथ*, 8 राजपथ, 9 शतपथ' 10 शङ्खपथ, 11 सिन्धुपथ (सिंहपथ), 12 सिद्धगति (सिंहगति), 13 उष्ट्रग्रीव (उष्ट्रग्रीवा), 14 वायरज्जु (चामरज्जु), 15 हस्त, 16 इन्द्र, 17 दण्ड, 18 पुष्प. 19 मत्स्य, 20 जलपथ, 21 रज्जु, It is आकृतिगण ॥

Note:—The affix कन् is elided when the imitation is an image of a god that is worshipped, or a picture, or a design on a flag. As शिवः, विष्णुः are examples of gods, अर्जुनः 'the picture of Arjuna', दुर्योधनः 'the picture of Duryodhana' कपिः 'the flag having the figure of monkey' गरुडः the eagle-flag.

२०५६। वस्तेर्ढञ्। ५। ३। १०१ ॥

इवेत्यनुवर्ततएव। प्रतिकृताविति निवृत्तम्। वस्तिरिव वास्तेयम्। वास्तेयी ॥

2056. The affix ḍhañ एय comes after vasti, in the sense of 'like this'.

The word इव is understood here. The affixes taught hence forward come in a general sense, and are not confined to images. Thus वास्तिरिव = वास्तेयः fem. वास्तेयी 'like the abdomen'.

२०५७। शिलाया ढः। ५। ३। १०२ ॥

शिलाया इति योगविभागाद्ढमपीत्येके। शिलेव शिलेयम्। शैलमुच्य ॥

2057. The affix ḍha (ढय) comes after śilâ, in the sense of 'like this'.

Thus शिलेव=शिलेयं दधिः curd, hard as stone. According to some the affix ढञ् also comes after शिला, by dividing this sûtra into two : namely (1) शिलायाः "the affix ḍhan comes after śilâ". (2) ढः "So also the affix ḍha". as शैलेयम॥

२०५८। शाखादिभ्यो यत्। ५। ३। १०३॥

शाखेव शाख्यः। मुख्यः। जघनमिव जघन्यः। अभ्रमिव अभ्र्यः। शरण्यः॥

2058. The affix यत् comes, in the sense of 'like this', after śâkhâ &c.

Thus शाखेव=शाख्यः, मुख्यः (VI. 1. 213 S. 3701) जघन्यः, अभ्र्यः, शरण्यः॥

1 शाखा 2 मुख, 3 जघन, 4 भृङ्ग, 5 मेघ, 6 अभ्र*, 7 चरण, 8 स्कन्ध, 9 स्कन्द 10 उरस्, 11 शिरस्, 12 अभ, 13 शरण॥

२०५९। द्रव्यं च भव्ये। ५। ३। १०४॥

द्रव्यमयं ब्राह्मणः॥

2059. The word द्रव्य is anomalous, meaning beautiful.

The word द्रव्य is formed by adding यत् to the word द्रु॥ The word भव्य means 'nice, excellent, proper, fit; having or containing in himself all the desired requisites'. As द्रव्योयं ब्राह्मणः' how nice is this Brâhmaṇa'.

२०६०। कुशाग्राच्छः। ५। ४। १०५॥

कुशाग्रमिव कुशाग्रीया बुद्धिः॥

2060. The affix chha (ईय) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the word kuśâgra.

Thus कुशाग्रीया (कुशाग्रमिव सूक्ष्मत्वात्) बुद्धिः "Intellect sharp as the point of the kuśa grass". कुशाग्रीयं वस्त्रम॥

२०६१। समासाच्च तद्विषयात्। ५। ३। १०६॥

इवार्थविषयात्समासाच्छः स्यात्। काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वधः। इह काकतालसमागमसदृशाद्दैवसमागम इति समासार्थः। तत्प्रयुक्तः काकमरणसदृशस्तु प्रत्ययार्थः। अजाकृपाणीयः। असर्कितोपनत इति फलितोऽर्थः॥

2061. The affix chha (ईय) comes also, only in the sense of 'like this,' after a compound noun which contains in itself the force of 'like this'.

Note:—The word तद् refers to इव, and तद्विषय means इवार्थविषय॥ A compound which is formed with the force of इव, takes the affix छ, when a second इव is to be

indicated. In the chapter on Compounds, no samâsa is taught with the force of इव; this sûtra, therefore, indicates by implication that such a samâsa of two nouns can be formed, having hidden in it the sense of इव ॥ Such a samâsa will come under the head of सुप् सुपा समासः (II. 1. 4 S 649).

Thus काकतालीयम्, अजाकृपाणीयम्, अन्धकवर्त्तकीयम् ॥

The word काकतालीय means 'like the crow and the palm-fruit: the unexpected and sudden fall of a plam-fruit upon the head of a crow so as to kill it, at the very moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree; and is used to denote a very unexpected and accidental occurrence'. Thus Devadatta happens to enter a village, and on that very day, robbers happen to attack the village, and in the fray, Devadatta is killed, this coincidence of the robbers, and Devadatta is called काकतालीयसमागमः, and the killing of Devadatta is like that of the crow by the ताल fruit. The first case of समागमः will form the compound, the second case of वधः will give rise to the affixing of छ, as काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वधः (the compound काकताले meaning काकतालसमागमसदृशश्चौर समागमः and the derivative word काकतालीयः meaning काकमरणसदृशः):

Similarly अजाकृपाणीय means "like the death of a goat (ajâ) by the accidental falling of a sword (kṛipâṇa) as the goat was passing". Similarly अन्धकवर्तकीय means "like the accidental falling of a quail (vartakâ) in to the hands of a blind person who thus captures it". All these are unintentional (atarkita) and curious (chitrikaraṇa) coincidences. In short, these words mean 'accidentally', 'unexpectedly'.

२०६२ । शर्करादिभ्यो ऽण् । ५ । ३ । १०७ ॥

शर्करेव शार्करम् ॥

2062. The affix aṇ (अ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words śarkarâ &c.

Thus शर्करेव = शार्करम्,

1 शर्करा, 2 कपालिका, 3 कपाटिका, 4 कनिष्ठिका (कपिष्ठिका : पिष्ठिका, कनिष्ठिक), 5 पुण्डरीक, 6 शतपत्र, 7 गोलोमन, 8 लोमन्*, 9 गोपुच्छ, 10 नराची (नराचि), 11 नकुल (नकुला), 12 सिकता ॥

२०६३ । अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यष्ठक् । ५ । ३ । १०८ ॥

अङ्गुलीव आङ्गुलिकः । भरुजेव भारुजिकः ॥

2063. The affix ṭhak (इक or क) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words aṅgulî &c.

Thus आङ्गुलिकः (= अङ्गुलीव) भारुजिकः ॥

1 अङ्गुलि (अङ्गुली), 2 भरुज, 3 बभ्रु, 4 वल्गु, 5 मण्डर, 6 मण्डल, 7 शष्कुली (शष्कुल) 8 हरि*, 9 कपि, 10 मुनि*, 11 रह°, 12 खल*, 13 उदश्वित्, 14 गोणी, 15 उरस्, 16 कुलिश, 17 शिखा ॥

२०६४ । एकशालायाष्ठजन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

एकशालाशब्दादिवार्थे ठञ्वा पक्षे ठक् । एकशालेव एकशालिकः । ऐकशालिकः ॥

2064. The affix ṭhach (इक) also comes optionally after the word ekaśâlâ, with the force of 'like this'.

Thus एकशालिक : by ṭhach or ऐकशालिकः by ठक् ॥

२०६५ । कर्कलोहितादीकक् । ५ । ३ । ११० ॥

कर्कः शुक्लोऽश्वः स इव कार्कीकः । लौहितीकः स्फटिकः ॥

2065. The affix ईक comes in the sense of 'like this' after karka and lohita.

Thus कार्कीकः 'like कर्क or white horse'. लौहितीकः स्फटिकः 'a crystal though not itself red, appears red, owing to the reflection of some thing behind it'.

२०६६ । पूगाञ्ञ्यो ञ्यामणीपूर्वात् । ५ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इवार्थो निवृत्तः । नानाजीवीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगास्तद्वाचकात्स्वार्थे ञ्य स्यात् । लौहितध्वज्यः ॥

2066. The affix ñya (य) is added without changing the connotation, to a word denoting a horde, but not when the word is derived from the name of their leader.

The anuvṛitti of इव ceases. The word पूग means a crowd of men of various castes, having no fixed livelihood, connected together with the object of acquiring wealth &c. Thus लौहितध्वज्यः 'the red bannered horde'. *dual* लौहितध्वज्यौ, pl. लौहितध्वज्याः ॥ Similarly, शैब्यः, शैब्यौ, शिबयः, चातक्यः, चातक्यौ, चातक्याः ॥ In the plural, the affix is elided by II. 4. 62. S. 1193.

Note :—Why do we say अग्रामणीपूर्वात् ? Observe देवदत्तकाः (V. 2. 78, S. 1878) 'a horde whose leader is Devadatta'. From this sûtra, commence the तद्राज affixes &c, the affixes that have the sense of 'King thereof'. The affix ञ्य, therefore, has this meaning also viz. 'the leader of the horde'. Here we repeat V. 3. 113, S. 1100 owing to the context.

२०६६ । क ॥ व्रातच्फञोरस्त्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

व्राते । कापोतपाक्यः । च्फञ् । कौञ्जायन्यः । ब्राध्नायन्यः ॥

2066. A. The affix ñya comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in chphañ (आयनँ IV. 1. 98. S. 1049) without change of sense ; but not in the feminine.

A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence are called व्रात or 'wild band'. Thus कापोतपाक्यः

'a wild band living on pigeons', d. कापोतपाक्यौ and pl. कपोतपाकाः ॥ So with words ending in चूकम्, as कौञ्जायन्यः, d. कौञ्जायन्यौ, pl. कौञ्जायनाः, ब्राध्नायन्यः d. ब्राध्नायन्यौ pl ब्राध्नायनाः ॥

Note :—Why do we say " not in the Feminine ? Observe कपोतपाकी, व्रीहिमती, कौञ्जायनी, ब्राध्नायनी ॥

२०६७। आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यङ्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् । ५ । ३ । ११४ ॥

वाहीकेषु य आयुधजीविसङ्घस्तद्वाचिनः स्वार्थे ञ्यङ् । क्षौद्रक्यः । मालव्यः । दित्वान्ङीप् । क्षौद्रकी । आयुधेति किम् । मल्लाः । सङ्घेति किम् । सम्राट् । वाहीकेषु किम् । शबराः । अब्राह्मणेति किम् । गोपालकाः । शालङ्कायनाः । ब्राह्मणे तद्विशेषग्रहणम् । राजन्ये स्वरूपग्रहणम् ॥

2067. To a name expressing a multitude living by the trade of arms, is added the affix ñyaṭ (य with the fem. in ई), when it is the name among the Vâhîkas ; but not when it is the name of a Brâhmaṇa, nor when the word is Râjanya.

The anuvṛitti of स्त्रियाम् does not govern this sûtra. Thus कौण्डीवृत्यः, कौण्डीवृत्यौ pl. कौण्डीवृत्साः, fem. कौण्डीवृत्सी, क्षौद्रक्यः, क्षौद्रक्यौ, pl. क्षुद्रकाः fem. क्षौद्रकी, मालव्यः, मालव्यौ pl. मालवाः fem. मालवी ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? Observe मल्लाः ॥ Why do we say 'a multitude'? Observe सम्राट् ॥ Why do we say 'amongst the Vâhîkas'? Observe शबराः ॥ Why do we say " not a Brâhmaṇa or the word-form Râjanya"? Observe गोपालका ब्राह्मणाः, the Brâhmaṇa cow-herds. शालङ्कायना राजन्याः ॥ In the case of a Brahmaṇa the rule applies to a word that is *qualified* by the word Brâhmaṇa ; while in the case of राजन्य, the sûtra teaches that the very word-form 'râjanya' should be taken.

२०६८। वृकाट्टेण्यण् । ५ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घवाचकात्स्वार्थे । वार्केण्यः । आयुधेति किम् । जातिशब्दान्मा भूत् ॥

2068. The affix ṭeṇyaṇ (एण्य) with the fem. in ई, comes after the word Vṛika, a class of persons living by trade of arms.

Thus वार्केण्यः (वार्केण्यौ, pl. वृकाः, fem. वार्केणी) ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? The affix will not come when वृक means 'a wolf'. As कामक्रोधौ मनुष्याणां खादितारौ वृकाविव ॥

२०६९। दामन्यादित्रिगर्तषष्ठाच्छः । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

दामन्यादिभ्यस्त्रिगर्तषष्ठेभ्यश्चायुधजीविसङ्घवाचिभ्यः स्वार्थे छः स्यात् । त्रिगर्तः षष्ठो वर्गो येषां ते त्रिगर्तषष्ठाः ॥

आहुस्त्रिगर्तषष्ठांस्तु कौण्डोपरथषाण्डकी ॥
क्रोष्टुकिर्जालमानिश्च ब्रह्मगुप्तोऽथ जालकिः ॥ १ ॥

दामनीयः । दामनीयौ । दामनयः । औलपि । औलपीयः । त्रिगर्तः । कौण्डोपरथीयः । शाण्डकीयः ॥

2069. The affix chha (ईय) comes without changing the sense, after dâmini &c, and after the six warrior-stocks called Traigarta shashṭha.

The following are the six warrior races, of Trigarta:-कौण्डोपरथ, दाण्डकि, क्रौष्टुकि, जालमानि, ब्रह्मगुप्त: and जालकि: ॥

Thus दामनीय:, दामनीयौ, pl. दामनय: । औलपीय:, औलपीयौ, pl. उलपय: । कौण्डोपरथीय: pl. कौण्डोपरथा: । दाण्डकीय: pl. दाण्डकेय:,

1 दामनि, 2 औलपि, 3 वैजवापि*, 4 औदकी (औतकि औतकि) 5 औदङ्कि*, 6 अच्युतन्ति, (अच्युनान्ति), 7 आच्युतदन्ति* (आच्युतदन्ति), 8 शाकुन्तकि*, 9 आकिदान्ति, 10 औडवि*, 11 काक-वन्ततकि (काकशन्ति), 12 आर्जुनपि, 13 सार्वसेनि, 14 विन्दु, 15 वैन्दवि*, 16 तुलभ, 17 मोऽजायन, 18 काकन्दि, 19 सावित्रीपुत्र, 20 काकरन्ति 21 देववापि 22 अपच्युतको, 23 कर्की, 24 पिण्ड ॥

२०७० । पर्श्वादि यौधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ । ५ । ३ । ११७ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घवाचिभ्य एभ्यः क्रमादणञौ स्तः स्वार्थे । पार्शवः । पार्शवौ । पर्शवः । यौधेयः । यौधेयौ । यौधेयाः ॥

2070. The affix aṇ (अ) comes after parśu &c, and the affix añ (अ) comes after yaudheya &c, without changing the sense : when these words denote warrior classes.

Thus पार्शवः, d. पार्शवौ pl. पर्शवः । यौधेयः d. यौधेयौ pl. यौधेयाः ॥

1 पर्शु, 2 असुर, 3 रक्षस्, 4 बाहीक (बाल्हीक), 5 वयस्, 6 वसु, 7 मरुत्, 8 सत्वत्, 9 देशाह 10 पिशाच, 11 अशनि 12 कार्षापण ॥

1 यौधेय, 2 कौशेय, 3 शौक्रेय, 4 शौभ्रेय, 5 घार्तेय, 6 धार्तेय 7 ज्यावाणेय (ज्यावालेय), 8 विगत, 9 भरत, 10 इशीनर 11 क्रौशेय, 12 वार्त्रेय ॥ See IV. 1. 178.

२०७१ । अभिजिद्विदभृच्छालावच्छिखावच्छमीवदूर्णावच्छ्रुमदृणो यञ् । ५ । ३ । ११८ ॥

अभिजिदादिभ्योऽन्तेभ्यः स्वार्थे यञ्स्यात् । अभिजितोऽपत्यमाभिजित्यः । वेदभृत्यः । शालावत्यः । शैखावत्यः । शामीवत्यः । और्णावत्यः । श्रौमत्यः ॥

2071. The affix yañ (अ) comes without changing the sense, after the words abhijit, bidabhṛit, śâlâvat, śikhâvat, śamîvat, ûrṇâvat, and śrumat, when those words end in the Patronymic affix अण् ॥

The anuvṛitti of आयुधजीवसंघात् ceases. Thus अभिजितोऽपत्यम्=आभिजित, add यञ् to this, आभिजित्य:, pl आभिजिता:, वैदभृत्य: pl वैदभृता:, शालावत्य: pl शालावता:, शैखावत्य: pl शैखावता:, शामीवत्य: pl. शामीवता:, और्णावत्य:, और्णावता, श्रौमत्य: and श्रौमता: ॥

Note :—The अण् here is Patronymic. Otherwise आभिजितो मुहूर्त्त: and आभिजि-त: स्थालीपाक:, the affix here is अण् of नक्षत्रेण युक्त: काल: IV. 2. 3 S. 1204 and of तस्यदेवता IV. 2. 24 S. 1226 respectively.

२०७२ । ञ्यादयस्तद्राजाः । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

पूगाञ्ञ्य इत्यारभ्य उक्ता एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः । तेनास्त्रियां बहुषु लुक् । लोहितध्वजः । कपोतपाकाः । कौञ्जायनाः । ब्राध्नायना इत्यादि ॥

2072. The affixes ñya &c, (V. 3. 112 &c 2066) are called tadrâja.

The illustrations of Tadrâja affixes have been given above. The word तद्राजा occurs in Sûtra II. 4. 62 S. 1193.

Being tadrâja, the affix is elided in the plural number of non feminine words. As लोहितध्वजाः (S. 2066), कपोतपाकाः (S. 2066 A), कौञ्जायनाः (S.2066- A), ब्राध्नायनाः (S. 2066 A) &c.

२०७३ । पादशतस्य संख्यादेर्वीप्सायां वुन् लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । १ ॥

लोपवचनमनैमित्तिकत्वार्थम् । अतो न स्थानिवत् । पादः पत् । तद्धितार्थ इति समासे कृते प्रत्ययः । वुन्नन्तं स्त्रियामेव । द्वौ द्वौ पादौ दशति द्विपदिकाम् ॥ द्विशतिकाम् ॥

पादशतग्रहणमनर्थकमन्यत्रापि दर्शनात् * ॥ द्विशोदक्किकाम् ॥

2073. The affix vun (अक) comes after the words pâda and śata when preceded by a numeral, the sense being that of distributive relation ; and the final of the stem is elided.

Prâtipadikas preceded by a numeral and ending in the words पाद or शत take the affix वुन् when a distributive sense (वीप्सा)is to be expressed : and by the addition of this, the final is elided.

By VI. 4. 148 the final अ of pâda and śata would have been elided before the taddhita affix vun ; even if such elision was not taught in this rule. The repetition of the word लोप in this rule, therefore, indicates that the elision ordained here is not one *caused* by the affix. For if the elision had been *caused* by the affix, then by I. 1. 57, such लोपादेश or " substitute" would be equivalent to the principal (sthânivat) ; and would thus debar the application of the rule VI. 4. 130 by which पाद् pâd (and *not* Pâda) is changed into पद् ॥ In other words, the lopa taught by यस्येति च is परनिमित्तक or caused by some thing which is subsequent, namely, by a taddhita affix or by इ or ई affix ; therefore, this lopa would be sthani-vat for the purposes of the rule which would apply to something preceding it (I. 1. 57 S. 50). Therefore, pad becomes sthâni-vat to pâd. Therefore, the anga or base ending with 'pâda' will be called भ, and not the base ending with 'pâd', and therefore VI. 4. 130 which applies to भ bases will not apply, and there will be no substitution of पद् for पाद्, as there is not in the form पादाय ॥ But we want such substitution and hence the employment of words " the final of the stem is elided ".

Thus द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति "he gives two quarters to each" = द्विपादिकां ददाति (द्विपाद + वुन् = द्विपाद् + वुन् = द्विपत् + वुन् VI. 4. 130 = द्विपादिका VII. 3. 44 S. 463 by which अ of अक् is changed into इ). Similarly द्वे द्वे शते ददाति = द्विशतिकां ददाति ॥

The compounds above formed are taddhitârtha Tatpurusha compounds, viz. compounds containing the sense of a taddhita affix, by rule II. 1. 51 S. 728. After the compound is formed, then the affix वुन् is added. Thus first we have द्विपाद and द्विशत compounded by II. 1. 51 S. 728 then the affix is added. The words पाद and शत when not so compounded, take वुन् affix only in the feminine.

Note:—Why do we say "of the words पाद and शत"? Observe द्वौ द्वौ माषौ ददाति, no affixing. Why do we say "preceded by a numeral"? Observe पादं पादं ददाति ॥ Why do we say "in a distributive sense"? Observe द्वौपादौ ददाति "He gives two quarters:" द्वे शते ददाति ॥

Vârt:—The enumeration of पाद and शत is useless, as the affix is found after other words also. As, द्विमोदकिकां ददाति "he gives two cakes to each". त्रिमोदकिकां ददाति ॥

२०७४। दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च। ५। ४। २॥

वुन् स्यात्। अवीप्सार्थमिदम्। द्वौपादौ दण्डितः द्विपदिकाम्, द्विशतिकाम्, व्यवसृजति ददातीत्यर्थः ॥

2074. Also when the sense is of a punishment or a donation.

The word दण्ड means "punishment", and व्यवसर्ग means "gift or donation". The prâtipadikas पाद and शत preceded by a numeral, and conveying the sense of punishment or donation, take the affix वुन्, and the final अ is elided. This sûtra is begun to show that the "distributive sense" does not apply here. Thus द्वौ पादौ दण्डितः = द्विपदिकान् दण्डितः "punished with the infliction of a fine of two Padas (a quarter coin)". द्वौ पादौ व्यवसृजति = द्विपदिकां व्यवसृजाति "he makes a gift of two Padas". Similarly द्विशतिकां दण्डितः "punished with a fine of two hundreds". द्विशतिकां व्यवसृजति &c.

२०७५। स्थूलादिभ्यः प्रकारवचने कन्। ५। ४। ३॥

जातीयरोऽपवादः। स्थूलकः। अणुकः॥ चञ्चद्बृहतोरुपसंख्यानम्*॥ चञ्चत्कः। बृहत्कः॥ सुराया अहौ*॥ सुरावर्णोऽहिः सुरकः॥

2075. The affix kan क comes in the sense of "like that or specialty", after the words sthûla &c.

This debars the affix जातीयर् (V. 3. 69 S. 2024). Thus स्थूलप्रकारः = स्थूलकः "bulky". So also अणुकः, माषकः ॥

Vârt:—The words चञ्चत् and बृहत् should be included in the list of sthûlâdi words. As, चञ्चत्कः, बृहत्कः ॥ According to one version the words are

चंचा and वृहा and not चंचत् and वृहत्॥ So the derivatives will be वृहकः and चंचकः the words that end in long vowels आ, ई or ऊ, shorten their vowels before this affix, by VII. 4. 13 S. 834.

Gaṇa-sûtra—The word कृष्ण takes कन् when tila is meant; as कृष्णप्रकारास्तिला = कृष्णकाः ॥

Gaṇa-sûtra :—यव takes कन् when meaning व्रीहि, as यवकाः ॥

Gaṇa-sûtra :—इक्षु, तिल, पीथ, काल, and अवदात take this affix when wine is meant, a पाथिका, कालिका, अवदातिका "a kind of wine".

Gaṇa-sûtra :— गोमूत्र takes this affix when meaning a covering, as गोमूत्रकः 'a covering of the colour of cow's urine, or go-mûtra may mean a certain arrangement of colours such as white and black'.

Gaṇa-sûtra:—सुरा takes कन् when meaning a snake, as सुरकः (VII. 4. 13 S. 834) "a kind of snake of the color of wine".

Note:—As सुरा + कन् = सुरकः "snake-like".

Gaṇa-sûtra:—जीर्ण takes the affix कन् when meaning sali grain, as जीर्णकाः = जीर्णकल्पा शालयः ॥ The following is a list of Sthulâdi words.

1 स्थूल, 2 अणु, 3 माष 4 इषु, 5 कृष्ण तिलेषु 6 यव व्रीहिषु, 7 इक्षुतिलपाथकालावदाताः सुरायाम्, 8 गोमूत्र आच्छादने, 9 सुरा अहौ, 10 जीर्ण शालिषु, 11 पक्वफले समस्तव्यस्ते, 12 कुमारीपुत्र, 13 कुमारीश्वशुर (कुमार, श्वशुर), 14 मणि. ॥

२०७६ । अनत्यन्तगतौ क्तात् । ५ । ४ । ४ ॥

छिन्नकम् । भिन्नकम् । अभिन्नकम् ॥

2076. After a participle ending in kta, comes the affix kan, when the meaning is something not yet wholly completed.

The word अत्यन्तगति means "an act which has been fully accomplished"; अनत्यन्तगति therefore, means, "an act which has not been fully accomplished". Thus भिन्न + कन् = भिन्नकम् "not yet wholly divided" So also छिन्नकम् &c.

Note:—Why do we say "something not wholly completed"? Observe भिन्नम् "totally divided", छिन्नम् "totally cut".

३०७७ । न सामिवचने । ५ । ४ । ५ ॥

सामिपर्याये उपपदे क्तान्तान्न कन् । सामिकृतम् । अर्धकृतम् । अनत्यन्तगतेरिह प्रकृत्यैवाभिधानात्स्थूलेन कन् न प्राप्तः । इदमेव निषेधसूत्रमत्यन्तस्वार्थिकमपि कनं ज्ञापयति । बहुतरकम् ॥

2077. Not so, when a word in the sense of "half", precedes such participle.

When the word सामि or any other word having this sense, is compounded, with a partciple in क्त, the affix कन् is not added to denote the sense of incompleteness. Thus सामिकृतम्, सामिभुक्तम् &c. (II. 1. 27 S. 689). The word वचन shows that the synonyms of सामि are also to be taken. Thus अर्धकृतम्।

Note:—*Objection*:—It is redundant to have prohibited कन् after a word preceded by 'half', because the word "half" itself shows that the action has not been completed.

Note:—*Answer*:—The prohibition contained in this sûtra does not refer to the कन् of the last sûtra where it has the sense of "incompleteness". It refers to that कन् which comes after a word, without changing the sense of that word (स्वार्थे कन्)॥ Thus the words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम (the comparative and superlative degrees of भिन्न) show by the very fact of their comparison, that the action denoted by them is not complete. These words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम also take the affix कन् without change of sense. As भिन्नतरकः and भिन्नतमकः and बहुतरकं &c as used by Pâtanjali himself in the following sentences:—एवं हि सूत्रमाभिन्नतरकं भवति, एतैर्हि बहुतरकं व्याख्यते॥ This कन् is also prohibited in the case of compounds with सामि॥

In fact, the prohibition of this sûtra teaches by implication (Jñâpaka) that कन् comes also in the sense af svârtha. As बहुतरकम्॥

२०७८। बृहत्या आच्छादने। ५। ४। ६॥

कन् स्यात्। द्वौ प्रावारोत्तरासङ्गौ समौ वृत्तिका तथा॥ आच्छादने किम्। बृहती छन्दः॥

2078. The affix kan comes after the word brihati when it means "an article of dress".

The word कन् is to be read into this sûtra and not its prohibition. The force of this कन् is *nil*, or it is an example of स्वार्थे कन्॥ Thus बृहति+कन्=बृहतिका (प्रावारः) (VII. 4. 13 S. 834, by which long vowel is shortened) "an upper garment or mantle", see Amarakosha II. 9. 117.

Why do we say "when it means dress"? Observe बृहतीछन्दः "the metre called Brihati".

२०७९। अषडक्षाशितङ्वलङ्कर्मालंपुरुषाध्युत्तरपदात्खः। ५। ४। ७॥

स्वार्थे। अषडक्षीणो मन्त्रः। द्वाभ्यामेव कृत इत्यर्थः। आशिता गावोऽस्मिन्नित्याशितङ्वीनमरण्यम्। निपातनात्पूर्वस्य दीर्घः। अलं कर्मणे अलंकर्मीणः। अलंपुरुषीयः। ईश्वराधीनः। नित्योऽयं खः? उत्तरसूत्रे विभाषाग्रहणात्॥ अन्येऽपि केचित्स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्यया नित्यमिष्यन्ते। तमबाद्यः प्राक्तनैः। व्यादयः पाणिनेः। आमादयः प्राङ्मयटः। बृहती आत्यन्ताः समस्तान्ताश्चेति॥

2079. The affix kha (ईन) comes after the words ashaḍksha, âsitaṅgu, alaṅkarma, alampurusha, and after a stem ending with adhi.

The force of ख is स्वार्थ i. e. it does not change the sense of the word.

Note:—The word अषडक्ष means "that which has not six eyes". षडक्ष is compounded from षट्+अक्षिण by adding षच् V. 4. 113 S. 852 "having six eyes". The affix ख is to be added to this word already ending in the affix shach.

Thus अषडक्षीणा मन्त्रः "a secret not having six eyes", i. e. "a secret

known or determined by two persons (four eyes) only, to the exclusion of a third". Similarly आसितंगवीनं अरण्यम्=आसिता गावोऽस्मिन्नरण्ये=प्रभूतगवयं "a forest where formerly cattle had grazed". The augment इम् is added to आसित् by nipâtana, or irregularly. So also अलंकर्मीणः=अलं समर्थः कर्मणे पर्याप्तः=competent to do any act, clever. So अलं पुरुषीणः=अलं समर्थः पुरुषाय=प्रतिमल्लादिः=fit for a man.

A word ending with अधि, will be a Tatpurusha compound, by II. 1. 40, as the word अधि belongs to Saundâdi class. As ईश्वराधीनः ॥

The affix kha in the case of these words is invariable (nitya); because the word विभाषा occurs in the next sûtra; (and it is a maxim of interpretation that a rule occurring between two optional rules is nitya).

According to others the above words always occur with this affix and never without it while in the case of other words taught hereafter this affix comes optionally.

There are other affixes also which are *Svârthika* and *nitya*.

Such as समप् &c up to the affix कन् (V. 3, 55 to 95).

च्वि &c upto युच्, (V. 3. 112 to V. 4. 1.)

आम् &c. upto मयट्, (V. 4. 11 to 21).

And affixes taught from V. 4. 61 i. e. अञ् to V. 4. 9, (ख). ending in आति ॥

And all Samâsânta affixes.

२०८०। विभाषाञ्चेरदिक् स्त्रियाम्। ५। ४। ८ ॥

अदिक्स्त्रीवृत्तेरञ्चत्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्खः स्याद्वा स्वार्थे। प्राङ्, प्राचीनम्। प्रत्यक्, प्रतीचीनम्। अवाक्, अवाचीनम्। निकृष्टप्रतिकृष्टावरेकयाप्यावमाधमाः। अवैत्यमञ्चतीति अर्वाक्, अर्वाचीनम्। अदिक्स्त्रियां किम्। प्राची दिक्। उदीचीदिक्। दिग्ग्रहणं किम्। प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी। स्त्रीग्रहणं किम्। प्राचीनं ग्रामादाग्राः ॥

2080. The affix kha (ईन्) may optionally be added without change of sense to a stem ending in anch (अञ्च्), when it does not mean a point of the compass used in the feminine gender.

Thus प्राक् or प्राचीनम् "old", प्रत्यक् or प्रतीचीनम्, अर्वाक्, or अवाचानम् "new".

Why do we say "when not denoting a direction in the feminine?" Observe प्राची दिक् "eastern region", प्रतीची दिक् "western region". Why do we say "a point of the compass"? Other words in the feminine will take this affix. As प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी ॥ Why do we say "in the feminine"? A direction or दिक् used in any other gender will take this affix. As प्राचीनं ग्रामादाग्राः ॥

२०८१। जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि। ५। ४। ९ ॥

ब्राह्मणजातीयः । बन्धुनि किम् । ब्राह्मणजातिः शोभना । जातेर्व्यञ्जकं द्रव्यं बन्धु ॥

2081. The affix chha (ईय) is added without change of sense, to a stem ending in the word जाति, when it means appropriateness.

Note:—The word बन्धु means the substance or substratum in which jâti or generic quality adheres or any thing by which a thing is regulated and individualised, (बध्यते नियम्यते स्वतन्त्री क्रियते) ॥

Thus ब्राह्मणजातीयः "appropriate to a Brâhmaṇa". क्षत्रियजातीयः वैश्यजातीयः &c.

Why do we say "when meaning appropriateness". Observe ब्राह्मणजातिः शोभना "the Brâhmaṇa caste is beautiful".

बन्धु means that substance by which the genus Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya &c is distinguished.

२०८२ स्थानान्ताद्विभाषा सस्थानेनेति चेत् । ५ । ४ । १० ॥

सस्थानेन तुल्येन चेत् स्थानान्तमर्थवद्विधेयं । पितृस्थानीयः । पितृस्थानः । सस्थानेन किम् । गोः स्थानम् ॥

2082. The affix chha (ईय) is optionally added to a stem ending in स्थान, if it is compounded with something with which another is made to take an equal place.

The word सस्थान means समानं स्थानमस्य 'whose place is the same' or तुल्य or equal. Thus पित्रा तुल्यः = पितृस्थानीयः or पितृस्थानः (पितुरिव स्थानमस्य whose place is that of a father).

Why do we say "when it means equal to". Observe गोस्थानम् "cowshed".

Note:—The word इति in सस्थानेनेति is for the sake of distinctness. The word सस्थान as a Bahuvrihi compound is the appropriate word to be taken here, and not when it is taken as a Tatpurusha compound like समानं च तत् स्थानं च ॥ The word चेत् "when" is a conjunction : and joins the two meanings.

The rule S. 2081 occurring beetween this rule and S. 2080 both of which are optional must be a nitya rule, as explained above. इयोर्विभाषयोर्नित्या विधयः ॥

२०८३ । अनुगादिनष्ठक् । ५ । ४ । १३ ॥

अनुगशब्दतीत्यनुगादी । स एव आनुगादिकः ॥

2083. The affix ṭhak comes after the word anugâdin, without changing its sense.

Thus आनुगाविकः "repeater or who echoes back".

२०८४। विसारिणो मत्स्ये। ५। ४। १६॥

अण् स्यात्। वैसारिणः। मत्स्येति किम्। विसारी देवदत्तः॥

2084. The affix aṇ is added to the word विसारिन् when a word expressing "fish" is to be made.

Thus वैसारिणः "a fish". Why do we say "when it means a fish"? Observe विसारी देवदत्तः "Devadatta who is gliding out".

२०८५। संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच्। ५। ४। १७॥

अभ्यावृत्तिर्जन्म। क्रियाजन्यगणनवृत्तेः संख्याशब्दात्स्वार्थे कृत्वसुच् स्यात्। पञ्चकृत्वो भुङ्क्ते। संख्यायाः किम्। भूरिवारान्भुङ्क्ते॥

2085. The affix kṛitvasuch (कृत्वस्) is added to a Numeral, when the repetition of an action is to be counted.

This is also a svârtha affix. The word अभ्यावृत्तिः means "again and again or repetition". The counting of actions belonging to the same class and having the same agent, which occur again and again is called क्रियाऽभ्यावृत्ति-गणनम्॥ Thus पंचवारान् भुङ्क्ते=पंचकृत्वोभुंक्ते "he eats five times".

Why do we say "after a Numeral"? Observe भूरिवारान् भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times".

२०८६। द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच्। ५। ४। १८॥

कृत्वसुचोऽपवादः। द्विर्भुङ्क्ते। त्रिः। पक्षस्य। चतुः॥

2086. The affix "such" (सुच्) is added to the numeral dvi, tri and chatur, in the same sense of counting the repetition of an action.

This debars कृत्वसुच्॥ Thus द्वि—द्विस्, त्रि—त्रिस्, चतुर्—चतुर् in द्विर्भुङ्क्ते, त्रिर्भुङ्क्ते, चतुर्भुङ्क्ते॥ The स् in the last example is elided by VIII. 2. 24 S. 280.

Note:—But चतुर् meaning "four", and चतुर् "four-times", are differently accented: the च् of सुच् indicating that the accent udâtta falls on the last syllable. Thus चतुर् (चतेरुरन् Un V. 58, being formed with the affix 'uran' added to चत्), and चतुर्ँ (with सुच्)॥

२०८७। एकस्य सकृच्च। ५। ४। १९॥

सकृदित्यादेशः स्याच्चात्सुच्। सकृद्भुङ्क्ते। संयोगान्तस्येति सुचो लोपः। न तु हल्ङ्यादिति। अभैत्सीदित्यत्र सिच इव सुचोऽपि तत्संयोगात्॥

2087. The word सकृत् is substituted for एक before the affix सुच्, when an action is to be counted.

This debars कृत्वसुच्॥ The 'repetition' being impossible, the action

alone is counted: so the anuvṛitti of क्रिया only runs into this sûtra and not of अभ्यावृत्तिः ॥ Thus सकृद्भुङ्क्ते "he eats once" सकृदधीते ॥ The स् of सुच् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54 and not by VI. 1, 68. S. 252; because the सु of that sûtra refers to the सु of सुप् and not to the सु of सुच्; as the सि of that sûtra refers to सिप् and not to सिच् as in अभैत्सीत् (See page 128). But not here in एकः पाकः as being against usage.

२०८८। विभाषा बहोर्धाऽविप्रकृष्टकाले। ५। ४। २०॥

अविप्रकृष्ट आसन्नः। बहुधा दिवसस्य भुङ्क्ते। आसन्नकाले किम्। बहुकृत्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते॥

2088. The affix धा is optionally added to the numeral बहु, to count the repetition of an action occurring in a not distant period of time.

This debars कृत्वसुच् which comes in the alternative. The word अविप्रकृष्ट "not remote", qualifies क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिः; i. e. when the recurring of the action takes place within a short time, it is अविप्रकृष्टकाल ॥ Thus बहुधा or बहुकृत्व दिवसस्य भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times a day". But when a remote time is denoted then धा does not apply. Thus बहुकृत्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते 'he eats many times in a month, not daily, owing to poverty &c.'

२०८९। तत्प्रकृतवचने मयट्। ५। ४। २१॥

प्राचुर्येण प्रस्तुतं प्रकृतं तस्य वचनं प्रतिपादनम्। भावेऽधिकरणे वा ल्युट्। आद्ये प्रकृत-मन्नमन्नमयम्। अपूपमयम्। यवागूमयी। द्वितीये अन्नमयो यज्ञः। अपूपमयं पर्व॥

2089. The affix mayaṭ (मय with the feminine in grave ई) is added to a word in first case in construction, when the sense is "made thereof", or "subsisting therein", (or 'made abundantly').

Note:—The translation of the sûtra given above is according to the rendering of Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kâsikâ:—तत् signifies that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case, (IV. 1. 82) the word प्रकृतम् means "happening to be in abundance". So that according to this interpetation the sûtra should be translated, as done by Dr. Ballantyne, "The affix mayat may be employed after a word denoting some substance, when we require an expression for it as abundant,' Thus अन्नं प्रकृतम् = अन्नमयम् "abundance of food". अपूपमयम् "abundance of cake". According to others that in which there is abundance of the thing signified by the word to which the affix मयट् is added, is denoted by the whole word. Thus अन्नं प्रकृतमस्मिन् = अन्नमयो यज्ञः "a feast in which there is abundance of food". अपूपमयं पर्व, दध्नमयोयागः ॥ Both senses are possible, as the sûtra is constructed.

The word prakrita is made up of pra and kṛita, pra has the force of abund-

antly and kṛita means made. Prakṛita therefore means "made in abundance". That which expresses (vachana) this is called prakṛita vachana.

The word वचन in the sûtra has two senses. It being made by the affix कृत् conveys the force both of the *nature* (III. 3. 114) and the *site*. In the former case, (taking तत् प्रकृतवचने to mean "the mention of that as abundantly made"), we have अन्नमयम् "abundance of grain". अपूपमयम्, यवागूमयम् ॥ But in the second case, (taking it to mean "that in which something is spoken of as abundant)", we have अन्नमयो यज्ञः "a sacrifice at which food is abundant" so also. अपूपमयं पर्व ॥

२०८९ । समूहवच्च बहुषु । ५ । ४ । २२ ॥

सामूहिकाः प्रत्यया अतिदिश्यन्ते चान्मयट् । मोदकाः प्रकृताः मौदकिकम् । मोदकमयम् । शाष्कुलिकम् । शष्कुलीमयम् । द्वितीयेऽर्थे । मौदकिको यज्ञः । मोदकमयः ॥

2090. When that, whereof something is made or subsists in, is a multitude, then the affixes expressing a great quantity (IV. 2. 37 &c S. 1243) may also be employed to denote ''made thereof, subsisting therein".

The च shows that मयट् also comes in the same sense. Thus मोदकाः प्रकृताः प्राचुर्येण प्रस्तुताः=मौदकिकम् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256) or मोदकमयम्; so also शाष्कुलिकम् or शष्कुलीमयम् ॥ In the second sense we have, मोदकाः प्रकृताः अस्मिन् यज्ञे=मौदकिको or मोदकमयो यज्ञः; शाष्कुलिकः or शष्कुलीमयः ॥

२०९१ । अनन्तावसथेतिहभेषजाञ्ञ्यः । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अनन्त एवानन्त्यम् । आवसथ एवावसथ्यम् । इतिहेति निपातसमुदायः, ऐतिह्यम् । भेषजमेव भैषज्यम् ॥

2091. The affix ñya (ञ्य) comes, without changing the sense, after the words ananta, âvasatha, itiha and bheshaja.

Thus आनन्त्यम्=अनन्तः, आवसथ्यम्=आवसथः 'a dwelling place, a sanctuary for sacred fire'. ऐतिह्यम्=इति ह 'traditional account', the affix here is added to a word which is not a prâtipadika. The word इति ह means tradition, as इति ह स्मोपाध्यायाः कथयन्ति ॥ भैषज्यम्=भेषजम् ॥

Note:—It is optional to add this affix, owing to the general optional nature of all taddhita affixes. See IV. 1. 82. S. 1072.

२०९२ । देवतान्तात्तादर्थ्ये यत् । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

तदर्थ एव तादर्थ्यम् । स्वार्थे ष्यञ् । अग्निदेवतायै इदम् अग्निदेवत्यम् । पितृदेवत्यम् ॥

2092. After a stem ending in the word देवता, being in the fourth case in construction, comes the affix यत्, in the

sense of "appointed for it".

The word तादर्थ्य has the same meaning as तदर्थं "for the sake of that" (II. 1. 36. S. 698), Thus अग्नयेदेवताये इदम्=अग्नेयम् "offering &c, sacred to Agni". So also पितृदैवत्यम् ॥

२०९३। पादार्घाभ्यां च। ५। ४। २५ ॥

पादार्थमुदकं पाद्यम्। अर्घ्यम् ॥ नवस्य नूआदेशः अप्तनप्खाश्च प्रत्यया वक्तव्याः * ॥ नूअम्। नूतनम्। नवीनम्। नश्च पुराणे प्रात् * ॥ पुराणार्थे वर्तमानात्प्रशब्दान्नो वक्तव्यः। चात्पूर्वोक्ताः। प्रणम्। प्रत्नम्। प्रतनम्। प्रीणम्। भागरूपनामभ्यो धेयः ॥ भागधेयम्। रूपधेयम्। नामधेयम् ॥ आग्रीध्रसाधारणाद्यञ् * ॥ आग्रीध्रम्। साधारण्यम्। स्त्रियां ङीप्। आग्रीध्री। साधारणी ॥

2093. The affix यत् comes after the words पाद and अर्घ, being in the fourth case in construction, when the meaning is 'for the purpose of that'.

The word तादर्थ्य is understood here also. Thus पादार्थमुदकं = पाद्यम् "water meant for washing the feet". So also अर्घ्यम् ॥ The accent of these words is governed by VI. 1. 213, S. 370 the udâtta being on the first syllable.

Note:—The च in the sûtra implies the inclusion of words other than पाद and अर्घ, not mentioned here. The affix यत् applies to other words also, as एव वै सप्तदशाक्षर श्छन्दस्यः प्रजापतिः। So also वसु, अयस्, ओक, क्वि, क्षेम, उदक, वर्चस्, निष्कवल, उक्थ, जन, पूर्व, नव, सूर, मर्त, यविष्ठ ॥ These words take यत् in the Vedas. Thus वसव्यः, अयस्यः, ओक्यः, कव्यः, क्षेम्यः, उदक्यः, वर्चस्यः, निष्केवल्यम्, उक्थ्यः, जन्यः, पूर्व्यः, नव्यः, सूर्यः, मर्त्यः and यविष्ठ्यः in अग्निरीशेवसव्यस्य। अयस्यो वसानाः (द्वितीयाबहुवचनस्यालुक् अपो वसाना इत्यर्थः) स्वओक्ये। कव्योसि। क्षेम्यस्य वस्यति। वायुर्वर्चस्यः ॥ निष्केवल्यं शंसति। उक्थ्यं शंसति। जन्यंताभिः। पूर्व्या विद्याः। स्तोमैर्जनयामि नव्यम्। सूर्यः। मर्त्यः। यविष्ठ्यः ॥ So also the words आमुष्यायम् and आमुष्यपुत्रिका ॥

Vârt:—नू is the substitute of नव, and the affixes अप्, तनप् and ख are added to it; as, नूअम्, नूतनम्, नवीनम् ॥

Vârt:—To the word प्र meaning 'old', the affix न is added as well as the affixes अ, तन and ख e. g. प्रणम्, and प्रत्नम्, प्रतनम् and प्रीणम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix धेय is added to the words भाग, रूप and नाम e. g. भागधेयम्, रूपधेयम्, नामधेयम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix अञ् comes after आग्रीध्र and साधारण, as, आग्रीध्रम्, साधारण्यम् ॥* The feminine is formed by ङीप् as आग्रीध्री, साधारणी ॥

Note:—All these are illustrations of the option allowed by IV. 1, 82, S. 1072 so that sometimes these affixes do not apply as अग्नीध्रा शाला साधारणा भूः ॥

२०९४। अतिथेर्ण्यः। ५। ४। २६ ॥

तादर्थ्ये इत्येव। अतिथये इदमातिथ्यम् ॥

2094. The affix ñya (य) comes after अतिथि in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of "for the purpose of that".

The word तादर्थ्य is understood here also. Thus अतिथये इदम्=आतिथ्यम् ॥

२०९५ । देवात्तल् । ५ । ४ । २७ ॥

देव एव देवता ॥

2095. The affix तल् comes after देव, without change of sense.

The anuvṛitti of तादर्थ्य does not apply here and ceases. Thus देवता=देवः ॥

Note :—This word is always in the feminine, another example of the rule that a word derived by a svârthika affix does not always follow the gender of its primitive.

२०९६ । अवेः कः । ५ । ४ । २८ ॥

अविरेवाविकः ॥

2096. The affix क comes after अवि, without change of sense.

Thus अविकः=अविः ॥

२०९७ । यावादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । ४ । २९ ॥

याव एव यावकः । मणिकः ॥

2097. The affix कन् comes after the words याव &c, without changing their sense.

Thus यावकः=यावः. मणिकः=मणिः ॥

1 याव. 2 मणि, 3 अस्थि, 4 लालु*, 5 आलु*, 6 लाङ्गू*, 7 पीत, 8 स्तम्ब (पीतस्तम्ब पीत, स्तम्ब), 9 ऋतावुष्णशीते, 10 पशौ लूनविपाते (वियाते), 11 अणु निपुणे, 12 पुत्र कृत्रिमे, 13 स्नात वेदसमाप्तौ, 14 शून्य रिक्ते, 15 दान कुत्सिते, 16 तनु सूत्रे, 17 ईयसच (श्रेयस्क), 18 ज्ञात, 19 अज्ञात*, 20 कुमारीक्रीडनकादि च 21 चण्ड ॥

G. S. The affix कन् is added to उष्ण and शीत when denoting a season: as, उष्णक ऋतुः। शीतक ऋतुः ॥ Otherwise उष्णोऽग्निः, शीतमुदकं ॥ G. S. लून and वियात take कन् when denoting an animal, as लूनकः or वियातकः पशुः, otherwise लूनादर्भाः, वियातो नीचः, ॥ G. S. अणु takes कन् when meaning 'clever', as अणुकः सूक्ष्महृक् otherwise अणु only. G. S. पुत्र takes कन् when meaning 'artificial', as, पुत्रको लोहादिनिर्मितः ॥ G. S स्नात takes कन् when denoting a student who has completed his study of the Vedas, as स्नातकः ॥ G. S. शून्य takes कन् when meaning empty, as उदकादिना रिक्तोघटः शून्यकः, otherwise शून्यः प्रत्ययः i. e. बाह्यार्थ रहितः ॥ G. S. दान takes कन् when contempt is meant, as कुत्सितंदानं=दानकम् ॥ G. S. तनु takes कन् when meaning thread, as तनुकं सूत्रं सूक्ष्मसन्तुः, otherwise तनुः शरीरम् ॥ G. S. The word ending in ईयसुन् takes कन्, as श्रेयस्कः ॥ G. S. The words denoting play things of girls take कन्, as कण्डुकम् ॥

✓ २०९८ । लोहितान्मणौ । ५ । ४ । ३० ॥

लोहित एव मणिलोहितकः ॥

2098. The affix **कन्** comes, without changing the sense, after the word **लोहित**, when it means a precious stone.

Thus **लोहितकः**=**लोहितः** "Ruby".

Note:—Why do we say 'when it means a precious stone?' Observe, **लोहितः** red.

२०९९ । वर्णे चानित्ये । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

लोहितकः कोपेन ॥ लोहितलिङ्गबाधनं वा * ॥ लोहितिका लोहिनिका कोपेन ॥

2099. The affix **कन्** comes after **लोहित**, when it means color which is not permanent.

Thus **लोहितकः कोपेन** "red with anger". **लोहितकः पीडयेन** ॥

Note:—Why do we say "not permanent." Observe **लोहितो गौः** "a red cow". **लोहितं रुधिरम्** "the red blood".

Vârt:—The derivative of **लोहित** may not take the gender of the primitive, as **लोहितिका** or **लोहिनिका कोपेन** ॥

२१०० । रक्ते । ५ । ४ । ३२ ॥

लाक्षादिना रक्ते यो लोहितशब्दस्तस्मात्कन्स्यात् । लिङ्गबाधनं वेत्येव । लोहितिका लोहिनिका शाटी ॥

2100. The affix **कन्** comes after the word **लोहित** meaning a substance dyed red.

As **लोहितकः कम्बलः** or **पटः** "a blanket or cloth colored red with shellac &c". The vârtika of the preceding sûtra applies here also. Similarly **लोहितिका** or **लोहिनिका शाटी** ॥

२१०१ । कालाच्च । ५ । ४ । ३३ ॥

वर्णे चानित्ये रक्ते इति त्रयमनुवर्तते । कालकं मुखं वैलक्ष्येण । कालकः पटः । कालिका शाटी ॥

2101. The affix **कन्** is added to the word **काल**, when it means a passing color, or dyed with color.

The word **वर्णेच अनित्ये** and **रक्ते** are both understood here. Thus **कालकं मुखं वैलक्ष्येण** "the face black with shame or confusion". **कालकः पटः** 'a cloth dyed blue-black'. **कालिका शाटी** ॥

✓ २१०२ । विनयादिभ्यष्ठक् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

विनय एव वैनयिकः । सामयिकः ॥ उपायो ह्रस्वत्वं च * ॥ औपयिकः ॥

2102. The affix **ठक्** (**कँ** or **इकँ**) comes without changing the sense after the word **विनय** and the rest.

Thus वैनयिकः = विनयः, सामयिकः ॥

Gana sûtra :—The आ of उपाय is shortened, as, औपायिकः ॥ The word अकस्मात् should be read as अकस्माद् in order to apply इक् and not क. as आकस्मिकः ॥ The तिं is elided, because it is an Avyaya. See VI. 4. 149. S. 499 The affix is optional by IV. 1. 82. S. 1072.

1 विनय, 2 समय, 3 उपायो (उपायाद्) ह्रस्वत्वं च (औपयिक), 4 संप्रति*, 5 संपति, 6 कथंचित्, 7 अकस्मात्, 8 समाचार, 9 उपचार, 10 समयाचार, 11 व्यवहार, 12 संप्रदान, 13 समुत्कर्ष, 14 समूह, 15 विशेष, 16 अत्यय, 17 अस्थि, 18 कण्डु ॥

२१०३ वाचोव्याहृतार्थायाम् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

संदिष्टार्थायां वाचि विद्यमानाद्वाक्शब्दात्स्वार्थे ठक् स्यात् । संदेशवाग् वाचिकं स्यात् ॥

2103. The affix ठक् comes after वाच् when it means the purport of the message spoken by another.

Note :—The word व्याहृत means 'declared, expressed'. That which was spoken formerly by another, and which is carried by a third party as a 'tiding' or 'news', is called व्याहृतार्थ ॥ Thus वाचिकं कथयति 'he relates the verbal message'. वाचिकं लिखति ॥ Some say it applies to written message also.

Thus वाचिकम् = सन्देशवाक् ॥ See Amarakosha I. 6. 17.

Note :—Why do we say "when it means a verbal message?" Observe मधुरा वाक् देवदत्तस्य 'the speech of Devadatta is sweet'.

२१०४ । तद्युक्तात्कर्मणोऽण् । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

कर्मैव कार्मणम् । वाचिकं श्रुत्वा क्रियमाणं कर्मेत्यर्थः ॥

2104. The affix अण् comes after the word कर्मन् 'occupation' when it occurs in connection therewith (i. e. when it is the result of an oral message or commission).

Thus कार्मणम् = कर्म 'an occupation of a commission agent (?)'. i. e. when an act is done in pursuance to or on hearing of a verbal message or commission.

२१०५ । ओषधेरजातौ । ५ । ४ । ३७ ॥

स्वार्थेऽण् । औषधं पिबति । अजातौ किम् । ओषधयः क्षेत्रे रूढाः ॥

2105. The affix अण् comes after ओषधि when it does not mean a species.

Thus औषधं पिबति "he drinks medicine'. Why do we say "when not meaning a जाति or species". Observe, ओषधयः क्षेत्रे रूढा भवन्ति "the herbs are growing in the field'.

२१०६ । प्रज्ञादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । ३८ ॥

अज्ञ एव प्राज्ञः । प्राज्ञी स्त्री । दैवतः । बान्धवः ॥

2106. The affix अण् comes after the words प्रज्ञ &c. (the words retaining their sense).

Thus प्राज्ञः=प्रज्ञः "a wise person", feminine प्राज्ञी so also दैवतः, बान्धवः ॥

Note:—While प्राज्ञः "a man possessed of wisdom" with feminine प्राज्ञा comes from प्रज्ञा "wisdom" by the affix अण् having the sense of मतुप् ("being possessed of"), taught in V. 2. 101. S. 1908. The प्रज्ञ of this sûtra comes from the root प्रजानाति=प्रज्ञः "he who knows fully".

The word विदन् occurs in the list of प्रज्ञादि words. It is formed by the addition of the affix शतृ (III. 2. 124 S. 3100) to the root, as, विद्+शतृ=विदत् nom. s. विदन् ॥ The very fact that we have such a form विदन् shows that the substitution of वसु for शतृ after the word विद् taught in VII. 1. 36 S. 3105 (by which we get विद्वान्) is an optional substitution, the word "optionally" being drawn in from Sûtra VII. 1. 35. S. 2197.

The word श्रोत्र takes अण् when meaning 'body', as श्रौत्रम्; otherwise श्रौत्रम् 'the sense of hearing', जुह्वत् takes अण् when meaning 'a black antelope', as जौह्वतः ॥ The word कृष्ण takes अण् when meaning 'a black antelope', as, कार्ष्णः ॥

1 प्रज्ञ, 2 वणिज्, 3 उशिज्, 4 उष्णिज् (उष्णिक् उष्णिह्), 5 प्रत्यक्ष, 6 विद्वस्, 7 विदत्, 8 पौडन्, 9 विद्या, 10 मनस्, 11 श्रोत्र शरीरे, 12 जुह्वत्, 13 कृष्ण मृग, 14 चिकीर्षत्, 15 चोर, 16 शत्रु (शक), 17 बोध, 18 चक्षुस् (चक्षस्), 19 वसु (वस्!), 20 एनस् (एन्!), 21 मरुत्, 22 कुञ्च (कुङ्), 23 सत्वन्तु (सत्वत्, सत्वन्त), 24 दशार्ह, 25 वयस्, 26 व्याकृत*, 37 असुर (आतुर!) 28 रक्षस्, 29 पिशाच, 30 अशनि, 31 कर्षापण (का), 32 देवता, 33 बन्धु, 34 पोडश, 35 धूर्त, 36 राजा ॥

२१०७। मृदस्तिकन्। ५। ४। ३९ ॥

मृदेव मृत्तिका ॥

2107. The affix तिकन् comes after मृद् (the word retaining its sense).

Thus मृत्तिका=मृद् 'mud'.

Note:—Of course, this is also an optional affix not a nitya affix like many of the svârthika affixes enumerated in V. 4. 7. S. 2079.

२१०८। सस्नौ प्रशंसायाम्। ५। ४। ४० ॥

रूपपोऽपवादः। प्रशस्ता मृत् मृत्सा। मृत्सा। उत्तरसूत्रेऽन्यतरस्यांग्रहणान्नित्योऽयम् ॥

2108. The affix स and स्न comes after मृद् when it means 'excellence'.

This debars the affix रूपप् V. 3. 66. S. 2021. Thus प्रशस्ता मृद्=मृत्सा or मृत्स्ना ॥ These two affixes are nitya or invariable, i. e. whenever superiority is to be expressed we *must* add these affixes. The reason for our calling it *nitya* is that the word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' follows it in V. 4. 42. S. 2109. so that this affix is not optional. cf. V. 4. 7, 10. &c.

२१०९ । बह्वल्पार्थाच्छस्कारकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । ४२ ॥

बहूनि ददाति बहुशः । अल्पानि अल्पशः ॥ बह्वल्पार्थान्मङ्गलामङ्गलवचनम् * ॥ नेह बहूनि ददात्यनिष्टेषु । अल्पं ददात्याभ्युदयिकेषु ॥

2109. After a word signifying much or little, comes the affix शस् optionally, when the word stands in agreement with a verb (as a kâraka).

No especial कारक being mentioned, all cases such as accusative &c are to be taken. Thus बहूनि ददाति = बहुशो ददाति, बहुभिर्ददाति = बहुशो ददाति ॥ So also बहुभ्य आगच्छति or बहुश आगच्छति &c. Similarly अल्पशो ददाति = अल्पं or अल्पेन &c.

Why do we say "signifying much or little"? Observe गां ददाति, अश्वं ददाति ॥

Why do we say "when it is a kâraka"? Observe बहूनां स्वामी "lord of many". Here the words are in genitive case and a genitive or 6th case is not a कारक or case, dependent or related to a verb: and so the affix is not applied here.

Vârt:—By the word *signifying* the synonyms of बहु and अल्प are also included. Thus भूरिशो ददाति, स्तोकशो ददाति ॥

Vârt:—This affix is to be applied to bahu and alpa only when the action refers to an auspicious or inauspicious act respectively. Thus बहुशो ददाति = अभ्युदयिकेषुकर्मसु । अल्पशोददाति = अनिष्टेषु कर्मसु ॥ Thus बहुशोदेहि "Give much on auspicious occasions as sacrifices &c". अल्पशो देहि "give a little on inauspicious occasions as funeral feasts &c". But not here बहूनि ददाति (अनिष्टेषु), or अल्पं ददाति (आभ्युदयिकेषु).

२११० । संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४३ ॥

द्वौ द्वौ ददाति द्विशः । मासं मासं मासशः । प्रस्थशः । परिमाणशब्दा वृत्तावेकार्था एव । संख्यैकवचनादिकम् । घटं घटं ददाति । वीप्सायां किम् । द्वौ ददाति । कारकादित्येव । द्वयोर्द्वयोः स्वामी ॥

2110. The affix शस् comes optionally after crude forms denoting numbers, and words denoting units of a coin in the singular number, when a distributive sense is to be expressed (and the word is a kâraka).

Thus द्वौ द्वौ मोदकौ ददाति = द्विशो मोदकौ ददाति "He gives two sweet-meats to each". So also त्रिशः ॥ Similarly after words in the singular number as कार्षापणशो ददाति "he gives a Karshâpaṇa coin to each". So also मासशः, पादशः प्रस्थशः ॥ That by which the sense of unit is expressed is called eka-vachana. The words kârshâpaṇa &c denote quantity, but their function in the sentence is to denote one-ness i. e. one to each, though in fact many are given

Why do we say "after Numberals and units of coin"? Observe घटं घटं ददाति "he gives a pot to each". Why do we say "when a distributive sense is meant"? Observe द्वौ ददाति "He gives two". कार्षापणम् ददाति "he gives a kârshâpaṇa".

This rule, of course, applies when the word is in relation with a verb viz. when it is a kâraka, and not when it is in the genitive case governing another noun. As द्वयोर्द्वयोः स्वामी "Lord of two each". कार्षापणस्य कार्षापणस्य स्वामी "Possessor of a kârshapaṇas each". In fact the work "kârakât" of the last sûtra is understood here also. This sûtra is exception to VIII. 1. 4.

२१११। प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसिः। ५। ४। ४४॥

प्रतिना कर्मप्रवचनीयेन योगे या पञ्चमी विहिता तदन्तात्तसिः स्यात्। प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णतः प्रति॥ आद्यादिभ्यः उपसंख्यानम्॥ * ॥ आदौ आदितः। मध्यतः। पृष्ठतः। पार्श्वतः। आकृतिगणोऽयम्। स्वरेण स्वरतः। वर्णतः॥

2111. The affix **तसि** comes after that Ablative case which is ordained owing to the union with the Karma-prava-chanîya word **प्रति**॥

This Ablative case is ordained by Sûtra II. 3. 11. S. 600. Thus प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णतः प्रति॥ The anuvṛitti of वा "optionally" runs here also: thus it is an optional rule; we have the regular forms कृष्णात् &c, also.

Vârt:—The affix तसि comes after the word आदि &c: as, आदितः, मध्यतः, अन्ततः पार्श्वतः, पृष्ठतः &c. This is an âkṛitigaṇa, no complete list being given; so we have स्वरतः or स्वरेण; वर्णतः &c.

२११२। अपादाने चाऽहीयरुहोः। ५। ४। ४५॥

अपादाने या पञ्चमी तदन्तात्तसिः स्यात्। ग्रामादागच्छति। ग्रामतः। अहीयरुहोः किम्। स्वर्गाद्धीयते। पर्वतादवरोहति॥

2112. The affix **तसि** comes after that Ablative case which has the force of an Apâdâna Kâraka, except when this apâdâna relation arises owing to the union with the verbs **हीय** (passive of हा) and **रुह**॥

Thus ग्रामत, आगच्छति or ग्रामात्॥ See Sûtra I. 4. 24. 25, and 26 &c. Why do we say "excepting hîya and ruha"? Not so when the verbs हीय and रुह govern the ablative: as स्वर्गाद् हीयते पर्वतादवरोहति॥

Note:—The form हीय is given in the sûtra to indicate that the verb हा whose present is जहाति is to be taken, and not जिहीते॥ Thus we have भूमित उज्जिहीते or भूमेरुज्जिहीते॥ How do you explain the use of "tasi" in the following well-known verse: "मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा"? The words here are not in the ablative, but in the Instrumental case i. e. स्वरेण वर्णेन वा हीनः॥

२११३ । अतिग्रहाऽव्यथनक्षेपेष्वकर्तरि तृतीयायाः । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अकर्तरि तृतीयान्ताद्वा तसिः स्यात् । अतिक्रम्य ग्रहोऽतिग्रहः । चारित्रेणातिगृह्यते । चारित्रतोऽतिगृह्यते । चारित्रेणान्यानतिक्रम्य वर्तत इत्यर्थः । अव्यथनमचलनम् । वृत्तेन न व्यथते । वृत्ततो न व्यथते । वृत्तेन न चलतीत्यर्थः । क्षेपो वृत्तेन क्षिप्तः । वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः । वृत्तेन निन्दित इत्यर्थः । अकर्तरीति किम् । देवदत्तेन क्षिप्तः ॥

2113. The affix tasi comes after that Instrumental case which does not denote an agent, and is governed by a verb having the sense of "to excel", "not to give way", and "to blame",

Thus चारित्रेण or चारित्रतोऽतिग्रह्यते ॥ This means when a person of good conduct surpasses others through his conduct he is said "to have excelled through his conduct and character". So also वृत्तेन or वृत्ततो न व्यथते ; similarly चरित्रेन or चरित्रतो &c, the sense being he does not succumb or is not moved owing to his strength of conduct or character. Similarly वृत्तेन or वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः, चरित्रेण or चरित्रतः क्षिप्तः "blamed owing to his bad conduct",

Why do we say "when not denoting an agent"? Observe देवदत्तेन क्षिप्तः "blamed by Devadatta".

२११४ । हीयमानपापयोगाच्च । ५ । ४ । ४७ ॥

हीयमानपापयुक्तादकर्तरि तृतीयान्ताद्वा तसिः । वृत्तेन हीयते । वृत्तेन पापः । वृत्ततः । क्षेपस्याविवक्षायामिदम् । क्षेपे तु पूर्वेण सिद्धम् । अकर्तरि किम् । देवदत्तेन हीयते ॥

2114. And the affix tasi comes optionally after a word ending in the third case-affix, when such word is joined to the verb "hîya", or the noun "pâpa"; not denoting an agent.

The words अकर्तरि and तृतीयायाः are understood in this aphorism. Thus वृत्तेन हीयते or वृत्ततो हीयते ॥ चरित्रेण हीयते or चारित्रतो हीयते ॥ So also in construction with the word पाप, as, वृत्तेन पापः or वृत्ततः पापः ॥ चारित्रेण पापः or चारित्रतः पापः ॥ This use of the affix is in places other than those where censure is meant: in other words, it comes where no censure is implied, but a simple fact is mentioned. Where censure is implied, the affix tasi would come by force of the preceding aphorism V. 4. 46. S. 2113.

The word अकर्तरि being understood here also, the affix does not come when the 3rd case-affix has the force of an agent: as देवदत्तेन हीयते ॥

२११५ । षष्ठ्या व्याश्रये । ५ । ४ । ४८ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताद्वा तसिः स्यान्नानापक्षसमाश्रये । देवा अर्जुनतोऽभवन् । आदित्याः कर्णतोऽभवन् । अर्जुनस्य पक्षे इत्यर्थः । व्याश्रये किम् वृक्षस्य शाखा ॥

2115. The affix tasi comes optionally after a word ending in the sixth case, when the sense is that of a party name or faction.

Taking sides with one faction or another is called **द्याश्रयः** ॥ Thus **देवाअर्जुनस्य पक्षेऽभवन् = देवा अर्जुनतोऽभवन्** ॥ 'The Devas became Arjunites'. So also **आदित्याः कर्णतोऽभवन्** "The Adityas became Karṇaites".

Why do we say "when it denotes a Party-name?" Observe **वृक्षस्य शाखा** "the branch of the tree".

२११६ । रोगाच्चापनयने । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

रोगवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्ताद्वा तसिश्चिकित्सायाम् । प्रवाहिकातः कुरु । प्रतीकारमस्याः कुर्वित्यर्थः । अपनयने किम् । प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनं करोति ॥

2116 The affix tasi comes optionally after a word denoting a disease, ending in the sixth case, when the healing of the same is denoted.

The words **रोग** means 'disease', and **अपनयन** means 'healing', 'curing. Thus **प्रवाहिकायाः प्रतीकारं कुरु = प्रवाहिकातः कुरु** ॥

Why do we say 'when healing is meant? Observe **प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनंकुरु** ॥

२११७ । कृञ्वस्तियोगे संपद्यकर्तरि च्विः । ५ । ४ । ५० ॥

अभूततद्भाव इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥विकारात्मतां प्राप्नुवत्यां प्रकृतौ वर्तमानाद्विकारशब्दात्स्वार्थे च्विर्वा स्यात्करोत्यादिभिर्योगे ॥

2117. The affix chvi comes after a word, when the agent has attained to the new state expressed by the word, what the thing previously was not, and when the verbs kṛi 'to make', **भू** 'to be', and **अस्** 'to be' are conjoined with it.

Vârtika:—When something or somebody has become that which is expressed by the stem, when it was not that previously, then this affix **च्वि** is added. When the cause of a thing arrives at the state of being that very thing so produced, it is said to be abhûtatadbhâva—'the state of that what it was not'. The agent of the action of attaining is called sanpadya kartâ.

२११८ । अस्य च्वौ । ७ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अवर्णस्य ईत्यस्यात् च्वौ । वेर्लोपः । च्व्यन्तत्वदव्ययत्वम् । अकृष्णः कृष्णः संपद्यते तं करोति कृष्णीकरोति । ब्रह्मीभवति । गङ्गीस्यात् । अव्ययस्य च्वावीत्वं नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ दोषाभूतमह० । देवाभूता रात्रिः । एतच्चाव्ययीभावश्चेति सूत्रे भाष्येऽुक्तम् ॥

2118. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्वि

The च्वि being aprikta is elided. The chvi ending word is an Indeclinable. Thus अकृष्णः कृष्णः संपद्यते तं करोति = कृष्णीकरोति "He blackens'; when some one who is not black becomes black i. e. some one makes him so. Similarly ब्रह्मी भवति । शङ्खी स्यात् ॥

Vârt:—The final अ of an indeclinable is not changed to long ई before chvi. Thus शेषाभूतमहः दिवाभूता रात्रिः ॥ This is enunciated by Patanjali in his gloss on I. 1. 41. S. 451,

२११९। क्यच्व्योश्च । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

हलः परस्यापत्यकारस्य लोपः स्यात् क्ये च्वौ च परतः । गार्गीभवति ॥

2119. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य and the adverbial affix च्वि ॥

Thus गार्गीभवति = गार्गीयति or गार्गीयते ॥

२१२०। च्वौ च । ७ । ४ । २४ ॥

च्वौ परे पूर्वस्य दीर्घ स्यात् । शुचीभवति । पटू स्यात् । अव्ययस्य दीर्घत्वं नेति केचित्तन्निर्मूलम् । स्वस्ति स्यादिति तु महाविभाषया च्वेरभावात्सिद्धम् । खस्ती स्यादित्यपि पक्षे स्यादिति चेदस्तु । यदि नेष्यते तर्ह्यनभिधानात् च्वेरेव नोत्पद्यते इत्यस्तु । रीङृतः । मात्रीकरोति ॥

2120. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Abverbial affix च्वि (V. 4. 50. S 2117).

As शुची भवति, पटू स्यात् ॥ Some say the final vowel of an indeclinable is never lengthened. This is without authority. The non-lengthening in स्वस्ति स्यात् can be explained by the non application of chvi under the great option of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. and as there is no च्वि added, so there is no lengthening.

Obj. As the great option IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 declares an option only, so in the alternative there will be affixing of च्वि, and then if we do not make the above exception about indeclinables, there will be lengthening and we shall get स्वस्ती स्यात् ॥ Ans. Let it be so; where is the harm?

Obj. But this is not desired for we never find it in usage.

Ans. Then let us say that chvi never comes after svasti, so there is no difficulty, and, we have come to our former point that under the great option no chvi is ever added to svasti.

By VII. 4. 27 S. 1234. the final ऋ is changed to री before chvi Thus मात्री करोति ॥

२१२१। अरुर्मनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोरजसां लोपश्च। ५। ४। ५१॥

एषां लोपः स्यात् च्विश्च। अरूकरोति। उन्मनीस्यात्। उच्चक्षूकरोति। विचेतीकरोति। विरहीकरोति। विरजीकरोति॥

2121. The affix chvi comes after the words arus, manas, chakshus, chetas, rahas, and rajas, and there is elision of their final consonant.

The affix च्वि would have come after these words by force of the sûtra V. 4. 50. S. 2117. which is of universal application: the present sûtra is made in order to teach the elision of the consonant. Thus अरूरुः सम्पद्यते, तं करोति = अरूकरोति, अरू भवति अरू स्यात्॥ So also उन्मनी करोति, भवति, or स्यात्, so also उच्चक्षू, विचेती, विरही, and विरजी करोति or भवति or स्यात्॥ The short उ of अरु and चक्षु is lengthened by VII. 4. 26, S. 2120 and the अ of the other words is changed into ई by VII. 4. 32. S. 2118.

२१२२। विभाषा साति कार्त्स्न्ये। ५। ४। ५२॥

च्विविषये सातिर्वा स्यात्साकल्ये॥

2122. The affix sâti may be employed optionally in the sense of chvi, when something is changed in all its parts into something else.

The whole phrase "when the agent has attained to a state it previously had not and the verbs kṛi, bhû and asti are in conjunction", is understood here.

२१२३। सात्पदाद्योः। ८। ३। १११॥

सस्य षत्वं न स्यात्। दधिसिञ्चति। कृत्स्नं शस्त्रमग्निः संपद्यतेऽग्निसाद्भवति। अग्नीभवति। महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि। कार्त्स्न्ये किम्। एकदेशेन शुक्लीभवति पटः॥

2123. The ष् substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that स which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात् here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52. S. 2122 and it would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. The present sûtra prevents that. The Padâdi स refers to those verbs which in the Dhâtupâṭha are taught with a स, and for which a स is substituted. This also is exception to VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. Thus अग्निसात्। दधिसात्। मधुसात्॥ So also with Padâdi स as दधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति॥

The affix साति is employed when the original is changed in its totality (कृत्स्न). Thus अग्निसाद् भवति शस्त्रम् "the whole weapon is in a blaze—has become fire". We may also say अग्नी भवति शस्त्रम्॥

Why do we say "in its totality"? Observe एकदेशेन पटः शुक्ली भवति "the cloth whitens in part".

The word "optionally" shows that the affix chvi also comes in the same sense. While the optional affixing of these terminations chvi, sâti &c is governed by the Mahâ-vibhâshâ of sûtra IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. (see V. 3. 1).

२१२४। अभि विधौ संपदा च। ५। ४। ५३॥

संपदा कृभ्वस्तिभिश्च योगे सातिर्वा स्याद्व्याप्तौ। पक्षे कृभ्वस्तियोगे च्विः। संपदा तु वाक्यमेव। अग्निसात्संपद्यते अग्निसाद्भवति शस्त्रम्। अग्नीभवति। जलसात्संपद्यते जलीभवति लवणम्। एकस्या व्यक्तेः सर्वावयवावच्छेदेनान्यथाभावः कात्स्न्र्यम्। बहूनां व्यक्तीनां किंचिदवयवावच्छेदेनान्यथात्वं त्वभिविधिः॥

2124. The affix sâti comes after a word in the sense of chvi, when it is in construction with the verb sam-pad, and the meaning is that all things of a kind are changed into some thing else, though partially.

The word अभिविधिः means 'pervasion'. The force of the word च in the sûtra is that the same is expressed when the verbs कृ, भू and अस are in construction as well. By drawing the anuvṛitti of the word vibhâshâ into this sûtra, we may, in the alternative, employ the affix च्वि in the same sense of abhividhi: but then it must be followed by the verbs कृ, भू and अस् only and not by the verb संपद्॥

Thus अग्निसात् संपद्यते or अग्निसात् भवति; उदकसात् संपद्यते or भवति &c. Or उदकी भवति or अग्नी भवति॥

What is the difference between the words abhividhi and kârtsnya of these two sûtras? Where all things of similar origin get changed, though it be partially only, it is called abhividhivikâra. As, अस्यां सेनायाम् उत्पातेन सर्वम् शस्त्रम् अग्निसात् सम्पद्यते: or वर्षासु सर्वम् लवणम् उदकसात् सम्पद्यते॥ Here सर्व has the force of प्रकार कात्स्न्र्य, namely, all things belonging to the kind of weapons such as swords, lances &c. and all things of the nature of salt, but not these things individually in its totality. While the word kârtsnya means that one thing in all its parts assumes the form of another thing. In short, the difference between these two words is this: when one object is changed in all its parts, it is kârtsnya change, when *many* objects are changed in *some* of their parts, it is abhividhi change.

२१२५। तदधीनवचने। ५। ४। ५४॥

सातिः स्याद्धृभ्वस्तिभिः संपदा च योगे। राजसात्करोति। राजसात्संपद्यते। राजाधीनमित्यर्थः॥

2125. The affix sâti comes after a word expressing 'a master or lord', in the sense of 'dependent upon this';

when it is in conjunction with the above verbs kṛi, bhû, asti, and sam-pad.

The anuvṛitti of अभूततद्भावे ceases here, as a different sense altogether is assigned to the affix. The anuvṛitti of the four verbs Kṛi &c, however, runs into the sûtra. The word तदधीन means 'under the supremacy or control of that', 'under the proprietorship of that'. The proprietor in general and the object of rulership in general are indicated by the word tadadhîna. Thus राजाधीनं करोति = राजसात् करोति "he (a king) brings it (a kingdom) under his dominion". Similarly राजसात् स्यात् or भवति or संपद्यते ॥ So also ब्राह्मणसाद् भवति, [करोति, स्यात् or संपद्यते ॥

२१२६ । देये त्रा च । ५ । ४ । ५५ ॥

तदधीने देये त्रा स्यात्सातिश्च कृभ्वादियोगे । विप्राधीनं देयं करोति विप्रत्राकरोति । विप्रसात्संपद्यते । पक्षे विप्रसात्करोति । देये किम् । राजसाद्भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

2126. The affix trâ comes in the sense of 'to be given to that', as well as the affix sâti, in conjunction with the above verbs kṛi, bhû, asti and sampad.

The phrase "dependent upon that" is understood here also. The word देय qualifies the above phrase. When a thing which is known as a proper gift for the Brahmaṇas, is put under their control by offering it to them, then the affix trâ is employed. Thus ब्राह्मणाधीनं देयं करोति = ब्राह्मणत्रा or ब्राह्मणसात् करोति ॥ "He gives it to the Brahmaṇa, as it is an object which ought to be given to them". ब्राह्मणत्रा भवति "it becomes given to the Brahmaṇa". So also with स्यात् and संपद्यते ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is that of to be given"? Observe राजसात् भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

२१२७ । देवमनुष्यपुरुषपुरुमर्त्येभ्या द्वितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । ५ । ४ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीयान्तेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यश्च त्रा स्यात् । देवत्रा वन्दे रमे वा । बहुलोक्तेरन्यत्रापि । बहुत्रा जीवतो मनः ॥

2127. After the words deva, manushya, purusha, puru and martya ending in the 2nd or 7th case, the affix trâ is diversely employed, having the force of the accusative or locative case.

The anuvṛitti of sâti ceases, that of trâ continues. The verbs kṛi, bhû and asti also have no scope here. This is a general sûtra. Thus देवान् गच्छति = देवत्रा गच्छति, देवेषु वसति = देवत्रा वसति ॥ So also मनुष्येषु, पुरुषत्रा, पुरुत्रा, मर्त्यत्रा ॥ देवत्रा वन्दे रमे वा ॥

By using the word 'diversely' in the aphorism it is intended that the affix comes in this sense after other words also; as बहुत्रा जीवतो मनः ॥

२१२८। अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् द्व्यजवरार्धादनितौ डाच्। ५। ४। ५७॥

द्व्यच् अवरं न्यूनं न तु ततो न्यूनम् अनेकाजिति यावत्। तादृशमर्धं यस्य तस्माद्डाच् स्याट्कृभ्वस्तिभियोगे ॥ डाचि विवक्षिते द्वे बहुलम् * ॥ नित्यमाम्रेडिते डाचीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ डाचूपरं यदाम्रेडितं तस्मिन्परे पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णयोः पररूपं स्यात्। इति तकारपकारयोः पकारः। पटपटाकरोति। अव्यक्तानुकरणात्किम्। ईषत्करोति। द्व्यजवरार्धात्किम्। श्वरकसेति। अवरोति किम्। खरटखरटाकरोति। त्रपटत्रपटाकरोति। अनेकाच् इत्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम्। एवं हि डाचीति परसप्तम्येव द्वित्वे सुवचेत्यवधेयम्। अनितौ किम्। पटिति करोति ॥

2128. The affix ḍâch comes after the half of a word denoting an imitation of an inarticulate sound, when such half consists of at least two syllables, and when it is not followed by the quotation-word 'iti'.

The sound in which the letters अ आ &c are not distinctly expressed is called avyakta 'unmanifest' or 'inarticulate'. The imitation of such a sound is called avyaktâ-anukaraṇa. That whose half consists of at least two syllables is called dvyajavarârdha, that is a polysyllabic word of four syllables or more when doubled, the smallest number of whose vowels are two, not less, when halved. The phrase "when joined with kṛi, bhû and asti" is understood here. The affix comes after that word which when reduplicated is such that its half (ardha) is at least (avara) of two syllables (dvyach).

Vârtika:—When the affix डाच् is to be added there is diversely the reduplication of the word. That is, first the word is reduplicated and then the affix is added. The force of the locative in डाचि is that of विषयसप्तमी and not परसप्तमी ॥ Had it been the latter then there would be the fallacy of petitio principii. By adding ḍach and doubling we must see whether the half is at least of two syllables. If it is, then ḍach is to be added. Thus पटत् is a sound imitation word. By reduplication it becomes पटत् पटत् ॥

Now applies the following *Vârtika*:—

Vârtika:—Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final अत्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus पटत् पटत् = पटप् पटत् = पट पटत्, with डाच् = पटपटा ॥

The final त् of the first word is changed in to the form of the next letter प्, and then for two प's one is substituted by this vârtika. Thus पटपटत् करोति = पटपटा करोति "he makes a sound like paṭat paṭat". So also with भवति and स्यात् ॥ So also इमदमा करोति, भवति or स्यात् ॥ The final अत् of पटपटत् is elided by VI. 4. 143 S. 316 before the affix डाच् having an indicatory ड् the real affix being आ ॥

Why do we say "when it is name of an imitative sound"? Observe दृषत् करोति, 'it makes or turns to stone'. Why do we say "after that half which consists of at least two vowels"? Observe श्रत् करोति 'he utters the exclamation srat'. Why do we say "at least"? Observe खरडखरटा करोति where the half consists of more than two syllables and the rule still applies. But had the sûtra been "द्व्यजार्धात् half two syllables" then it would not have applied here as the half consists of *three* syllables. So also चपटपटा करोति ॥

The sûtra ought to have used the word अनेकाचः "after a word of more than one syllable" instead of dvyajavarârdhât. Thus before the affix डाच् the doubling takes place by reason of the affix which is exhibited in the seventh case (डाचि in the vârtika) this doubling being caused by something which follows. Why do we say "when इति does not follow"? Observe पटिति करोति (VI. 1. 98. S. 81). The च् of डाच् is for the sake of accent, it prevents the circumflex (swarita) accent. Thus, पटपटाँ + अँसि ॥ Here first the अ of असि which was udâtta, becomes anudâtta by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935. Then by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658 आँ of टा and अ of असि coalesce into an udâtta आ, as पटपटाँसि ॥ But then comes in rule VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659 which would make this आ optionally svarita, the indicatory च् prevents it. Some read द्व्यजवरार्ध्यात्, the य however does not change the sense.

२१२९। कृञो द्वितीयतृतीयशम्बबीजात्कृषौ। ५। ४। ५८ ॥

द्वितीयादिभ्यो डाच् स्यात्कृञ एव योगे कर्षणेऽर्थे। बहुलोक्तेरव्यक्तानुकरणादन्यस्य डाचि न द्वित्वम्। द्वितीयं तृतीयं कर्षणं करोति द्वितीयाकरोति। तृतीयाकरोति। शम्बशब्दः प्रतिलोमे। अनुलोमं कृष्टं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रतिलोमं कर्षति शम्बाकरोति। बीजेन सह कर्षति बीजाकरोति ॥

2129. The affix dâch comes after the words dvitîya, tritîya, śamba, and bîja when connected with the verb kṛi, and meaning "to plough in such a way".

By force of the word diversely in the vârtika under the last sûtra, there is doubling only when inarticulate sound is imitated and nowhere else.

The repetition of the word कृ in this sûtra indicates that the भू and अस्ति are not to be taken. Thus द्वितीया करोति = द्वितीयं कर्ष (= विलेखनं) करोति 'he makes the second ploughing of the field'. So also तृतीया करोति, शम्बा करोति 'he makes the field ploughed contrariwise to what it was ploughed before' = अनुलोमं कृष्टं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रतिलोमं कृषति ॥ So also बीजा करोति = सहबीजेन विलेखनं करोति ॥

Note:—Why do we say when meaning "to plough"? Observe द्वितीयं करोति पदम् ॥

२१३०। संख्यायाश्च गुणान्तायाः। ५। ४। ५९ ॥

कृञो योगे कृषौ डाच् स्यात्। द्विगुणाकरोति क्षेत्रम्। क्षेत्रैकर्मकं द्विगुणं कर्षणं करोतीत्यर्थः ॥

2130. The affix ḍâch comes after a Numberal followed by the word guṇa, the sense being to plough so many times'.

The word कृ is understood here. Thus द्विगुणा or त्रिगुणा करोति क्षेत्रम् "he ploughs the field twice or thrice" = द्विगुणं विलेखनं करोति क्षेत्रस्य ॥

*Why do we say "when meaning to plough"? Observe द्विगुणां करोति रज्जुम् "he doubles the rope".

२१३१ । समयाच्च यापनायाम् । ५ । ४ । ६० ॥

कृषाविति निवृत्तम् । कृभो योगे डाच् स्यात् । समयाकरोति । कालं यापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2131. The affix ḍâch comes after the word samaya when कृ follows, and the sense is that of 'neglecting'.

The word कृ is understood here also. The anuvṛitti of कृष ceases. The getting of leisure from the duties is called समय or 'time'; the neglect or loss of such time is meant by the word यापना ॥ Thus समया करोति = कालक्षेपं करोति (अद्य मे पारवश्यं, श्वः परश्वो वास्य समय इत्येवं यो बहुषु दिवसेषु अतिवर्तते, स एवमुच्यते) 'who procrastinates'.

Note:—Why do we say when the sense is that "neglecting"? Observe समयं करोति "he makes time".

२१३२ । सपत्रनिष्पत्रादतिव्यथने । ५ । ४ । ६१ ॥

सपत्राकरोति मृगम् । सपुङ्खशरप्रवेशनेन सपत्रं करोतीत्यर्थः । निष्पत्राकरोति । सपुङ्खस्य शरस्याऽपरपार्श्वेन निर्गमनान्निष्पत्रं करोतीत्यर्थः । अतिव्यथने किम् । सपत्रं निष्पत्रं वा करोति मूलकम् ॥

2132. The affix ḍâch comes after the words sapatra, and nishpatra followed by the verb kṛi, when the sense is that of causing intense pain.

The word कृ is understood here also. The word ati-vyathana means "violent pain". Thus सपत्रा करोति मृगं व्याधः = सपत्रं शरमस्य शरीरे प्रवेशयति "the hunter pierces the stag with the arrow so violently that the feathered part of the arrow also enters the body'. So also निष्पत्रा करोति = शरीराच्च शरमपरपार्श्वे निष्क्रामयति "he pierces so violently that the arrow entering one side comes out of the other with its feathers". Why do we say "when meaning to cause violent pain"? Observe सपत्रं or निष्पत्रं करोति मूलकम् ॥

२१३३ । निष्कुलान्निष्कोषणे । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

निष्कुलाकरोति दाडिमम् । निर्गतं कुलमन्तरवयवानां समूहो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीहेर्डाच् ॥

2133. The affix ḍâch comes after the words nishkula followed by the verb कृ, when the sense is 'to disembowel'.

The verb कृ should be read into the sûtra. The word निष्कोषण means to bring the inner organs out or to eviscerate. निष्कुला करोति दाडिमम् "he takes out the kernel or seeds of the pomegranite".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to disembowel or take out the kernel"? Observe निष्कुलान् करोति शत्रून् "he makes the enemies family-less".

२१३४। सुखप्रियादानुलोम्ये। ५। ४। ६३॥

सुखाकरोति। प्रियाकरोति गुरुम्। अनुकूलाचरणेनानन्दयतीत्यर्थः॥

2134. The affix dâch comes after the words sukha and priya, followed by kṛi, when the meaning is ('to concede' 'gratify') 'to go with the grain'.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeability', 'to conform to the wishes of the object of adoration'. Thus सुखा करोति, प्रिया करोति गुरुम्=स्वाम्याशयैर्मनसाराधयति "tries to please the heart of the master &c".

Note:—This affix comes when, while doing a pleasant or agreeable thing, the idea is to please another by such an act. Otherwise observe: सुखं करोति or प्रियं करोति भैषधपानम् "the drinking of medicines gives pleasure &c".

२१३५। दुःखात्प्रातिलोम्ये। ५। ४। ६४॥

दुःखाकरोति। स्वामिनम् पीडयतीत्यर्थः॥

2135. The affix dâch comes after the word duḥkha followed by kṛi, when meaning to do something against the grain or "to contravene".

The verb कृ is understood and prâtilomya means 'to oppose' or "to act against anothers wishes", "to pain the heart of one's master &c". As दुःखा करोति भृत्यः स्वामिनम् "the servant pains the master".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to go against the grain"? Observe दुःखं करोति कदन्नम्॥

२१३६। शूलात्पाके। ५। ४। ६५॥

शूलाकरोति मांसम्। शूलेन पचतीत्यर्थः॥

2136. The affix dâch comes after the word śula followed by kṛi, when the sense is that of "roasting".

Thus शूले पचति=शूला करोति मांसम् "he roasts the meat on a spit".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to roast"? Observe शूलं करोति कदन्नम् "the bad food causes colic'.

२१३७। सत्यादशपथे। ५। ४। ६६॥

सत्याकरोति भाण्डं वणिक्। क्रेतव्यमिति तथ्यं करोतीत्यर्थः। शपथे तु सत्यं करोति विप्रः॥

2137. The affix ḍâch comes after the word satya, followed by kṛi, when not meaning to swear.

The word सत्य means 'truth' as opposed to 'falsehood'. Sometimes it means 'to swear', as in the sentence "सत्येन शापयेद् विप्रम्" ॥ This latter sense is prohibited. Thus सत्या करोति वणिक् भाण्डम् "the merchant concludes the bargain of the goods i. e. he settles that he will purchase these wares". Why do we say 'when not meaning to swear'? Observe सत्यं करोति विप्रः "the Brahmaṇa swears"

२१३८। मद्रात्परिवापणे। ५। ४। ६७॥

मद्रशब्दो मङ्गलार्थः। परिवापण मुण्डनम्। मद्राकरोति माङ्गल्यमुण्डनेन संस्करोतीत्यर्थः। भद्राद्वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ भद्राकरोति। अर्थः प्राग्वत्। परिवापण किम्॥ मद्रंकरोति। भद्रंकरोति॥

2138. The affix ḍâch comes after the word madra followed by kṛi, in the sense of 'to shave'.

The word परिवापण means 'to shave' 'to raze'. The word मद्र means 'auspicious'. Thus मङ्गलं मुण्डनं करोति = मद्रा करोति॥

Vârt:—So also after the word भद्र: as भद्रा करोति नापितः कुमारं "the barber shaves the hair of the boy on the auspicious occasion".

Why do we say when meaning 'to shave'. Observe मद्रं or भद्रं करोति॥

Here end the Taddhitas.

:o:

अथ द्विरुक्त प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XL.

ON REITERATION.

२१३९ । सर्वस्य द्वे । ८ । १ । १ ॥
इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

2139. From here upto VIII. 1. 15. S. 2150 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

Note :—This is an adhikâra sûtra. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16 S. 401) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4 S. 2140 teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'". Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense. i. e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as, पचति पचति 'he always cooks'. Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'.

The sûtra 'sarvasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form *sarva* is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, S. 82 and VI. 1. 100 S. 2128 will find no scope. The word sarva has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्त्वंददाति (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वान्नीनोभिक्षुः = सर्वप्रकारमन्नं भक्षयति ; (3) the totality of *members* (अवयवः), as सर्वः पटोदग्धः ॥ In the present sûtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in sarvasya, is that of sthâna, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sûtra is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the sûtra, however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not âdeśâ, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word sarvasya is employed in the sûtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise one may double only the last *letter* of a word by the rule of अलोऽन्तस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sûtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samâsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vâkyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽद्यापदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vîpsâ with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपर्णिकां ददाति, here also the sense is that of vipsâ, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम् the *sentence* ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sûtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16. S. 401

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sûtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves, पर्वणि पर्वणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्य :, so that the sense of vîpsâ is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the *force* of vipsâ is there denoted by the taddhita *affix* itself, and so doubling is not *necessary*. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsâ can take place with regard to a *word*, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sûtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sûtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति : for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्रोग्धा and द्रोढा ॥ Here तृच् is added to the root द्रुह्, and ह is optionally changed to घ by VIII. 2. 77, S. 354 and in the other alternative there is ढ ॥ As घ and ढ are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1 S. 12) the doubling would take place without making this घ or ढ substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्रोहता द्रोहता) *then* optional घ or ढ change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्रोटधा द्रोढा, द्रोढा द्रोग्धा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्रोढा द्रोढा, or द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vârtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमाद्विर्वचने (See VIII. 2. 3 S. 439 last vârtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अर्थभाव्यच् meaning सर्वं कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति तदिदं सर्वं, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

२१४० । नित्यवीप्सयोः । ८ । १ । ४ ॥

आभीक्ष्ण्ये वीप्सायां च द्योत्ये पदस्य द्विर्वचनं स्यात् । आभीक्ष्ण्यं तिङन्तेष्वव्ययसंज्ञककृदन्तेषु च । पचतिपचति । भुक्त्वाभुक्त्वा । वीप्सायाम्, वृत्तंवृत्तं सिञ्चति । ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः ॥

2140. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by krit affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22. S. 3343). Thus पचति पचति, he cooks continually'. भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति or भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away'. See III. 4. 22. S. 3343. लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवार्थं लुनाति (See III. 4. 2. S. 2825).

Note:— The words formed by affixes ktvâ and ṇamul and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix यङ् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते। And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above examples have been given of nitya, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable krit words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोजं ॥

Note:—Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite verbs (तिङ्) express nitya, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express vîpsâ or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word vîpsâ? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (vyâptum ichchhâ) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is vîpsâ. Thus वृक्षं वृक्षं सिञ्चति "He waters every tree". ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः, पुरुषः पुरुषो धनमुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of nityatâ; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to vîpsâ, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated; as आढ्यतरमाढ्यतरमानय ॥

२१४१। परेर्वर्जने। ८। १। ५ ॥

परिपरि वङ्गेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः। वङ्गान्परिहृत्येत्यर्थः ॥ परेर्वर्जने वा वचनम् ॥ * ॥ परिवङ्गेभ्यः ॥

2141. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि वङ्गेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88. and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Banga'.

Note:—Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिषिञ्चति।

Vârt:—Optionally परि meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound as परि परि वङ्गे = परि वङ्गेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिवङ्गेषु वृष्टोदेवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

Note :—The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 88 S. 596). and governs the fifth case by II. 3. 11. In परिविज्वति the word is an upasarga.

२१४२ । उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये । ८ । १ । ७ ॥

उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् । ग्रामस्योपरिष्टात्समीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥ अध्यधि सुखम् । सुखस्योपरिष्टात्समीपकाले दुःखमित्यर्थः । अधोऽधो लोकम् । लोकस्याधस्तात्समीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥

2142. **उपरि, अधि,** and **अधस्** are repeated, when they express uninterrupted nearness.

The word sâmipya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्, "any locality in the immediate vicinity of a village". अध्यधिग्रामम्, अधोधो लोकम् "a place near a loka". Similarly अध्यधिसुखम् "anything immediately following after pleasure" i. e. pain. Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमाः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here; उपरि शिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्व एव हरिद्रति ।
अधोधो दर्शने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is inthe sense of vipsâ·

२१४३ । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्याऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु । ८ । १ । ८ ॥

असूयायाम्, सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् । संमतौ, देवदेव वन्द्योऽसि । कोपे, दुर्विनीतदुर्विनीत इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि । कुत्सने, धानुष्कधानुष्क वृथा ते धनुः । भर्त्सने, चोरचोर घातयिष्यामि त्वाम् ॥

2143. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vâkya. Thus (1) envy :—सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् "O beauty! O beauty! in vain is thy beauty!!" (2) praise :—देव देव वन्द्योऽसि "O Deva! O Deva! adorable art thou!" (3) anger :—दुर्विनीत दुर्विनीत इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि "O arrogant! O arrogant! now thou shalt know" (4) blame :—धानुष्क धानुष्क वृथा ते धनुः "O archer! O archer! in vain is thy bow". (5) Threat—चोरचोर ३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा "O thief O thief I shall kill thee". The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2, 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the âmredita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. S. 3614. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभना खल्वासि माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of Vocative? Observe उद्गतो देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'? Observe देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लाम् ॥

In some books, the vâkya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्यं) ॥

२१४४ । एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् । ८ । १ । ९ ॥

इदमुक्तं एकशब्दो बहुव्रीहिवत्स्यात् । तेन सुब्लोपपुंवद्भावौ । एकैकमक्षरम् । इह द्वयोरपि सुपोर्लुकि कृते बहुव्रीहिवद्भावादेव जातिपरिकल्पात्सप्तम्याख्यासुप् । एकैकयाहुत्या । इह पूर्वभागे पुंवद्भावादयमेव विशेषः । न बहुव्रीहावित्यत्र पुनर्बहुव्रीहिग्रहणं मुख्यबहुव्रीहिलाभार्थम् । तेनातिदिष्टबहुव्रीहौ सर्वनामतास्त्येवेति प्राञ्चः । वस्तुतस्तु भाष्यमते प्रत्याख्यातमेतत् । सूत्रमतेऽपि बहुव्रीह्यर्थेऽलौकिकविग्रहे निषेधकं न तु बहुव्रीहावितीहातिदेशशङ्कैव नास्ति । एकैकस्मै देहि ॥

2144. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member of a Bahuvrîhi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrîhi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकैकमक्षरं पठति (not एकमेकम). Here the case affixes after both words being elided they assume the form एकैक and being treated as a Bahuvrîhi they become a prâtipadika or nominal stem and then to this whole as a crude form is added the case-affix. एकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (not एकयैकया). Here the first member has become masculine. The difference is brought out when analysing namely, it will be एक + एकया and not एका + एकया ॥ The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case affix is elided by II. 4. 71. and masculinising by VI. 3. 34.

Note :—According to the Kâsikâ this double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrîhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sûtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrîhi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a pronoun, as एकैकस्मै देहि ॥ For sûtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is *really* a Bahuvrîhi, and not to a word-form which is treated *like* a Bahuvrîhi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrîhi in that sûtra, though its anuvṛitti was understood from the preceding one, indicates this (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sûtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus न न करोति, सुसु जागर्ति ॥ This double-word is treated *like* a Bahuvrîhi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrîhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so ननर or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves: -1st, VI. 1. 223 S. 3734 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd, VI. 2. 1. the first member retaining its accent, 3rd, VI. 2. 172 S. 3906 already mentioned. 4th VIII. 1 3. S. 3670. by which the second member becomes anudâtta. The rule VI. 2. 1, however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrîhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samâsânta affixing. Thus ऋक् ऋक् पूः पूः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10 S. 2145) do not get the samâsânta affix अ by V. 4. 74.

"In the sûtra न बहुव्रीहौ (I. 1. 29 S. 222), the repetition of the word Bahuvrîhi, when its anuvṛitti was current from the preceding sûtra I. 1. 28.

S. 292, is for the sake of making that rule applicable to the Primary Bahuvrîhi, (and not to *analogical* Bahuvrîhi like that of this sûtra VIII. 1. 9. S. 2144). Therefore in the case of words which are Pseudo-Bahuvrîhis or analogical-Bahuvrîhis, the prohibition of S. 222 does not apply, and the word remains a Sarvanâman, and is declined as such." This is the opinion of the ancients. But as a matter of fact, this whole sûtra I. 1. 29 has been overruled by the opinion of the Bhâshya-author Patanjali. Even in the opinion of the sûtra-author Pâṇini, the prohibition of I. 1. 29 S. 222 applies to the stage of grammatical analysis of a Bahuvrîhi compound and not to the Bâhuvrîhi compound as such. That is to say, a sarvanaman is not to be declined as such, if it is going to form the member of a Bahuvrîhi compound. So that in the analytical stage *before* composition, the word will not be declined as a pronoun. *After* composition, of course, the word loses its pronominal character by the vârtika under I. 1. 29. S. 222. So there can be no question of that sûtra applying to an analogical Bahuvrîhi, for such a Bahuvrîhi can never be grammatically analysed like the primary and true Bahuvrîhis. Therefore, we have एकैकस्मै देहि and not एकैकाय देहि ॥

२१४५। आबाधेच्च। ८।१।१०॥

पीडायां गोत्यर्थां द्वे स्तो बहुव्रीहिवच्च। गतगतः। विरहात्पीड्यमानस्येयमुक्तिः। बहुव्रीहिवद्भावात्सुब्लुक्। गतगता। इह पुंवद्भावः॥

2145. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrîhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus गतंगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टंनष्टः, पतितंपतितः, in the masculine. Here the case affix is elided after the first word by treating it as a Bahuvrihi, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine, here the first term becomes masculine and (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735.

२१४६। कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु। ८।१।११॥

इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यम्। प्रयोजनं सुब्लोपपुंवद्भावान्तोदात्तत्वानि॥

2146. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhâraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhâraya is to elide the case-affix (II. 4. 71 S. 650), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42 S. 746), and to regulate the accent by making the final acute VI. 2. 23. S. 3757. or S. 3734.

Note :—The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness; the sûtra being an adhikâra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareshu.

२१४७। प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य। ८। १। १२॥

*सादृश्ये द्योत्ये गुणवचनस्य द्वे स्तस्तच्च कर्मधारयवत्। कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेष्वित्यधिकाराद्। तेन पूर्वभागस्य पुंवद्भावः। समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं च। पटुपट्वी। पटुपटुः। पटुसदृशः। ईषत्पटुरिति यावत्। गुणोपसर्जनद्रव्यवाचिनः केवलगुणवाचिनश्चह गृह्यन्ते। शुक्लशुक्लं रूपम्। शुक्लशुक्लः पटः॥

✓ मान्पूर्व्वे द्वे वाच्ये * ॥ मूलेमूले स्थूलः॥

✓ संभ्रमेण प्रवृत्तौ यथेष्टमनेकधा प्रयोगो न्यायसिद्धः * ॥ सर्पःसर्पः बुध्यस्व २। सर्पः ३ बुध्यस्व ४॥

✓ क्रियासमभिहारे च * ॥ लुनीहिलुनीहीत्येवायं लुनाति। नित्यवीप्सयोरिति सिद्धे भृशार्थे द्वित्वार्थे मिश्रम्। पौनः पुन्येऽपि लोटा सह संबुद्धित्व द्योतकतां लब्धुं वा॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनाम्नो द्वे वाच्ये समासवच्च बहुलम् * ॥ बहुलग्रहणादन्यपरयोर्न समासवत्। इतरशब्दस्य तु नित्यम्॥

अक्षसमासवद्भावे पूर्वपदस्य सुपः सुर्वक्तव्यः * ॥ अन्योन्यं विप्रा नमन्ति। अन्योन्यै। अन्योन्याय। अन्योन्येन कृतम्। अन्योन्यस्मै दत्तमित्यादि। अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरामृशन्त इति माघः। एवं परस्परम्। अत्र कस्कादित्वाद्विसर्गस्य सः। इतरेतरम् इतरेतरेणेत्यादि॥

स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपदस्याद्या विभक्तेराम्भावो वा वक्तव्यः * ॥ अन्योन्याम्। अन्योन्यम्। परस्पराम्। परस्परम्। इतरेतराम्। इतरेतरं वा इमे ब्राह्मणयोःकुले वा भोजयतः। अत्र केचित् आमादिशो द्वितीयाया एव। भाष्यादौ तथैवोदाहृतत्वात्। तेन स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरपि तृतीयादिषु पुंवदेव रूपमित्याहुः। अन्ये तूदाहरणस्य दिङ्मात्रत्वात्सर्वविभक्तीनामामादेशमाहुः॥

दलद्भ्ये दत्वभावः क्लीबे षट्त्रिरहः स्वमोः॥
समासे सोरलुक्चेति सिद्धे बाहुलकाश्रयम्॥ १॥

तथाहि। अन्योन्यं परस्परमित्यत्र दलद्भ्येऽपि दाप् प्राप्तः। न च सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भावः। अन्यपरयोरसमासेचद्भावात्। न च द्विर्वचनमेव वृत्तिः। यां यां प्रियः प्रैक्षत कातराक्षी सासत्यादावतिप्रसङ्गात्। अन्योन्यमितरेतरमित्यत्र चवड्डतरादिभ्य इत्यदृड् प्राप्तः। अन्योन्यसंसक्तमहस्त्रियामम्। अन्योन्याश्रयः। परस्परान्निसादृश्यम्। अदृष्टपरस्परैरित्यादौ सोर्लुक्च प्राप्तः। सर्वं बाहुलकेन समाधेयम्। प्रकृतवार्तिकभाष्योदाहरणं स्त्रियामिति सूत्रे अन्योन्यसंश्रयत्वेतदिति भाष्यं चात्र प्रमाणमिति॥

2147. An attribute is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karmadhâraya.

Thus पटुपटुः, मृदुमृदुः where the first member has lost the case-affix, पटुपट्वी, मृदुमृदी where the first member is a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालककालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पटुपटुः पटुपट्वी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223. S. 3734 was debarred by VIII. 1. 3. but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223.

The word being treated as a Karmadhâraya there is masculisation of the first member and the final takes the acute under VI. 1. 223. S. 3734.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference', and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here: i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus पटुपटुः, 'tolerably sharp', पटुपटी "she who is tolerably sharp." मृदुमृदुः "pretty soft". पण्डितपण्डितः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix जातीय (V. 3. 69. S. 2024). also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sûtra. Thus पटुजातीयः, मृदुजातीयः ॥

The doubling takes place both where the adjective is a secondary member qualifying a substance, and where it is an attribute pure and simple, in the abstract, without any particular substance. As शुक्लशुक्लः पटः "tolerably white or whitish cloth." शुक्ल शुक्ल "whitish".

Why do we say prakâre "when denoting some what like it"? Observe पटुर्देवदत्तः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्माणवकः, 'a fiery boy', गौर्बाह्लीकः 'a cow-like Bâhîka'. Here 'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vârt:—An adjective is repeated, when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलः "it is thick in all its roots one after another." अग्रे अग्रे सूक्ष्माः, ज्येष्ठं ज्येष्ठं प्रवेशयः ॥

Note:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षापणादिहभवद्भ्यां मार्षं मार्षं देहि 'give a mâsha, a mâsha, out of this kârshâpaṇa to you two i. e. give only *two* masha one to each'. A kârshâpana contains many mâshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vîpsâ). The word मार्षं मार्षं देहि = द्वौ देहि, the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say 'when it expresses the limit'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ दाहे, त्रींन्वा माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, त्रीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि ॥

Vârt:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice or as many times as one likes, so long as the meaning is not manifest to the person addressed. The word संभ्रमण in the vârtika means 'a confused state of mind. As सर्प सर्प बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व "a snake, a snake, beware, beware." It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As, सर्प सर्प सर्प बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व ॥

Vârt:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice; as, लुनीहि लुनीहि इत्येवायं लुनाति ॥ See III. 4. 2. Though the doubling would have taken place under VIII. 1. 4. S. 2140. also yet the present vârtika ordains doubling in the sense of intensity. Or it ordains doubling of the imperative, giving to it the additional meaning of frequency.

Note:—In re-iteration the word is doubled as, भुरुका भुरुका व्रजति, भोजं भोजं व्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Note:—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as पटपटा करोति पटपटायते. ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V.4. 57). Therefore, not here द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58.) Because of this restriction, some read the vârtika as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

If the rule meant that the half word must be of at least two syllables before doubling, and then dâch should be added, then it would not apply to words like पटत् &c. Therefore the "half-not-less-than two-syllables" refers to the *doubled* word, the doubling being caused by dâch. The above difficulty arises if the locative in डाचि has the force of परसप्तमी ॥ But if we take the locative as विषयसप्तमी then the difficulty is obviated.

Note:—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वं पूर्वं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पच्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमतरं पच्यन्ते ॥

Note:—The words ending in the affixes इतर and इतम comparative and superlative, are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभाविमावाढ्यौ, कतरा कतरा अनयोराढ्यता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्वे इमे आढ्याः, कतमा कतमा एषामाढ्यता ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम; as; उभाविमावाढ्यौ, किदृशीकिदृशी अनयोराढ्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun denoting condition (as आढ्यता) is not in the feminine: as, उभाविमावाढ्या, कतरः कतरोऽनयोर्विभवः "Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness."

Vârt:—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled; and diversely it is treated like a compound. Because the word 'diversely' is used in the vârtika, the pronominals *anya*, and *para* are never treated like a compound; while the word *itara* is *invariably* treated as such and never optionally. II. 2. 27 S. 846

Vârt:—And when it is not treated like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the nominative singular. See I. 3. 14. III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127.

Thus. अन्यमन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति "these Brâhmanas feed one another." अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा नमन्ति ॥ अन्योऽन्यस्य ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. So also अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्योऽन्यान् अन्योऽन्येनकृतं, अन्योऽन्यस्मैदत्तं, अन्योऽन्येषां पुष्करैरामृशन्ते Mâgha. So also परस्परं where the visarga is changed to स because it belongs to Kaskâdi class. So also इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरेण &c.

Vârt:—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम is added optionally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मण्यौ भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥ Here some say. The आम substitution takes the place of the affixes of the accusative only: because the examples given in the Mahâbhâshya &c are of accusative only. Therefore, the feminine and neuter words do not assume the masculine form in the Instrumental and other cases. This is one opinion. Others say, the examples given in the Bhâshya are merely illustrative, and therefore, the affixes of all cases, are replaced by आम् ॥

Verse.

1. The absence of टाप् in the both members of the doubled word.
2. The replacing of सु and अम् by अदड् in the Neuter.
3. The non-elision of सु in compounds.

These three operations take place by force of the word bâhulaka 'diversely' in the vârtika.

1. Thus in अन्योन्यं and परस्परम् there would have come the Feminine affix टाप् ॥ The form ought to have been अन्या + अन्या = अन्यान्या ॥ But it is अन्यः + अन्यः = अन्योऽन्यं ॥ This is prevented by the vârtika. Nor will vârtika under II. I. 51. S. 728 apply and cause masculisation.

Note:—That vârtika states the Pronouns become masculine whenever they occur as functions—vritti—of a compound or a taddhita.

Because अन्य and पर in the above are treated as not parts of a compound. Nor is re-iteration a vritti or function of a taddhita. For if re-iteration be considered a vritti as understood in II. 1, 51. S. 728 vârtika, then it would apply to the following also. यां यां प्रियः प्रेक्षतः कातराक्षी सा सा &c.

Note:—Patanjali also uses it in this way: thus,

अकारकं ह्यकथितत्वात् कारकं चेत् तु नाकथा ।
कारकं चेद् विजानीयाद् यां यां मन्येत सा भवेत् ॥ Mahâbhâshya, I. 4. 51.

2. The replacing of सु and अम् (Nom. and acc Sg) by add अदड् ॥ Thus अन्योन्यम् । इतरेतरम् ॥ Here by VII. 1. 25 S. 315 the affix अदड् would have come and the form would have been अन्यदन्यम् and इतरदितरम् ॥ The present vârtika prevents that.

3. The non-elision of सु in compounds,

Thus in अन्योन्यसंश्रय महस्त्रियाम्। अन्योन्याश्रयः। परस्पराश्लिष्टादयश्च। अहष्टपरस्परैः॥

In all the above examples the सु would have been elided by the above vartika. The word 'diversely' of the vârtika prevents it.

The illustration of this vârtika, as given by the Mahâbhâshya, is to be found in the sentence अन्योन्यसंश्रयं त्वेतद् भवति, as used by Patanjali in his gloss on IV. 1. 3. (स्त्रियाम्). So the Great Commentary is also an authority here.

२१४८। अकृच्छ्रे प्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम्। ८। १। १३॥

प्रियप्रियेण ददाति। प्रियेण वा। सुखसुखेन ददाति। सुखेन वा। द्विर्वचने कर्मधारयवद्भावाद्बहुव्रीहिः पुनस्तदेव वचनम्। अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्वनायासेन ददातीत्यर्थः॥

2148 The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated optionally, when they mean "easily, without any difficulty".

The words कृच्छ्र means 'difficulty and sorrow', अकृच्छ्र means 'without difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियप्रियेण ददाति, सुखसुखेन ददाति, or प्रियेण ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्वनायासेन ददाति॥ That is, he gives with pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. In reiteration the word is treated as a Karmadhâraya and so there is elision of the case-affix as already mentioned above.

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning easily" Observe प्रियः पुत्रः "beloved son". सुखी रथः॥

२१४९। यथास्वे यथायथम्। ८। १। १४॥

यथास्वमिति वीप्सायामव्ययीभावः। योऽयमात्मा यद्यात्मीयं तद्यथास्वम्। तस्मिन्नयाशब्दस्य द्वे ह्रीबत्वं च निपात्यते। यथायथं ज्ञाता यथास्वभावमित्यर्थः। यथात्मीयमिति वा॥

2149 The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the sense of "respectively, fitly, properly".

The word yathâsvam is an Avyayîbhâva with the force of vîpsâ. Whatever is this self and whatever belongs to this self all that is denoted by yathâsvam.

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called यथास्व॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वभावं "all objects have been known according to their respective nature". सर्वेषां तु यथायथं = यथात्मीयं॥

२१५०। द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु। ८। १। १५॥

द्विशब्दस्य द्विर्वचनं पूर्वपदस्याम्भावोऽत्वं चोत्तरपदस्य नपुंसकत्वं च निपात्यते एष्वर्थेषु। तत्र रहस्यं द्वन्द्वशब्दस्य वाच्यम्। ईर्ते विषयभूताः। द्वन्द्वं मन्त्रयते। रहस्यमित्यर्थः। मर्यादा स्थित्यनतिक्रमः।

आचतुरं हीमे पशवो द्वन्द्वं मिथुनायन्ते । माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति । पौत्रेण प्रपौत्रेणापीत्यर्थः । व्युत्क्रमणं पृथगवस्थानम् । द्वन्द्वं व्युत्क्रान्ताः द्वित्वसंबन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः । द्वन्द्वं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति । द्वन्द्वं संकर्षणवासुदेवौ । अभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येणेत्यर्थः । योगविभागादन्यत्रापि द्वन्द्वमिष्यते ॥

2150. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word द्वन्द्वं is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first इ into अम्, and the second इ into अ and making it a Neuter. The word द्वन्द्व itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' मर्यादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus द्वन्द्वं मन्त्रयन्ते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or मर्यादावचनः, as, आचतुरं हीमे पशवो द्वन्द्वं मिथुनायन्ते "upto the fourth degree, these cattle copulate with each other." माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Sânkh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—द्वन्द्वंव्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्वित्वसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as—द्वन्द्वं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्तिवीरः (See I. 3. 64). अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation: as—द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वतौ, द्वन्द्वं संकर्षण वासुदेवौ = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word द्वन्द्वं is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, द्वन्द्वं युद्धं वर्त्तते, द्वन्द्वानि सहतेधीरः, चार्थे द्वन्द्वः &c.

Here ends the chapter on Reiteration.

HERE ENDS THE VOLUME ONE OF THE SIDDHÂNTA KAUMUDI

BY BHATTOJI DIKSHITA.

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